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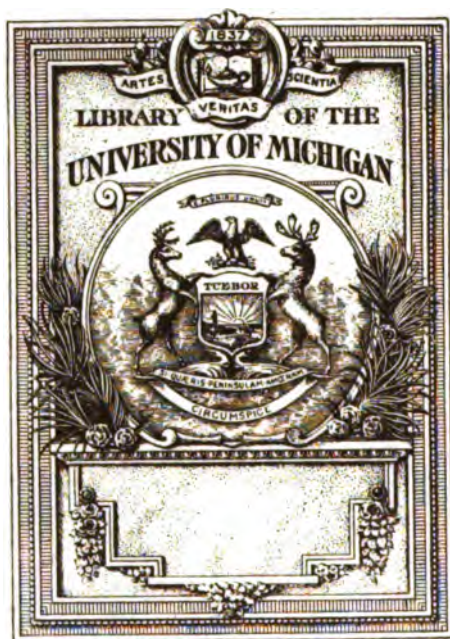
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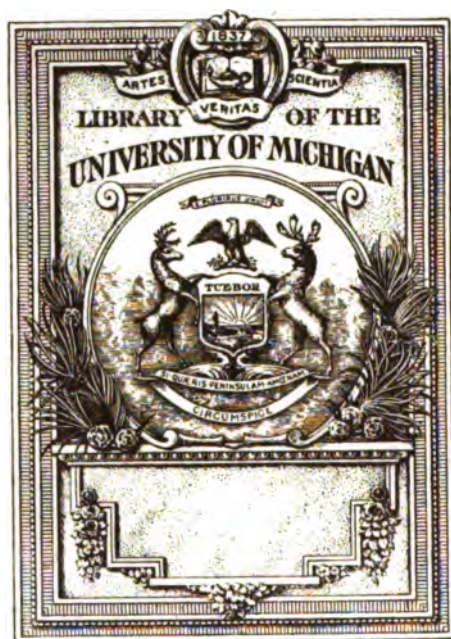
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Paul A. Harrison
July 1862

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HISTORY OF TALBOT COUNTY MARYLAND

1661 - 1861

COMPILED PRINCIPALLY FROM THE
LITERARY RELICS
OF THE LATE
SAMUEL ALEXANDER HARRISON, A.M., M.D.

BY HIS SON-IN-LAW
OSWALD TILGHMAN
EASTON, MD.

IN TWO VOLUMES
VOLUME I

BALTIMORE
WILLIAMS & WILKINS COMPANY
MDCCCCXV

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EASTON, MD.**

DEDICATION

To the memory of Talbot's local annalist, the late

**SAMUEL ALEXANDER HARRISON,
A.M., M.D.,**

and to the many descendants of the Worthies of Talbot, scattered, as they are, throughout the United States and in foreign lands, these Memoirs are respectfully dedicated.

It is the earnest hope of the compiler of these pages that a thoughtful perusal of them may inspire in their readers a sincere desire to emulate the virtues of the early Worthies of Talbot, for love of ancestors and veneration for their memories ennoble a people who cherish them.

OSWALD TILGHMAN.

FOREWORD

The human mind can not be contented with the present. It is ever journeying through the trodden regions of the past, or making adventurous excursions into the mysterious realms of the future. Of the future, but little is known; clouds and darkness rest upon it. We stretch out our arms toward its shadowy inhabitants; we invoke our posterity, but they answer us not. We wander in its dim precincts till reason becomes confused, and at last we start back in fear, like mariners who have entered an unknown ocean, of whose winds, tides, currents, and quicksands they are wholly ignorant. Then it is, we turn for relief to the past, that mighty reservoir of men and things. There we have something tangible to which our sympathies can attach, upon which we can lean for support, from which we can gather knowledge and learn wisdom. Our attention is aroused by the great moral events which have controlled the fortunes of those who have preceded us, and still influence our own. With curious wonder we gaze down the long aisles of the past upon the generations that are gone. We behold, as in a magic glass, men in form and feature like ourselves, actuated by the same motives, urged by the same passions, busily engaged in shaping both their destinies and ours. We approach them and they refuse not our invocation. But most of all, among the innumerable multitudes who peopled the past, we seek our own ancestors, drawn toward them by an irresistible sympathy. Indeed, they were our other selves. With reverent solicitude we examine into their characters and actions. We search with avidity the most trivial circumstances in their life history, and eagerly treasure up every memento of their fortunes. The instincts of our nature bind us indissolubly to them, and link our fates with theirs. Honor of ancestors, respect for their virtues, and love for their memory ennoble the people who cherish them. Men can not live without a past. It is as essential to them as a future. Into its vast confines I invite my readers to journey with me and to hold converse with the early worthies of Talbot County, the founders of this fair land, men who were prominent under proprietary rule and colonial conditions, and men also who laid the foundations of our State Government and its best institutions. We shall speak to them and they will answer us.

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THE WORTHIES OF TALBOT

BEING BIOGRAPHICAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO A HISTORY OF THAT
COUNTY

SAMUEL ALEXANDER HARRISON, A.M., M.D.

1822—1890

The subject of this Memoir was born October 10, 1822, at Clay's Hope¹ farm in Saint Michael's district, Talbot County, Maryland, fronting on the Tred-Avon river, directly opposite the town of Oxford. His parents were Alexander Bradford Harrison and Eleanor (Spencer) Harrison, daughter of Colonel Perry Spencer of "Spencer Hall," whose grandfather, James Spencer, Junior, married Anne Benson, daughter of Dr. James Benson, who emigrated from England to Maryland in 1670, and who commanded a troop of horse in Talbot County in colonial times.

Doctor Harrison spent the active years of his youth in securing the education and knowledge necessary for the work he had in view. His preliminary instruction under the skilled and learned Reverend Joseph Spencer, D.D., was completed at Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa., where, in a large and talented class, he gave evidence of a marked superiority in those branches pertaining to history, rhetoric, logic and the philosophies. He graduated, with honor, in 1840, at the age of eighteen. Having chosen the profession of medicine, he entered into the study of that science with avidity and earnestness so remarkable, that he was graduated with distinction in a class composed of some of the strongest men that the University of Maryland has sent from its halls. Having received his diploma, he began the practice of his profession with such zeal that his health, never robust, soon broke beneath the strain, and compelled him to seek strength and health in the then distant western city of Saint Louis, Missouri. He engaged temporarily in business there, but his active and scholarly mind soon tired of the monotonous commercial round, and being independent in fortune, he sought anew the home of his childhood in Maryland, and after a few years

¹ "Clays Hope" was so named in the original patent from Lord Baltimore to one Henry Clay for 200 acres. Henry Clay and wife, Elizabeth, conveyed this tract of land to James Coulson, by deed bearing date Nov. 15th, 1664, only three years after the organization of Talbot into a county. This Henry Clay removed to Virginia and is thought to have been the ancestor of Henry Clay of Kentucky.

residence in Baltimore City, he became permanently a citizen of Talbot County and an honor to it. About the second year of the Civil War, 1862, he established himself on "East Anderton," the Thomas family homestead, a fertile farm in Oxford Neck, and where he devoted himself to agriculture and to literary pursuits. Having been made President of the County School Board, the Superintendent of Public Schools in Talbot County, under the school system inaugurated in 1864, by the Republican party, of which he was an ardent advocate, he removed to Easton. He performed the important duties of this office, with indefatigable industry and well directed intelligence, putting into his work his heart as well as his great abilities and untiring zeal.

The change in the school system under the Constitution of 1867 legislated him out of office. After a residence of about nine years in Easton, he removed to his attractive country seat, "Woodstock," three miles from Easton on a branch of Miles river which he had recently purchased. Here he resided with his family for about seventeen years. For a few years prior to his death he resided at "Foxley Hall," Easton, the residence of his son-in-law, Oswald Tilghman, where he died on the 29th day of May, 1890, in his 68th year.

His hospitable county home was always open to his friends, and his fluency in conversation made him ever a congenial companion of rare qualities, in imparting to others knowledge which he himself never tired of gaining. He was thoroughly imbued with a spirit of kindly consideration for the feelings of his fellowmen, with whom he was brought in daily contact. His heart ever went out to the weak, and his every effort was bent towards the education and enlightenment of the ignorant and illiterate who lived about him. His vision was not, however, circumscribed by the horizon of things about him, its range extended far beyond it. His delight was in holding communion with the departed great and good, by uniting research and study of local history, thereby bringing their presence home to the minds of the living.

Doctor Harrison possessed a great historical mind, stored with a knowledge of all the important events and traditions of this favored section. Of almost servile industry his pen was never quiet. For many years he was at his desk long before the faintest glimmer in the East told of the rising of the sun, and often he burned the midnight oil, putting into phrase and sentence facts and incidents of early local history which he has left as literary legacies of great value both to his County and State. Several of his historical papers were read by him before the Maryland Historical Society, of which he was long an active

member, and have been published by this society in pamphlet form. In his will he very wisely bequeathed all of his valuable manuscripts and scrap books, the literary labors of a life-time to the Maryland Historical Society. His voluminous writings comprise a concise and critical history of Talbot County, and necessarily, of the early history of that territory now comprising Queen Anne's County and the western half of Caroline County, which was, originally, a part of Talbot County, covering a period of two centuries. They include the civil, military, social, industrial, educational, ecclesiastical and agricultural history of this highly favored and earliest settled section of the Eastern Shore of Maryland. These papers have been carefully collated, revised and edited, and much historical data added thereto, since the demise of their author in 1890, by his son-in-law, Oswald Tilghman, who proposes publishing them in his forthcoming History of Talbot County, which will be issued in two large volumes, to subscribers only.

Among the many historical manuscripts written by Dr. Harrison is a most voluminous and exhaustive "History of the Church of England, and the Protestant Episcopal Church in Talbot," in his prefatory notes to which, he very modestly says, "It is right and proper that the compiler should at the outset, distinctly say that he is so largely indebted to the manuscript history of the parishes of the Eastern Shore by Dr. Ethan Allen, and to the published papers of the same industrious historiographer, that he can justly claim small merit for its preparation, as Dr. Allen was the appointed and recognized historian of the church, as well as a devout member of the same, and was therefore in a certain sense its advocate, greater liberty in the statement of facts, and greater freedom of comment than he possessed are permitted to one who holds neither relation, but can only unworthily claim a birthright in her rich memories and a reverent admiration of her beneficent services in the assuagement of human suffering and in the promotion of human progress." Sentiments so modest, so chaste and so beautifully expressed, could only emanate from a refined and cultured mind such as Dr. Harrison possessed.

It has been truthfully said by that brilliant revolutionary hero and historian, Colonel Henry Lee, "Light Horse Harry," the father of General Robert E. Lee, in his preface to his "Memoirs of the War," of the American Revolution, that "In usefulness to society the degree is inconsiderable between the conduct of him who performs great achievements and of him who records them, for short must be the remembrance, circumscribed the influence of patriotic exertions and heroic exploits,

unless the patient historian retrieves them from oblivion and holds them up conspicuously for future ages."

To the patient and untiring annalist who faithfully records the virtuous actions and noble deeds of those of his countrymen who have worthily preceded him, is due, from an appreciative posterity, a meed of praise, which they can only in a measure repay by awarding to his memory respectful homage and veneration. The many descendants of the early "Worthies of Talbot," who are now scattered far and wide throughout this broad continent, when reading these memoirs of their honored ancestors may well exclaim as did Alexander the Great, when viewing the tomb of Achilles, "O, fortunate youth! You who have a Homer to record your deeds of valor."

Those who follow closely the scholarly paragraphs of Doctor Harrison's facile pen will find a literary treat awaiting them. His "Memoirs" are not merely historical sketches and bare biographies of certain characters whose lives have contributed, some to the founding, and others to the upbuilding of Talbot County in every avenue of her advancement, but they are rare gems of literature as well. Among them may be found rich historical data, gleaned from every reliable source, by the patient labor and deep research of a local annalist whose whole heart was in his work, and whose sole reward was the satisfaction of having accomplished a task for which his literary talents so peculiarly fitted him.

More than two decades have elapsed since death cut short the literary labors of Doctor Harrison, and but few of his contemporaries now survive to bear testimony to his many lovable traits and to his great literary accomplishments.

He has reared for himself a monument more lasting and enduring than the massive granite slab that filial affection has placed upon his grave.

How well do they deserve who memorize,
And leave in books for all posterities
The names of Worthies and their virtuous deeds.

LIEUT. COL. TENCH TILGHMAN

1744—1786

Memories of her most worthy citizens are the best wealth of the state. That people is poor indeed, that has never possessed such treasures; but poorer still that having had, has lost them. No improvidence is comparable with that which permits the recollections of the distin-



LIEUTENANT COLONEL TENCH TILGHMAN,
WASHINGTON'S AIDE, WHO CARRIED THE OFFICIAL NEWS OF THE
SURRENDER OF YORKTOWN

MINIATURE BY C. W. PEALE

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guished great or good to be wasted by neglect, or consumed by time—to fade into obscurity or to be lost in entire oblivion. Mortifying as may be the confession, the citizen of Maryland is unable to deny that his state, in common with all those which custom calls the South, a term which happily has lost much of its significance, is in this regard obnoxious to reproach. He may not be willing to acknowledge that his state is insensible of gratitude for valuable service, or incapable of appreciating exemplary virtue; yet it is too true, that men who in almost every department of human effort have illustrated the history of this commonwealth, or shall illustrate it when that history shall be worthily written; men who have wrought ably and thought wisely for the good of Maryland, as well under the limitations and restrictions of a colonial condition and a proprietary rule, as in the greater freedom and with the wider scope of state and national independence; that such men have been almost as completely forgotten, when the generation to which they belonged had passed away, as though they had lived in the heroic age of a Grecian or Roman antiquity. If their memories have been preserved at all in any degree of freshness, they have been perpetuated by the respectful veneration of their immediate descendants; or, more frequently, by a pride of birth, which cannot be wholly condemned, that seeks its justification, even when all else is lost, in tracing an origin to a reputable, and perhaps distinguished ancestry. The historian or annalist of Maryland, in his attempts to recover the lost lineaments of those lives which once blessed with their benefits or adorned with their graces his native state, looks in vain through the long galleries of literary portraiture, drawn by reverent or grateful hands, for the “counterfeit presentments” of Maryland’s notable men. There he finds delineated only the dead of other commonwealths; or, if placed there by chance, and not by design, he may discover some meagre and colorless sketches, some biographical silhouettes, of a few worthies of that state whose great merits compelled the tribute of a stranger’s pen or pencil. If he would find memorials of his own compatriots he must seek them, not upon the shelves of libraries groaning under their weight of “lives;” not in the archives of learned societies filled to repletion with their “memoirs;” nor even in the all embracing columns of the dictionaries of biography: but he must look for them, hid away among the musty rubbish of our offices of public record, or thrust into the dusty garrets or vermin-infested chests and drawers of our old and decaying family mansions. When found, if found at all, these memorials are seen to be obscured, mutilated,

and for all useful purposes to the historian, destroyed—they are but relics that serve to minister to the superstition of ancestral worship. Others of the sisterhood of states have sought to give a perpetuity to the memory of their noble dead by preserving recollections of them with all the spicery and ceremonies of literary embalment. Maryland has consigned her worthies to the oblivious earth, to mingle their dust with that of the undistinguished many. If by chance some curious antiquary seeking historic relics of a shadowy past, or some patient genealogist tracing the dubious thread of a long lost pedigree, or some more sordid searcher for defective titles to ancestral acres long since alienated, should in turning over the records in our public offices or parish vestries, discover evidences of the former existence, in our midst, of men who had filled the highest civic stations in the commonwealth with dignity and usefulness, or given lustre to her army in war, his surprise is like that of the rustic who turns up with his spade the fossil bones of some huge animal of a former age. It is the object of this memoir to attempt the recovery from the obscurity of neglect, where they have lain for nearly one hundred years, like an antique statue covered with the debris of centuries, the lineaments that marked the character, and the incidents that clothed the life of a good, a wise, and a brave man, to whom Maryland gave parentage, birth, career and sepulture. In this attempt to revive, and perchance perpetuate his memory, in some degrees will be removed, it is hoped, the reproach which adheres to his native state of forgetfulness of the deeds and indifference to the fame of her sons, and Maryland be admonished, when she shall call her roll of honor, with all her sister states, in this centennial year, to add one other name to the already long and lengthening list of her noble dead—the name of Tench Tilghman.

"Scribe tui gregis hunc, et fortem crede bonumque."

TENCH TILGHMAN was born on the 25th of December in the year 1744, at Fausley, the plantation of his father situated upon Fausley creek, a branch of St. Michaels' river in the county of Talbot, Maryland, about two miles from the town of Easton. He was of one of the most respectable families of the province. Richard Tilghman, surgeon, emigrated from the county of Kent, England, in or about the year 1662, settling first upon Canterbury Manor, of which he was the original patentee, upon Third Haven river, in Talbot. Thence he removed, after a short time, to the Hermitage, upon Chester river, then in Talbot, now in the county of Queen Anne's. This Richard Tilghman, was the grandfather of James Tilghman, the father of the subject of this memoir,

and a lawyer by profession, who after removing from Talbot to Chestertown, in Kent, thence removed to Philadelphia in the year 1762. He was well known to the profession in Pennsylvania, where he became secretary to the Proprietary Land office, which department of the government "by the accuracy of his mind and the steadiness of his purpose he brought into a system as much remarked for order and equity as, from its early defects, it threatened to be otherwise."¹ He was one of the commissioners for the province of Pennsylvania, appointed by Governor Penn, for settling the boundary line between the colonies and the Indian territory, at the treaty held at Fort Stanwix in October and November 1758. He was also a member of the governor's council, and private secretary of Julianna, the widow of the late proprietary. In the dispute between the colonies and the mother country, he espoused the cause of the latter. The adoption of the principles of a loyalist involved the resignation of his public trusts and the loss of his private business, so that not long after the outbreak of hostilities he returned to Chestertown in Maryland, where he spent the remainder of his days. Such was his moderation and discretion, that, although his opinions were obnoxious, he enjoyed the respect of his fellow citizens, and received the considerate notice of Washington himself. It may be interesting to those who are fond of tracing the hereditary transmission of mental qualities, to state that the wife of Mr. James Tilghman, and the mother of Tench Tilghman, was the daughter of Tench Francis, Esquire, the elder, originally of Ireland, from which he emigrated when a boy to Talbot county in Maryland, where he married, under romantic circumstances, the daughter of Foster Turbutt of Ottwell in that county, became clerk of the court and deputy commissary general. He removed to Philadelphia, where he became attorney general of the province of Pennsylvania, and rose to great eminence as a lawyer. He was the brother of Richard Francis, the author of a work entitled *Maxims of Equity*, and also brother of Dr. Philip Francis, the translator of Horace, who was the father of Sir Phillip Francis, the putative author of *Junius's Letters*.

Tench Tilghman was one of a family of twelve children. Of these six were brothers, he being the eldest, all of whom became men of good repute in their several positions, and some eminently distinguished. The second brother was Richard,² who was educated as a lawyer at

¹ Eulogium upon the Hon. Will. Tilghman, by Horace Binney, Esq.

² A pair of silver spurs, presented by Warren Hastings in India to Richard Tilghman, are in the possession of Col. Oswald Tilghman.

the Temple, in London, going abroad in the ship which conveyed Governor Eden of Maryland. He obtained employment in the civil service of the East India Company, under Warren Hastings of whom he was the friend, and by whom he was recommended to the directory for the post of attorney general of India; but he died at sea, when returning from the East, before receiving the promised honor. The third brother was James Tilghman, also a lawyer by education, who settling in Maryland became, after the reform of the judiciary system of that state in 1790, one of the associate justices of the court from Talbot county, a kinsman of the same name being the chief judge. The fourth brother was the Hon. William Tilghman, for many years chief justice of Pennsylvania, a character as admirable as ever adorned the bench, if we may trust the words of one who knew him well, and who was every way capable of estimating his intellectual abilities and moral worth, the Hon. Horace Binney, who in a eulogy of unsurpassed eloquence has commemorated his achievements in law, and his private virtues. The fifth brother was Philemon Tilghman, who, in politics sympathizing with his father, at the early age of fifteen went to England, entered the British navy, in which he received a commission, and further connected himself with that service by marrying the daughter of Admiral Milbanke. The youngest brother was Thomas Ringgold Tilghman, a well known merchant, first of Alexandria and then of Baltimore, a man of great probity, but dying early rose to no prominence. The sisters were married to gentlemen of the first respectability upon the eastern shore of Maryland.

Of the early education of Tench Tilghman, the eldest of the brothers, little authentic information has been transmitted. He probably received his rudiments at some of the schools in Easton, near to which town he lived. There is a tradition that he was subsequently instructed by the Rev. John Gordon, rector of St. Michaels parish, a gentleman of attainments. At an early age, however, possibly before the removal of his father to Philadelphia, in 1762, his maternal grandfather, Tench Francis, for whom he was named, assumed the direction of his education, and he then obtained the instruction of the best masters, and the advantages of the best schools. His letters and other writings, which remain in the hand of his family, evince literary acquirements of no mean order, and a taste which is really admirable.

The advice of his grandfather, who had assumed as well the direction of his education as the care of his fortunes in life, supported as it was by the approbation of his father and his own inclinations, determined

him in the selection of his calling and career. At a proper age, therefore, and doubtless after a proper apprenticeship, he connected himself with his uncle, Tench Francis, the younger of the name, and earnestly engaged in commercial pursuits in Philadelphia. This business connection, although of short duration, seems to have been attended with gratifying results as regards his fortune, for in a letter written years after, he states that it enabled him to accumulate, before its dissolution in 1775, a moderate competency. A business which was commenced under the most favorable auspices and which had been conducted with so much success, was destined very soon to be destroyed, not through any lack of judgment or of prudence, but by the breaking of the political storm of the American revolution, which shipwrecked so many mercantile adventures. The manner in which Mr. Tilghman acted in the emergency evinces the man of honor, who scorns to take advantage of public disturbances and the suspension of law, for his own benefit. But an account of his conduct is best given in his own language. "Upon the breaking out of the troubles, I came to a determination to share the fate of my country, and that I might not be merely a spectator, I made as hasty a close, as I possibly could, of my commercial affairs, making it a point to collect and deposit in safe hands, as much as would, when times and circumstances would permit, enable me to discharge my European debts, which indeed were all I had, except £—— put in my hands by Mr. R., sen., in trust for my youngest brother: but as security for that I left, and have yet, a much larger sum in my father's hands. After I had happily collected and deposited the sum first mentioned, my outstanding debts began to be paid in depreciated money; and as I never took the advantage of a single penny in that way, I have sorely felt the pernicious effect of *tender laws*." What is here related to one who had every opportunity of knowing the truth of every incident is nothing more than might have been expected of a man of such scrupulous integrity, a feature in his character universally and at all times recognized.

But disappointed as Mr. Tilghman was in his cherished hopes of realizing wealth, apprehensive as he must have been, from the first, that what little he had accumulated would be swept away in the cataclysm which was upon the country, all these painful emotions were scarcely felt in that exaltation of patriotic sentiment which he shared in common with his fellow citizens. The battles of Lexington and Concord had been fought. The whole country was aflame. Even Philadelphia, the characteristic features of whose population then

more than now, were a quietude and calmness inherited from a Quaker origin, was aroused to the manifestation of military ardor. Volunteer military associations were formed, which the peaceful principles of the Friends did not prevent the more ardent of their young men from joining and which the chivalrous spirit of those of other faiths and parentage gladly adopted. With one of these organizations Mr. Tilghman connected himself. The name which it assumed, as well as that by which it was derisively designated by those disaffected to the patriot cause, indicates the character of the materials of which this company was composed. It was called "The Ladies Light Infantry," by those who thought well of the company and its objects; but it was named "The Silk Stockings," by tories and those who placed a low estimate upon its military efficiency. It was commanded by a scion of one of the most respectable and prominent of Maryland families, Captain Sharpe Dulaney, and was composed of the *jeunesse dorée* of the city of Philadelphia—of young men of the best social position. In this company Tench Tilghman, another Marylander, and as well born as his superior officer, was lieutenant. As a part of the forces contributed by Pennsylvania, this body, or one into which it merged, with Tilghman, however, as captain, joined the army of Washington. This connection of Mr. Tilghman, with a volunteer company of Pennsylvania militia, was promised only danger and hardship, with little distinction or reward, opened the path by which he attained a position of honor and respectability in the army of the United States, and the friendship of the peerless man.

While thus surrendering himself to the impulses of patriotism, he was violating some of the tenderest sentiments of his nature. Trained up in a filial piety towards his parents, more common in the past than now; accustomed from his youth to respect the desires and opinions of one whose character as well as his relation entitled him to the reverence of a son; he found himself impelled by a sense of higher duty than that he owed to his father to disregard his wishes and to depart from his advice. Mr. James Tilghman, as has before been mentioned, adhered to the crown, conscientiously believing as did many of the most worthy citizens in all the colonies, that the maintenance of the royal authority and a continuance of the connection with the mother country, were the part of true patriotism and of a wise policy. When the crisis came, Mr. Tench Tilghman found himself at variance with his honored father; but it would appear from the correspondence which was maintained between them during the whole war, that differences of opinion upon

political subjects never produced any alienation of feeling, and that a mutual affection and respect was cherished to the end. To be sure the persistence of the father in unfavorable and tantalizing comments upon the course of congress, and his depreciatory reflections upon the strength and the behavior of the patriot army, sometimes caused a momentary impatience in the son, who was serving under that congress and in that army, and caused him to ask with some warmth, not only on the ground of prudence but for the sake of good feeling, that there should be no farther political discussions in the letters that should pass between them,* but even under this provocation there is no word that is not consistent with that honor and respect which it was his wish to render to him to whom they were due. Col. Tilghman frequently in his letters to his father expressed a solicitude that he would consent to take the oath to the existing government of Pennsylvania which had been prescribed; using the argument that there would be no inconsistency between the position he had taken in the beginning of the troubles, and that which he would hold after submitting to the established order of things, which he not only had no part in forming, but had resisted while it was forming, and then was powerless to overthrow. He also mentioned, by way of inducing his father to take the step, a number of loyalists of social prominence who had already taken the oath, and others who were about to accept it. Another source of disquietude to Col. Tench Tilghman, as well as to his father, which may be mentioned in this connection, was the conduct of a young brother, Mr. Philemon Tilghman, who had left his home at the early age of fifteen years and connected himself with the British naval forces then operating against the United States. The father and brother were equally anxious to secure the return of this impulsive youth, both feeling that his prospects in life had been destroyed; the father seeing no hope of promotion and advancement in a service where he had no influential friends, the brother perceiving that he had completely

* In a letter dated Feb. 22, 1777, to his father he says: "I know we do not agree in political sentiments, quite, but that, I am convinced, does not abate, in the least, that ardent affection which I have for you, and which makes me happy, far happier than any other title when I call myself, your most dutiful son."

In a letter dated April 21, 1777, he says: "I late last night recd. yours of 21st. The contents really make me exceedingly unhappy, as I find myself unable to agree with you in sentiment upon the present measures. * * * I will say nothing upon the score of politics, because it is a subject that ought not at this time to be discussed upon paper. I wish it might be dropped in all future letters between us."

shut himself off from a career in America. Mr. James Tilghman occasionally communicated with Mr. Philemon Tilghman, through Col. Tilghman, who sent his letters by a flag of truce, when there was communication between headquarters and the fleet. It would seem from a letter to another brother, Mr. William Tilghman, who had written to him asking that he would procure for him permission to go to England, for the purpose of prosecuting his law studies, that attempts had been made to arouse suspicion in Gen. Washington's mind against his secretary, founded upon his family connection with many persons who were disaffected to the patriot cause, to whom he had rendered service. In this letter he says:

It gives me pain to tell you that I cannot, without subjecting myself to censure, interfere in the least, in procuring you recommendations to go to England, by way of France and Holland. I am placed in as delicate a situation as it is possible for a man to be. I am, from my station, master of the most valuable secrets of the cabinet and the field, and it might give cause for umbrage and suspicion were I, at this critical moment (June 12, 1781), to interest myself in procuring the passage of a brother to England. Tho' I know his intentions are perfectly innocent, others may not, or will not. You cannot conceive how many attempts have been made, some time ago, to alarm the general's suspicions as to my being near his person. Thank God—he has been too generous to listen to them, and the many proofs I have given of my attachment have silenced every malignant whisper of the kind. As I have never given the least handle for censure, I am determined never to do it.

Before Mr. Tilghman was called upon for active service in the field, for which he had been so prompt to offer himself, with a disregard of his pecuniary interests, his personal comfort and his family ties which only a sense of patriotic duty could inspire, he had the privilege of serving his country in a civil capacity. Already, in 1775, the more perspicacious of the statesmen who composed the congresses, meeting at Philadelphia, foresaw, what the bolder of them had determined to compel, a separation of the colonies from Great Britain, and the establishment of a distinct government or governments. Measures looking to the assumption and maintenance of an advanced position, with regard to colonial independence, were promptly taken soon after the shedding of blood in New England. Troops were ordered to be raised, a commander-in-chief, with subordinate officers, was appointed, stores and munitions were collected, and all other preparations incident to war were made with the utmost promptness and energy. The

British forces in America came to be regarded as enemies, and the British government as hostile and alien, although a formal declaration of independence had not yet been promulgated. Besides these preparative measures of a warlike character, others of a precautionary kind were taken to secure peaceful neutrality or active alliance. Among these measures may be mentioned those which respected the protection of the frontiers from the incursions of the neighboring Indians. It was apprehended that the savages, who were then at peace, taking advantage of the embarrassments incident to war, would renew their depredations and hostilities upon the settlements of the unprotected border. The most serious trouble was anticipated from these tribes of the Iroquois, which had early formed a league under the name of the Six Nations. These tribes, although greatly diminished in numbers since the first settlements of the Europeans, and although they had partially adopted the habits of civilization, were still formidable enough to a struggling confederation of colonies. The danger was the more threatening in that it was known at the prompting of the British agent to fall upon any whom he might designate as enemies of the royal government and of themselves.

The memory of Sir William Johnson, the former superintendent of Indian affairs of the crown, who had died the year before, was still a potential influence among them. His cousin and son-in-law Guy Johnson, who succeeded him in his influence and in his office, was known to be inimical to the patriot cause, and to be already actively employed in enlisting these tribes whose seat was New York, and others in the adjoining provinces of Canada, against the United Colonies, as they now wished to be called. For the purpose of securing the neutrality of the Indians along the whole frontier, Congress on the 13th July, 1775, appointed three commissions to form treaties: one for the Six Nations, and other tribes towards the north, a second for the Creeks or Cherokees towards the south; and a third for the intervening tribes towards the west. The gentlemen who were chosen commissioners for the northern department were Major General Philip Schuyler, Major Joseph Hawley, Mr. Turbutt Francis, Mr. Oliver Wolcott, and Mr. Volckert P. Douw. The commissioners were vested with "powers to treat with the Indians in their respective departments, to preserve peace and friendship, and to prevent their taking part in the present commotion."⁴ A speech to the six confederate nations, Mohawks, Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Onondagas,

⁴ New York Historical Society Collections, vol. VIII, p. 605.

Cayugas, and Senecas, from the twelve United Colonies, convened in council at Philadelphia, was framed to be read at the assembly of the tribes, and an appropriation of seven hundred and fifty dollars was made to entertain the sachems and warriors of the Six Nations, when they should come to Albany and Schenectady. With this commission Mr. Tilghman, doubtless through the influence of his maternal uncle, Mr. Turbutt Francis, one of the members chosen by Congress, was connected in the capacity of secretary and treasurer or paymaster. A report was made in due form to Congress, of the proceedings of the commission, the preparation of which, there is good ground to believe, was the work of Mr. Tilghman. This report is published in the American Archives, and elsewhere, and makes up a part of the general history of the nation. But besides this official account, which was made for the information of congress, Col. Tilghman has left behind him a private journal, in which, while referring to the public acts of the commissioners, he gives many details that were not admissible in a paper designed for the inspection, information and guidance of the highest legislative body of the United Colonies. The period embraced in this diary of events, and record of personal experience, is from Aug. 5th, 1775, the date when the commissioners left New York, to Sept. 4th, of the same year, when they returned to that point. It is written with minuteness of detail, but strange to say, fails to indicate the relation he held to the commission to which he was attached. It is the product evidently of a current pen, and prepared with no purpose that it should be published, though its correctness of expression, as well as nicety of mechanical execution, fits it for the press with small labor of revision or alteration. It was designed for the amusement of his brothers and sisters at home, and is addressed to his brother Richard. Of its literary execution it may be said that, written with haste, and under the disadvantages of the preoccupation incident to his position as secretary, and of the necessity of constant movement, it evinces that facility in the arts of expression which is acquired by most persons only after long and habitual use of the pen in composition, and that correctness of taste which no practice seems to confer, but which is the result of a natural sensibility to what is refined and pleasing. Apart from the value which the journal possesses, by reason of the relation it bears to an important event in the early revolutionary history, it is interesting as furnishing a very graphic account of the country and the towns through which he passed while in attendance on the commission, and a vivid and pleasing glimpse of social life at Albany and its vicinity.

To the biographer, and those who wish to gain an insight into the character of the writer, this journal has this other value and interest; that it reveals a trait as rare as it is admirable—purity of mind: for though it is filled with banter, badinage and other light or trivial matter which one young man might be expected to write to another in the freedom of correspondence, and much of this, too, with reference to the other sex, not one word has escaped his pen which may not be read by the chastest eyes without offence. Indeed one single expression, which prudishness might pervert into something indelicate, he has erased, but not so effectually that curious eyes may not decipher the really harmless words. The following extract, of a purely personal nature, will serve at once to exhibit his familiar style of writing, and to present a curious incident which occurred during the treaty, but which is not recorded in the official report: "Thursday, Aug. 24. We dined this day with the General [Schuyler] who has a palace of a house, and lives like a prince. The ladies from Carolina [the Misses Lynch] the commissioners and several gentlemen from the neighboring provinces were there. Having occasion to meet some of the Indian chiefs in the evening, they asked if I had an Indian name. Being answered in the negative, Teahoga, the chief of the Onondagos, did me the honor to adopt me into the tribe, and to become my father. He christened me Teahokalonde, a name of very honorable signification among them, but much to the contrary among us. It signifies having large horns. A deer is the coat of arms, if I may call it, of the Onondago tribe, and they look upon horns as an emblem of strength, virtue and courage. * * * The christening cost a bowl of punch of two, which I believe was the chief motive of the institution. Friday, Aug. 26. The treaty was opened with great form. * * * When business was over, I was admitted to the Onondago tribe in presence of the Six Nations, and received by them as an adopted son. They told me that in order to settle myself among them they must choose me a wife, and promised she should be one of the handsomest they could find. I accepted the proposal with thanks. Miss Lynch and Miss Betsy Schuyler have promised to stand bridesmaids." Miss Schuyler to whom reference is made was the daughter of Gen. Philip Schuyler, and subsequently the wife of Gen. Alexander Hamilton, characters whom all the world knows. The commissioners were handsomely entertained at her father's house, while she seems to have interested herself to make the time of the secretary, whose years more nearly approached her own, pass pleasantly, which otherwise would have hung heavily on his hands while waiting

the slow deliberations of the Indian council. Of this lady, who enjoyed in after years a brilliant social career, and late in life a nation's veneration, he speaks in his journal in such glowing terms that there is reason to suspect that a more tender sentiment than mere admiration was the origin of such ardor of praise.

It would thus appear that the first services which Mr. Tilghman was privileged to render to his country were in a civil capacity, humble, it is true, but honorable. He had already shown his readiness to serve as a soldier, by his uniting himself with the volunteer company of which Sharpe Dulaney was captain. Upon the requisition of congress upon the several colonies for troops, he was among the first to offer his service to the commonwealth of his adoption, and a company composed, doubtless, of many of the members of the Ladies Light Infantry, was accepted by Pennsylvania, with Tench Tilghman as captain. Of the precise date when this company was mustered in there has been discovered no record; but it is well known that in the early part of the year 1776, this company from Philadelphia joined the army of Washington, and made a part of what was called the Flying Camp. From some intimations contained in his letters it would seem that it was the purpose of Capt. Tilghman, originally, to serve one campaign, the most of the early troops having been mustered in for short terms; but his behavior in the service in which he was then engaged was such as to attract the attention of his superiors in rank. His own personal merits as shown in the field, his high social position, his liberal education supported it is true by the recommendations of partial friends in Philadelphia, caused him to be invited to take a place upon the staff of the commander-in-chief, and this resulted in his continuance in the "barren military line," as he himself calls his service in the army, by way of contrast with the more profitable positions in civil or private life. It is well known that General Washington, during the first year of his command had experienced much difficulty in securing the services of gentlemen of proper qualifications for filling the positions of aids and secretaries. His first appointments to these places were Cols. Mifflin and Trumbull as aids, and Col. Joseph Reed as secretary; but changes had been frequent at head quarters. In a letter addressed to Col. Robert H. Harrison—a Marylander—one of those secretaries, and the oldest, he said: "As for military knowledge, I do not find gentlemen much skilled in it. If they can write a good letter, write quick, are methodical and diligent, it is all I expect to find in my aids." But even of Col. Harrison, himself, he said: "Though sensible, clever, and perfectly confidential, he

has never yet moved on so large a scale as to comprehend at one view the diversity of matter which comes before me, so as to afford that ready assistance which every man in my situation must stand more or less in need of.⁵ These expressions indicate the qualifications of the person who should hold the responsible position and intimate relation of secretary to Washington; and they gave assurance that the man whom he should select to fill this place, after frequent trials and disappointments, and who should be able to retain the post during the continuance of the whole war, was the one who satisfied all the requisites. Such a man was Tench Tilghman. In August of 1776, he became a member of the military family of Washington, the other members at that time being Col. Robert H. Harrison, Col. Mead, and Col. Webb—the last of whom, upon promotion gave place in 1777 to Col. Hamilton.⁶

Difficulties and disputes having arisen among the officers respecting the order of their promotion, congress having neglected to establish any principle of graduation of universal appreciation, Gen. Washington, on the 11th May, 1781, from head quarters at New Windsor, addressed a letter to the Hon. John Sullivan, a delegate of that body, urging, with great earnestness, the adoption of some rule which should reconcile the disagreements and quiet the discontents which were keeping the army in a state of distraction. The whole of this letter is most important to the historian of the war, but that portion of it which relates to the subject of this memoir, and is here copied, is especially interesting to the biographer of Col. Tilghman, inasmuch as it not only elucidates some obscurities in his military career, but also, in narrating his devotion to duty, his fidelity to the cause, the unselfishness of his service and his generosity to his fellow-officers, it presents phases of his character admirable, if they may not be called even wonderful.

I also wish, though it is more a matter of private than of public consideration, that the business could be taken up on account of Mr. Tilghman, whose appointment seems to depend on it; for if there are men in the army deserving of the commission proposed for him, he is one of

⁵ Hamilton's *History of the Republic of the United States*, vol. 1, p. 173.

⁶ In speaking of this military family, of which he at one time formed a part, General Lafayette says: "During a familiar association of five years, that no instance of disagreement occurred, is evidence of the tone of feeling which prevailed."—Hamilton's *History of the Republic of the United States*, vol. 1, p. 172.

Such control could have been maintained only where there was mutual respect between the members, and where each was dominated by the same feeling of devotion to a common cause.

them. This gentleman came out a captain of one of the light infantry companies of Philadelphia, and served in the Flying Camp in 1776. In August of the same year he joined my family, and has been in every action in which the main army was concerned. He has been a zealous servant and slave of the public, and a faithful assistant to me for nearly five years, a great part of which time he refused to receive pay. Honor and gratitude interest me in his favor, and made me solicitous to obtain his commission. His modesty and love of concord placed the date of his expected commission at the first of April, 1777, because he would not take the rank of Hamilton and Meade, who were declared aids in order (which he did not choose to be), before that period, although he had joined my family and done all the duties of one from the first of September preceding.⁷

This letter, considering the source from which it emanated, the sentiments which it expressed, and the character of the actions which it indicated and commended, is as high an encomium as was ever bestowed upon any man. It would appear from this and other evidence, that although he entered upon the duties of secretary to Gen. Washington in August, 1776, and was from the September following discharging the functions of an aid-de-camp, with the title, by courtesy, of colonel, his rank had not been definitively established or declared. With an abnegation which is almost incredible, and a magnanimity almost beyond praise, in applying for his commission, instead of demanding that it should date from the time when he took position upon the staff, he consented that it should date from the first of April, 1777, that he might not outrank Colonels Hamilton and Meade, who had been recognized as aids, anterior to that period. It is felt that any comment upon this action, would be derogatory. Let it stand, therefore, in all its simple majesty and beauty. His commission was issued in accordance with his own wishes, and dating from 1st April, 1777, but issued May 30th, 1781. The rank thus formally and authoritatively bestowed, as well as his position of assistant secretary to the commander-in-chief, he continued to hold until the close of the war, and the disbanding of the army, without seeking or desiring promotion. His ambition seemed to have been fully gratified by the possession of the confidence and approbation of his chief. There is a tradition, however, in the family, which has probability in its favor, that promotion was offered, but uniformly declined. This refusal may have been founded upon a consciousness of his own greater aptitude for the *quasi* civil duties of secretary at head quarters, than for independent military command; or,

⁷ Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, vol. VIII, p. 37.

as is more probable, upon a very natural unwillingness to be separated, which promotion involved, from his honorable commander, with whom his relations were of a more intimate kind than usually subsist between a superior and inferior officer, and for whom his attachment was stronger than such as could be severed by a simple dissolution of official connection.

To follow the career of Col. Tilghman during the war would be to write the whole history of the army under the immediate command of General Washington. In the letter already quoted, it is stated explicitly, "he has been in every action in which the main army was concerned." He was one of those who earliest embarked in the cause of independence, having been commissioned, probably in the year 1775, a captain of one of those independent companies which made up that body of troops called the Flying Camp. In that capacity he served until August, 1776, when he surrendered his captaincy for a place upon the personal staff of the commander-in-chief, as has been before stated. No record remains to indicate whether he participated in any of the operations of the army up to the latter date, though it is presumable that he did; but soon after this time, indeed immediately, he was called upon to take part in the disastrous battle of Long Island, and to share with Washington the mortification of the defeat which was there encountered, and his indignation at the conduct of some of the troops in the subsequent precipitate retreat from New York to Harlem Heights.⁸ In the successful affair at Manhattanville, which did so much to encourage the dispirited army, history records his active participation. There, it is said, "he joined in the action to animate the troops, who charged with the greatest intrepidity."⁹ Some of these troops that behaved so handsomely on this occasion were of his native Maryland. From this time onward, until he stood beside Washington at Annapolis, when he surrendered his commission to congress, Col. Tilghman followed the fortunes of his commander and his army. He suffered in the disaster at White Plains; with pain he witnessed the fall of Forts Lee and Washington; he followed in the sad retreat of the apparently dissolving army through the Jerseys into Pennsylvania; he made one of those who, amid storm, darkness and floating ice, embarked in frail

⁸ In a letter to his father dated Aug. 13, 1776, he thus speaks of the Maryland troops in this action: "No regular troops ever made a more gallant resistance than Smallwood's regiment. If the others had behaved as well, if Gen. Howe had obtained a victory at all, it would have been dearly bought."

⁹ Bancroft's *History of the United States*, vol. ix, p. 127.

boats to cross the Delaware on the famous Christmas night of 1776 with Washington—a deed that has furnished a theme to the poet and a subject to the painter; he claims a part of the glories of Trenton and Princeton; he equally claims a part in the humiliation, without shame, of the defeat at Brandywine, and of the repulse at Germantown; he shared with the army the terrible sufferings at Valley Forge, where indeed he contracted the disease which finally terminated his life; he also bore with that army what is less tolerable than cold and hunger, that long inactivity which resulted from its reduction in numbers that other armies might be filled; he was present aiding and directing that masterly movement by which the army was transferred to the south to form a junction with its lately arrived allies: and finally, he was at Yorktown, actively participating in all the operations of that ever memorable siege and surrender, which was the virtual end of the war.

A few incidents in his military career of a nature almost purely personal, or at least having only an indirect relation to the war, may be noticed. The disastrous battle of Long Island had resulted in the abandonment of New York City by the American forces, and its occupancy by the British. Washington with his army had moved up the Manhattan island and taken post at Haarlem Heights. The convention of the state of New York had become, as it were, a roving body, meeting at various places according to circumstances, and was compelled to adopt unusual means to keep itself informed of the movements of the enemy, domestic and foreign, for, as is known, the lower portion of the state was infested with tories of the most determined and violent character. The convention accordingly appointed a committee of correspondence constituted of these gentlemen: Messrs. William Allison, R. R. Livingston, Henry Wesner, and William Duer, for the purpose of obtaining intelligence, and communicating the same to that body. Overtures were made to Col. Tilghman, in a letter of Col. Duer, from Fishkills, of the date of 22nd Sept., 1776, for furnishing a daily letter from headquarters, giving all intelligence that might be received by the commander-in-chief, and all incidents which he thought might be interesting or serviceable to the convention. Col. Tilghman consented to furnish these letters, having the approval of Gen. Washington. An express was provided by the committee for the regular and prompt transmission of the communications. This correspondence continued from September 22nd, to October 21st, 1776. A very considerable number of the letters of the committee to Col. Tilghman and

some of his relics are in the hands of his family, and they furnish a most interesting and minute history of the short period which they cover, as well as reveal the feelings of the patriots of the time, both in and out of the army. With reference to the subject of this memoir, they are valuable as indicating his readiness to perform extra official duty to the cause he had espoused, and his ability to perform that duty with credit to himself and acceptance to the committee of the convention. It was of these letters that Gen. Washington is thought to have referred in his letter of condolence to his father, when he said:

If they stand single, as they exhibit a trait of his public character, and like all the rest of his transactions will, I am persuaded, do honor to his understanding and probity, it may be desirable, in this point of view, to keep them alive by mixing them with mine, which, undoubtedly, will claim the attention of the historian.

The following taken from his letter of October 3rd, may serve to give an insight into the feelings at headquarters towards those who were serving secretly or openly the royal cause in that part of New York.

I am sorry your convention do not feel themselves legally authorized to make examples of the villains they have apprehended. If that is the case, the well-affected will hardly be able to keep a watch on the ill. The general is determined, if he can bring some of those in his hands under the denomination of spies, to execute them. General Howe hanged a captain of ours, belonging to Knowlton's Rangers, who went to New York to make discoveries.¹⁰ I do not see why we should not make retaliation.

To this Col. Duer replied with equal warmth: "In the name of justice hang two or three of the villains you have apprehended. They will certainly come under the denomination of spies." This correspondence in which Col. Harrison occasionally took part, in the absence, or pre-occupation of Col. Tilghman, on the one hand, and in which Mr. Livingston participated when Mr. Duer was prevented from writing, on the other part, was interrupted by the important movements of the opposing forces, which took place in the autumn of the year, resulting in the transferring of the American army into New Jersey, and later into Pennsylvania. In all these movements, of course, Col. Tilghman was an active agent and participant; but, as has been before stated, as these are matters of familiar history, they need not be noted in this memoir.

¹⁰ This was *Captain Nathan Hale*, who uttered these heroic words just before his execution: "My only regret is, I have but one life to lay down for my country."

The letters of Col. Tilghman which remain rarely make any reference to himself—his wants, his services, his sacrifices or his sufferings. There is admirable reticence about all personal matters. But there is one exception in a letter addressed to the Hon. Robert Morris, and dated Dec. 22, 1780. It would seem that the state of Pennsylvania, from which state he had been appointed to the army, had been negligent in making proper provision for his support—that it had granted him nothing but rations which he did not need, as with these he was “supplied in the family of his excellency.” It seems that his greatest want was personal clothing, for the supply of which his own private means had thus far been used. He says:

I feel a consciousness of speaking the truth when I say that no man has devoted more of his time, and sacrificed more in proportion to his abilities, than I have done in the contest. Whether that time has been well or ill employed I leave it to those who have been acquainted with my services, to determine.

His “abilities,” that is to say his private fortune, was never large, and the “proportion” of this which he “sacrificed” was very nearly the whole. It is a tradition of his family, but having a more substantial foundation than such orally transmitted accounts of ancestors usually possess, that Col. Tilghman’s services for a large part of the time he was in the army were rendered without recompense from congress; for Washington in the letter to Mr. John Sullivan, already quoted, says: “He has been a zealous servant, and slave to the public, and a faithful assistant to me for nearly five years, a great part of which time he refused to receive pay.” Admirable devotion! with which no meaner motive mingled, not even that of the applause of his countrymen, so freely bestowed upon his great exemplar. In this letter to Mr. Morris, Col. Tilghman, after dismissing his own private affairs, speaks of the embarrassments of the army, and the dangers which were threatening the country; and as this letter has never been published, the following extracts may be a small contribution to the historic literature of the times, which, if it do not reveal anything new, may confirm what is known. Commenting on the policy of enlisting men for short terms of service, which had proved so disastrous, he says:

Instead of securing an army when our money was good, and the people were willing, we have lavished immense sums upon men of an hour, whose terms of service have been spent in marching to and from the army, and in their way devouring like locusts all before them. * * *

Two things will save us and that speedily; a sufficient permanent army, and a foreign loan in aid of our resources. We may amuse ourselves with plans of specific requisitions from the states, and a thousand idle projects; but until the army can be paid and fed by the means of a substantial medium, we are only lingering out the time of our dissolution. Can men be expected to serve without provision—without clothing—without pay. Of the last we have had none since March, and no prospect of any. * * * Perhaps there is no man less apt to despond, and I am sure there is none who will oppose longer than I will; but when I see the glorious prize, for which we have been contending, within our reach, if we would but embrace the means of acquiring it, I am sick to death of our folly.

With the year 1781 the war was evidently approaching its conclusion. Washington suddenly withdrawing the army from before New York, which he was threatening, and forming a junction with the French forces under Lafayette on the south, laid siege to Yorktown, Virginia, where Cornwallis was entrenched. Beside his commander was his faithful secretary and aid, Col. Tilghman, who, having gone through the whole contest, was now present at its conclusion. As if prescient that this was to be the decisive and final conflict, immediately upon the American army's taking position, he commenced a daily journal of the siege, which has been preserved to the present, a most interesting memorial of this ever memorable battle, and perhaps, the only one of the kind extant. Time was wanting to him, during the days so filled with stirring events, and active duty, to do more than jot down in fewest words each transaction as it occurred. Elaboration was impossible. Comment out of place. An event, which measured by its results, was one of the most notable in the annals of time, was recorded in this journal with a brevity which is almost sublime. On the 17th October, the British army under Cornwallis virtually, and on the 19th actually and formally, capitulated. Immediately upon the signing of the articles of surrender the commander-in-chief selected one of his staff to be bearer of dispatches to congress, then in session in Philadelphia, that that body might be placed in possession of the joyous intelligence at the earliest moment. Col. Tench Tilghman was selected for this pleasing duty, and he was charged with a letter to the president of congress, Thomas Mc Kean, which, while it announced the great result of the operations before Yorktown, contained these highly complimentary words relating to the bearer:

Sir, * * * Col. Tilghman, one of my aids-de-camp, will have the honor to deliver these dispatches to your excellency. He will be

able to inform you of every minute circumstance which is not particularly mentioned in my letter. His merits, which are too well known to need my observations at this time, have gained my particular attention, and I could wish that they may be honored by the notice of your excellency and congress.

This intimation of the commander-in-chief that the services of his aid should have some recognition by the supreme powers, was neither forgotten nor neglected, as will be seen in the sequel. The bearer of such intelligence as that with which Col. Tilghman was charged, was not likely to prove a laggard upon his journey. He arrived in Philadelphia on the 23rd of the month, having traversed the distance from Yorktown, in about four days.¹¹ As this courier sped along, he spread the happy tidings among an anxious people, who had been long eagerly awaiting intelligence from the scene of operations. He reached his destination in the middle of the night, when the whole city was wrapped in slumber. Impatient to communicate the news, he lost no time in finding the house of the president of congress, whom he aroused, and with him the whole neighborhood, by his vigorous knock at his door. The watchmen of the city taking him to be some roistering young fellow who had bided too long at his cups, were about to arrest him as a disturber of the peace, and confine him in the watch-house till morning. He, however, quickly made known his character and his business, and soon Mr. McKean was in communication with the welcome intruder upon his rest. The news spread with the greatest rapidity through the city, for the watchmen who were ready to arrest him now made the purport of his message the burden of their cry, and as they announced the hour of the night, as was the custom of the day, instead of adhering to the customary formularies respecting the weather, they proclaimed, "Cornwallis is taken." The whole population was soon astir, every one being anxious to have a confirmation of the news by hearing a

¹¹ From a letter of Col. T. to Gen. W. dated Phila., Oct. 29, 1781, it is learned that Col. T. embarked on board a vessel of some kind, passed up the Chesapeake Bay to Annapolis, crossed the bay to Rock Hall, and thence passed on by land to Phila. The news of the surrender had preceded him, by a letter of Count de Grasse, to Governor Lee, but Congress receiving no despatches were in doubt as to the correctness of the information conveyed in this letter, which doubt the arrival of Col. Tilghman dispelled. Col. Tilghman represents himself as suffering from ague and fever, brought back by the fatigue of the journey.

The letter is published in Spark's Correspondence of the Revolution—Letters to Washington.

recital of all the details. Lights appeared at the windows of the houses, so there was a kind of impromptu illumination. The state house bell tolled a joyous peal, like that it sent forth when it proclaimed "liberty throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof," in July, '76: and at the dawn of day, which came as the dawn of peace, cannon were fired in honor of the victory, and in exultation over the prospect of independence achieved. Congress met at an earlier hour than usual. The dispatches from Washington were read by the secretary, congratulatory speeches were delivered, and every other expression, comporting with the dignity of such a stately body, was given to the joy which filled every breast. Of these expressions not the least significant was the going in procession to church, in order to return thanks for the "crowning the allied armies of the United States and France with success." It is not difficult to imagine Col. Tilghman as at once wearied and flattered by the assiduities of the people of Philadelphia—wearied by the frequent repetition of the pleasing story of the surrender, with all the details which the official dispatches omitted, and flattered by the attention and courtesies to which the bearer of such agreeable intelligence was thought to be entitled, and which were so readily and lavishly bestowed. Nor were the compliments and favors confined to the citizens of Philadelphia. A committee of congress, appointed on the 24th of October, and consisting of Messrs. Randolph, Boudinot, Varnum and Carroll, reported on the 29th of that month, a series of resolutions expressive of the thanks of congress to Washington and Lafayette, and to the officers and soldiers under their command; but, in addition, it was ordered that a horse with his caparisons, and a sword, be presented by the board of war to Lieut. Col. Tilghman.

Colonel Tilghman was made so ill by the exposure and fatigue incident to his exciting and hazardous voyage in an open boat from Yorktown to Rock Hall, Kent County, Md., (via Annapolis), and by his hundred mile ride on horseback post-haste from Rock Hall to Philadelphia that he was unable to write to General Washington for several days after his arrival, and to report to his Commander-in-Chief the delivery by him to the Secretary of Congress of the important despatches of which he had been the honored bearer. The prosaic account of his journey as contained in the following letter to General Washington, will suffice to show that he must have been a very sick man.

Philadelphia, 27th Oct., 1781.

Sir:

I arrived at this place early Wednesday morning. Although I lost one whole night's run by the stupidity of the skipper, who got over on Tangier shoals, and was a whole day crossing, in a calm, from Annapolis to Rock Hall. The wind left us entirely on Sunday evening, thirty miles below Annapolis. I found that a letter from Count De Grasse to Governor Lee, dated the 18th, had gone forward to Congress, in which the Count informed the Governor that Cornwallis had surrendered. This made me the more anxious to reach Philadelphia, as I knew both Congress and the public would be uneasy at not receiving dispatches from you; I was not wrong in my conjecture, for some really began to doubt the matter.

The fatigue of the journey brought back my intermittent fever, with which I have been confined almost ever since I came to town. I shall set out, as soon as I am well enough for Chestertown. I beg you to be assured that I am with the utmost sincerity your excellency's

Obedient servant,
TENCH TILGHMAN.

The above letter may be found in Spark's correspondence of the Revolution.

After the battle of Yorktown there were faint gleams which gave promise of the dawn of peace. These continued to increase in brightness until the long wished for orb arose. The army was placed in quarters on the Hudson, and melted gradually away. Respite from labor was given to the officers, many of whom returned to their homes. How Col. Tilghman employed his furloughs, will immediately appear. He still held his connection with the military family, and during his absence from his home in the camp he wrote, not so frequently as was desired, to his friend and commander, receiving in return most kind and affectionate replies. In one of these letters of Gen. Washington to Col. Tilghman, written January 7th, 1783, he uses these words:

I receive with great sensibility your assurances of affection and regard. It would be but a renewal of what I have often repeated to you, that there are few men in the world to whom I am more attached by inclination than I am to you. With the cause, I hope—most devoutly hope—there will soon be an end to my military services—when, as our places of residence will not be far apart, I shall never be more happy than in your company at Mt. Vernon. I shall always be glad to hear from, and keep up a correspondence with you.

A man who could win such words from such a man must have had qualities of mind and heart, principles of thought and action, singularly

in harmony with those possessed by him who wrote them. If this be a legitimate deduction, can praise go farther than to say, Tilghman was like Washington? But to return. When peace came at last, and the bonds that united the army were to be dissolved, Col. Tilghman participated in that most touching scene, the parting of Washington with his officers, but not with that poignancy of grief that was felt by others, for he was still to accompany him, and stand by his side when, at Annapolis on the 23rd of December, 1783, was enacted that scene, which for moral sublimity is not surpassed in the whole drama of human history, the surrender of his commission as commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States by Gen. Washington. Governed by the same impulses as his great exemplar, Col. Tilghman, from his lower height, stepped down, and he too soon gave up his position and rank, returned with like gladness to the congenial pursuits of peace, and not long after to the wished for joys of wedded life.

During one of the few short furloughs which were accepted by Col. Tilghman whose attention to duty has been likened by Washington to the unceasing toil of the slave, he took occasion to renew his acquaintance with his relatives in the county of his birth, from whom he had so long been separated that they had become as strangers. The soldier who had staked life and fortune upon the result of the struggle for independence would be very naturally attracted to the statesman who had shown equal devotion to the same cause, even if the ties of kinship had not drawn them together. In the year 1779, after visiting his father in Chestertown, whither he had removed from Philadelphia after the commencement of hostilities, Col. Tilghman extended his journey to Talbot, and was welcomed by his uncle, the venerable Matthew Tilghman, at his home upon the Bay-Side. Here he was presented to his cousin, Miss Anna Maria Tilghman, of whose amiable traits, both of person and character, he had already been apprised by his own sisters, who had given him accounts of their agreeable visits to Bay-Side. Naturally susceptible to the influence of female charms, his military service, by withdrawing him in great measure from the society of women, had rendered him more impressible than ever when brought into their presence. It is therefore not wonderful that the soldier, who might be considered yet young in years, and was certainly possessed of the feelings of youth, during this period of respite from duty, of disengagement and almost vacancy of mind, when a kind of dreamy languor had succeeded to the excitement and activity of the camp and field, should have been captivated by the intelligence, amiability and beauty of his cousin.

Then, on the other hand, the soft blandishments which the young lady may have really thought were bestowed on the soldier for the sake of the cause which he was championing and defending, or on a relative and guest entitled to them by right of kinship or the laws of hospitality, without any covert design, on her part, completed his capture. The uncertainty of the result of the contest, in which he was then engaged as active participant, prevented him from a formal declaration of his feelings at this time. Three years later, the aspect of public affairs encouraging a hope that the war was not far from an end, and a more intimate acquaintance having confirmed his regard for his cousin, he determined to explain the motives of his conduct and behavior towards the young lady, who, he thought, was entitled to such explanation. But he still was unable to offer her marriage, inasmuch as his fortune was not such as would permit him to maintain her in the style to which she had been accustomed. He, therefore, plainly stated his position, and while expressing his warm affection for her, he said he was unwilling to embarrass her with a formal engagement, but left her free to accept any offers which might be made to her, if the sentiments she felt towards him would permit her so to do. But as common report connected his name with hers, he felt it his duty to apprise her father of what had transpired between them. The letter to the Hon. Matthew Tilghman from Col. Tilghman in reference to this matter, dated June 10th, 1782, is still in existence, in which he asks the privilege of prosecuting his suit, and states that should the father's consent be obtained, he would, ere long, set about the removal of that obstacle to a union with his daughter which was founded in the inadequacy of his income. This letter is admirable for its manliness, its frankness, its delicacy, and its excellent taste. It is most characteristic of the man. In it we see united a simple dignity which results from conscious worth, an unaffected modesty which shrinks from asserting any special merits, and a self-renunciation which cannot sacrifice the interests of others to its own gratification. We see too, traces of those chivalric qualities which had not yet become a mere survival of a past age, honor towards man and homage towards woman. To this letter, Mr. Tilghman gave a favorable reply. Now it was that Col. Tilghman found the prudence of which he thought himself possessed was not proof against the impatience which prompted him to have the marriage concluded. He who was so cautious that he was unwilling to enter into any formal engagement until the war was over, and he had secured such an income as would support his wife in a manner becoming her station, was now ready and

anxious, though peace had not been declared, and though he had embarked in no business, that an early day should be appointed for the fruition of his hopes and desires. It was determined that the marriage should be solemnized in the winter of 1782, but the illness of Mr. Charles Carroll, the barrister, who had married an elder sister, which illness indeed finally terminated his life, caused the postponement of the nuptials until June 9, 1783, when they were duly celebrated, with much quietness and privacy, on account of the recent family affliction just mentioned. He received, among those of other friends, the congratulations of General and Mrs. Washington, in a letter couched in the following kind and affectionate language:

Why have you been so niggardly in communicating your change of condition to us, or to the world? By dint of enquiries we have heard of your marriage; but have scarcely got a confirmation of it yet. On the presumption however that it is so, I offer you my warmest congratulations and best wishes for the enjoyment of many happy years; in both of which Mrs. Washington joins me very cordially.

The lady with whom Col. Tilghman was thus happily united was possessed of many of those graces which win and those qualities which retain the admiration and respect of men. Her manners were most gracious, condescending to those below her in the social scale and engaging to her equals. Without pretensions to high culture, either in the lighter accomplishments, or the more solid acquirements, for which her residence in the country afforded small opportunity, she was nevertheless intelligent, as well as naturally endowed with a most excellent judgment. The habit of her father of conversing with her freely and constantly upon public business, and his custom of having her with him at Annapolis when attending to colonial or state affairs, and at Philadelphia when serving in congress, made her familiar with the political movements and stirring events of the time. When thrown upon her own resources after his and her husband's death, she manifested most excellent capacity for the conduct of her private affairs. Nor was she devoid of literary skill, as is shown by an inedited memoir of her father, which she left behind her, and her numerous letters. In religion she was of the church of England, and its successor in America; and while holding to its doctrines with the tenacity of conviction, she was most liberal and tolerant of the opinions of those who differed from her in belief. Living at the time when the conflict for supremacy in her country was raging between the old church and Methodism, its child, she was able to retain the love and respect of those whom she op-

posed. Without affecting the spirituality, which to her seemed so like sanctimoniousness, and which was the religious fashion of the day, she was in sentiment and conduct deeply pious. To her servants or slaves she was mild and indulgent; to her neighbors kind and obliging; to her friends and relatives most affectionate. Her house was the very home of hospitality. Her wealth was the store from which charity drew her most bountiful supplies for the surrounding poor. She lived to a great age, retaining her faculties to the end unimpaired, honored and revered by all, beloved by her children and her children's children to the third generation. She cherished to the last memories of her early lost husband, whom she survived by fifty-seven years. It was a duty, held as almost sacred, annually, upon the recurrence of the anniversary of her marriage, to retire to a private room, and taking from their repository all the relics of her deceased husband, which she preserved with the most scrupulous care, for a while to indulge herself in the tender and mournful reminiscences suggested by these mementos, and then to lay them away again in their proper receptacle, made sweet and safe with fragrant herbs and aromatic gums. Of this lady Gen. Lafayette retained kindly memories, and when he was in this country in 1824, in a letter written in reply to one of a committee of the citizens of Queen Anne's, congratulating him upon his arrival in America, presenting their homage for his services and merit, and inviting him to their county, he said:

It is my eager and affectionate wish to visit the Eastern Shore of this state. I anticipate the pleasure there to recognize several of my companions in arms, and among the relations of my departed friends, to find the honored widow of a dear brother in General Washington's family, Col. Tilghman, as well as a daughter of my friend Carmichael,¹² who first received the secret vows of my engagement in the American cause, the least suspicion of which by the French or British government it was at that time momentous for me to prevent.

For many years preceding her death, she had been the recipient from the government of a pension, in consideration of the meritorious services of Col. Tilghman; but no discharge was ever made to the claims which he justly had against that government for arrearages of pay, but which it is due to his memory to say, were never demanded.

As soon as a prospect of peace was disclosed, and before the war was actually ended, Col. Tilghman began his preparations for a return to

¹² Mr. Carmichael was secretary to the American commissioners, at Paris, and a resident of Queen Anne's county, Maryland.

his original occupation of merchant, when the army should be disbanded, and he relieved from his military duties.

The city of Baltimore was just entering upon that career of prosperity, which at that day was unprecedented in this country, and which has hardly been surpassed by any more recent examples of progress. The spreading of the settlements towards the west, to which she was in nearer proximity than any of the other seaboard towns, gave promise that Baltimore was to become a great emporium, a promise which is yet in process of realization. Col. Tilghman resolved to settle at this favorable point, hoping to share in the prosperity which was so evidently waiting to reward the commercial enterprise of her citizens. At first he engaged in trade upon his own account, but soon finding the field so favorable as well as so wide, inviting and demanding larger capital, more extended connections and greater credit than he could command, he was glad to accept overtures to a partnership with a gentleman well known in commercial circles both in Europe and America, of large experience in business, of ample means and of abilities of the first order, as had been shown by his management of the finances of the country during the war of the revolution. These overtures were made by Mr. Robert Morris, who, at that time, occupied the most conspicuous position in commerce of any man of his day in America. He had known Col. Tilghman from his youth, and had learned, before the war, to appreciate his capacity and integrity. His merits were further discovered during the contest, when Mr. Morris was thrown into frequent intercourse with him. Among the interesting documents still preserved by descendants of Col. Tilghman is that containing the articles of copartnership between him and Mr. Morris. These articles bear the date of January 1st, 1784, and were to be in force for the term of seven years. By them, the parties agreed to enter into a mercantile business, of the precise nature of which it is not easy to determine, but apparently, it was a shipping and commission business, in which, while the produce and merchandise of others were sold for a percentage, the partners made foreign adventures upon their own account. Mr. Morris continued to reside in Philadelphia, while Mr. Tilghman conducted the business in Baltimore. It does not appear that Col. Tilghman had any interest in the Philadelphia house of his partner. The style of the firm in Baltimore was, Tench Tilghman and Company. The amounts invested by the partners were, "£5000 current money of Maryland, in specie, at the rate of seven shillings to the Mexican dollar" and £2500 of the same kind of money, for Mr. Morris and Col. Tilghman respectively; but they

were to divide the profits equally, but Col. Tilghman was entitled to £400 annually, over and above his proportionable part "in consideration of his residence in Baltimore." The signature of Mr. Morris was witnessed by his Philadelphia partner Mr. Swanwick and Gouverneur Morris. That of Col. Tilghman by John Richardson and Jacob Sampson. The copartnership thus begun continued to the early death of the junior of the firm in 1786, an event the sadness of which had this late alleviation, that he was spared the humiliation and loss which would have come through the subsequent bankruptcy of Mr. Morris, and was saved from the patriots' mortification of seeing the man, whose financial wisdom and self-sacrificing devotion had sustained his country's armies in the darkest hours, occupy a debtor's prison.

The business career of Col. Tilghman illustrated those two qualities of heart and mind which characterize as well as dignify the true merchant of perfect integrity in all that relates to others, and soundness of judgment in all that relates to himself—qualities that permit the doing no wrong and the suffering none—the very qualities that marked the true knight in a chivalrous age. That he possessed these qualities is attested by the words and acts of two most eminent men, who were not only themselves endowed with them, but who had had every opportunity of discovering their existence in him—Mr. Robt. Morris and Gen. Washington. Mr. Morris had known him in business before the war; he had known him as the trusted secretary of the commander-in-chief during that whole contest; and this long acquaintance had inspired him with such confidence in his good-sense and honesty as to prompt him to the most intimate connection in trade. But after the copartnership had been formed, Mr. Morris, as his letters, still extant, show, took pains to give repeated assurance to his partner of his implicit reliance upon his honor and his abilities as a merchant. These assurances are couched in the most delicate and flattering terms, and lay in a touch of color amidst the neutral tints of a business correspondence. Gen. Washington, by his long association with Col. Tilghman, had acquired a similar confidence in his entire probity and good sense; for upon his retirement to Mount Vernon, his old secretary and aid became his factor or agent in Baltimore for the transaction of almost every kind of business. Col. Tilghman sold the products of his estates, as far as they were disposed of in that city: he was the purchaser of all articles for domestic and plantation use, even to the china that adorned Mrs. Washington's tea-table, or to her own and the general's personal clothing. He made contracts with workmen for building; he hired servants from the emi-

grant ships; he selected and stipulated with the gentleman who was to act as private tutor to Mrs. Washington's children and as secretary to the general; in short, there was nothing which the general required should be done, important or trifling, that was not performed by his old confidential secretary but now equally trusted friend and commercial agent. The most unreserved confidence seems to have been reposed in him; and what he did was always approved. If better and additional evidence were wanting of Gen. Washington's confidence in Col. Tilghman as the capable and upright merchant, it would be afforded by a letter still extant, in which a request by the former is made of the latter, that he would receive into his counting room a young person, a relative, to acquire a knowledge of business. From what is known of Gen. Washington's prudence and discretion, this act of his, though in the form of a favor asked, must be regarded as a compliment bestowed; for it is not probable that he would have sought to place a youth, with whom he was personally connected, under the care and training of a man who had not shown himself possessed of those qualities which he would wish to be cultivated in one in whose welfare he felt an interest.

Although Col. Tilghman was immersed in business he found time to think and write of politics, municipal, state and national. His writing, at a time when newspapers were not so common as now, was confined to private correspondence. He maintained, to within a few weeks of his death, frequent intercourse by letters, with his father-in-law Mr. Matthew Tilghman, who had long taken an active part in politics, as has been before mentioned. This correspondence, of which there are some remains, was an interesting *mélange* of family, business and public affairs. It would seem that he, like most thoughtful men of the time, entertained grave apprehensions of the success of the new government under the articles of confederation. The weaknesses of this government betrayed themselves during the progress of the war; but the enthusiasm of patriotism compensated in large measure for its lack of inherent vigor, and carried on the contest, in some halting and hesitating, but, in the end, successful way to a fortunate conclusion. After the war was over, and the power of a government had to take the place of zeal for a cause, its feebleness became more and more apparent, and disorganization or subjection to some strong hand seemed inevitable. The following extract from a letter of Col. Tilghman to the Hon. Matthew Tilghman, bearing the date of February 5th, 1786, expresses the apprehensions that were entertained of the stability of the government of the United States, for some years after the acknowledgment of their independence:

It is a melancholy truth, but so it is, that we are at this time the most contemptible and abject nation on the face of the earth. We have neither reputation abroad nor union at home. We hang together merely because it is not the interest of any other power to shake us to pieces, and not from any well cemented bond of our own. How should it be otherwise? The best men we have are all basking at home in lucrative posts, and we send the scum to represent us in the grand national council. France has met us there on equal terms. Instead of keeping a man of rank as minister at our court, she sends a person in quality of *charge des affaires*, who was but a degree above a domestic in the family of the late minister. All joking apart, I view our federal affairs as in the most desperate state. I have long been convinced that we cannot exist as republics. We have too great a contrariety of interests ever to draw together. It will be a long time before any one man will be hardy enough to undertake the task of uniting us under one head. I do not wish to see the time. One revolution has been sufficient for me, but sure I am another of some kind will take place much earlier than those who do not think deeply on the subject suppose.

From this letter it is very evident that Col. Tilghman had clearly recognized the failure of the confederation of states, and that he had no hope that any modification of the articles of this league of separate republics, by which the independence of each was to be maintained, would perpetuate a government so loosely hung together, and with so little autonomic power to secure obedience to its requirements. It is also clear that he had not relieved his mind of the illusion fostered and perpetuated by monarchy, that by the mind and hand of a single person only could union and harmony be secured. He had not yet learned to trust to the wisdom of the people, so like a political instinct, to effect what he thought was beyond the power of such statesmanship as was embodied in our legislatures. It is evident he was anticipating another revolution, in which some strong hand should harness the recalcitrant states, and seizing the reins of power, direct the car of the united nation upon the road of progress. The revolution, which with an admirable prescience he had anticipated, came soon after the words above quoted were written, but it came in a manner which his political astrology had not enabled him to foresee. The formation of the constitution of 1787 was the work of the people, who had discovered the necessity of a "more perfect union." The evils which were expected, by Col. Tilghman and those who thought like him, to flow from any attempt at the unification of the heterogeneous elements of the confederacy, were happily not realized; at least not realized until many years later, when the sentiment of nationality, once a germ immature and weak, had so rooted

itself to the soil, and so spread itself in the air of the popular mind, that it was able to withstand the storm of civil war. One other reflection, suggested by this letter may be pardoned. The complaint that he utters of the insufficiency of those who were sent to the "national council" is one, as appears, that has been made at every period in our history. We are therefore encouraged to believe that the public men of the present day, however much they may fall below our ideals of true statesmen, are not worse than those who preceded them, whose actions, we think, were prompted by an unselfish sentiment, and regulated by a far-reaching wisdom, and whose memories we now revere as those of the very fathers of the republic. In view of the great prosperity we have enjoyed, under legislation conducted by men whom Col. Tilghman has designated as "the scum," we may indulge the hope that those who we think are to be characterized as both ignorant and dishonest, may not bring utter ruin upon the country? Some how, and yet we know not why, from the conflicts of ignorance, wherever thought is free, the light of truth is elicited, and from the decomposition of corruption, wherever political action is unrestrained by arbitrary power, the germ of right is developed.

Belonging to a family of the Maryland gentry of the highest respectability and social prominence; connected by kinship or friendship with the very best people of the province or state; endowed with those fine sensibilities which would have made him the gentleman, had he not been such by birth; possessed of a vigorous mind trained in the best schools of the country, and in those better schools, an intercourse with great men, and a participation in great affairs; adorned with manners which were at once the expression of an inherited courtesy, and the reflection of the polite circles in which he had moved; it would have been strange if the house of Col. Tilghman had not become the resort of all the cultivated, refined and distinguished of the commonwealth.¹³ There could be seen occasionally many who had national repute and whose names have now a historic importance. There he dispensed a generous, but not ostentatious, hospitality to all whom he enrolled among his friends, and particularly to his old companions in arms. There he entertained Lafayette during his first visit to America, after the revolution, in 1784. There too he had the satisfaction, according to traditions in the family, of occasionally welcoming his old commander, Gen. Washing-

¹³ The house of Col. Tilghman was situated upon Lombard street, near Howard, opposite the meeting house of the Friends.

tion, when he visited Baltimore—joyful days, to be marked by a whiter stone.

While thus treading the difficult path of a busy career, yet always

“Wearing the white flower of a blameless life;”

while enjoying the comforts and delights of a happy home which refinement graced and which affection ruled; while surrounded by kind and appreciating friends, followed by the honoring respect of his fellow citizens, and distinguished above most others by the high regard and warm attachment of the most notable man of his day; while wealth accumulated and flattered him with the prospect of affluence and elegant ease; the one bitter drop in the cup of life that flavored every draught, was the presence of that malady which he had contracted through hardship and exposure endured while in the army, and which without pause had been making inroads upon his constitution. The warnings he received by his occasional illnesses, when the nature of the disease gave small hope of complete restoration, were of little more service than to exhort one, who needed no such exhortation, to temperateness and regularity of living. Early in the year 1786 his disease was evidently approaching a crisis, which he was encouraged by his friends and physicians to expect would be favorable. In a letter written to his father-in-law in February of that year, after the more painful symptoms of a severe attack of hepatic abscess had abated, he expressed a hope, that having passed with safety the most critical period, he would soon be able to enjoy his usual health, a hope which he seems to have shared with his medical advisers. But soon there was a return to the same distressing symptoms, of which there was no alleviation, but a gradual increase in severity until the 18th of April, when he was relieved of his sufferings by the kindly hand of death, at the early age of forty-one years. His illness was assuaged, as far as this was possible, by all the attention and care which the most affectionate solicitude could bestow, and the bitterness of death itself by the consolations of religion, for he held to the faith of his fathers, which was that of the church of England. His body was interred in the old burial ground of Saint Paul's, in the city of Baltimore, whence it was removed to the cemetery on Lombard street, where his remains still lie.¹⁴

“Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit.”

¹⁴ The following inscription may be found upon a plain slab over his grave in the burial ground, no longer used for the interment of the dead, situated on Lombard street between Green and Paca streets, in the city of Baltimore:

He died lamented by all good men. At his funeral his fellow citizens and brethren in arms gave every suitable token of their appreciation of

In Memory of
Col. Tench Tilghman,
Who died April 18th, 1786,
In the 42nd year of his age,
Very much lamented.
He took an early and active part
In the great contest that secured
The Independence of
The United States of America.
He was an Aid-de-Camp to
His Excellency General Washington
Commander in chief of the American armies,
And was honored
With his friendship and confidence,
And
He was one of those
Whose merits were distinguished
And
Honorably rewarded
By the Congress
But
Still more to his Praise
He was
A good man.

After the death of the widow of Col. Tilghman, their daughter, Mrs. Nicholas Goldsborough, and grandson, General Tench Tilghman, erected a handsome monument to her, which became also a cenotaph to him, at Plimhimmon near Oxford, Talbot county, Maryland. This monument, consisting of a pedestal and obelisk, has inscribed upon it the following epitaphs:

To Mrs. Anna Maria Tilghman.

The affection and veneration of a daughter and grandson have caused them to erect this monument to Anna Maria Tilghman, daughter of the Hon. Matthew Tilghman and widow of Lt. Col. Tilghman. Her pure character, combining every Christian grace and virtue, attracted the devoted love of her family connections, and the admiration and esteem of all who knew her.

Born July 17th, 1755.

Died Jan. 13th, 1843.

Tench Tilghman, Lt. Col. in the Continental army and Aid-de-camp of Washington, who spoke of him thus: He was in every action in which the main army was concerned. A great part of the time he refused to receive his pay. While living no man could be more esteemed, and since dead none more lamented. No one had imbibed sentiments of greater friendship for him than I had done. He left as fair a reputation as ever belonged to a human character.

Died April 18th, 1786.

Aged 42 years.

his worth, and of their affectionate regard. The public journals, both of the city of Baltimore and of Philadelphia, at a time when it was not so common as now to praise the dead almost without discrimination, published obituary notices, which were expressive of the general sorrow for his early demise, and of the high esteem in which he was held wherever his character was known. Nor were these public testimonials the only tributes to his worth. Private letters from persons of the first distinction, attest his merit, and furnish his best eulogium. Mr. Sparks in his *Life and Writings of Washington* says: "Gen. Washington's correspondents spoke of his death with much warmth of feeling." Robert Morris said:

You have lost in him a most faithful and valuable friend. He was to me the same. I esteemed him very much and I lament his loss exceedingly.

Gen. Knox in a letter to his widow, hereafter quoted in full, says:

Death has deprived you of a most tender and virtuous companion, and the United States of an able and upright patriot. When time shall have smoothed the severities of your grief, you will derive consolation from the reflection that Colonel Tilghman acted well his part in the theatre of human life, and that the supreme authority of the United States have expressly given their sanction to his merit.

But, considering their source, as well as their character, the highest testimonials were those which proceeded from Gen. Washington himself. To be praised by this great man is fame. In a letter to Thomas Jefferson dated August 1st, 1786, he says:

You will probably have heard of the death of Gen. Greene before this reaches you; in which case you will in common with your countrymen have regretted the loss of so great, and so honest a man. Gen. McDougall, who was a brave soldier and a disinterested patriot, is also dead. He belonged to the legislature of his state. The last act of his life was (after being carried on purpose to the senate), to give his voice against the emission of a paper currency. Col. Tilghman, who was formerly of my family, died lately, and left as fair a reputation as ever belonged to a human character. Thus some of the pillars of the revolution fall. May our country never want props to support the glorious fabric.

Again in a letter of condolence addressed to Mr. James Tilghman, the father of Col. Tilghman, dated June 5th, 1786, at Mount Vernon, a letter the original of which is sacredly preserved by his family, and from which this extract is made, Gen. Washington uses these words:

Of all the numerous acquaintances of your lately deceased son, and amidst all the sorrowings that are mingled on that melancholy occasion, I may venture to assert (that excepting those of his nearest relatives) none could have felt his death with more regret than I did, because no one entertained a higher opinion of his worth or had imbibed sentiments of greater friendship for him than I had done. That you, sir, should have felt the keenest anguish for this loss, I can readily conceive—the ties of parental affection, united with those of friendship could not fail to have produced this effect. It is however a dispensation, the wisdom of which is inscrutable; and amidst all your grief, there is this consolation to be drawn; that while living no man could be more esteemed, and since dead, none more lamented than Col. Tilghman.

One so praised, and by such a man, is surer of an immortality of fame, than those for whom a Roman senate once decreed a triumph.

The order of congress, to which reference has already been made, passed upon the occasion of the surrender at Yorktown, of which happy event Col. Tilghman was deputed the messenger to bear the intelligence to that body, that there should be presented to this officer a horse and a sword, as a token of the gratification experienced upon the reception of the news and also as a recognition of the merit and services of the herald himself, to which the letter of the commander-in-chief to the president had so pointedly called attention, and so explicitly asked some public testimonial, was not carried fully into effect until after the death of him whom it meant to honor. He had the gratification, however, before his demise, to receive from Gen. Knox, secretary of war, a letter dated Dec. 7th, 1785, in which was inclosed an order on the treasury for four hundred dollars, to purchase the horse and accoutrements. This letter concluded thus: "I expect in a month or two to receive all the swords which were voted by congress as testimonials of their special approbation. Upon receiving them I shall have the pleasure of transmitting yours." Unfortunately the declining health of Col. Tilghman deprived him of the gratification of mounting the horse, and his death soon after, of the pleasure of wearing or even receiving the sword, voted by his country. Soon after his decease, however, Mrs. Tilghman was the recipient of a letter from Gen. Knox as flattering to the memory of her late husband as it was gratifying to herself, of which the following is a copy:

War Office of the United States,
New York, May 30, 1786.

MADAM:

I have the honor to enclose for your satisfaction, a copy of a resolve of congress of the 29th October, 1781.

During the last year I had the honor of presenting to Col. Tilghman the horse, agreeably to the direction of the resolve, and I then mentioned to him that I should forward the sword as soon as it should be finished.

But death, the inevitable tribute of our system, has permanently deprived you of the most tender and virtuous companion, and the United States of an able and upright patriot. While you are overwhelmed with affliction, your friends unavailingly condole with you on an event which they could not prevent, and to which they also must submit.

When time shall have smoothed the severities of your grief, you will derive consolation from the reflection that Col. Tilghman acted well his part on the theatre of human life, and that the supreme authority of the United States, have expressly given their sanction to his merit.

The sword directed to be presented to him, which I have the honor to transmit to you, will be an honorable and perpetual evidence of his merit and of the applause of his country.

I have the honor to be, Madam,
with perfect respect,
your most obedient and very humble servant,
H. KNOX.

The sword thus gracefully presented to the widow of Col. Tilghman, and so sadly received by her, was piously preserved with many other relics associated with his military career; and now, having passed through the hands of two generations of his descendants, it remains in the possession of his great grandson Oswald Tilghman, Esq., of Easton, Maryland.¹⁵

Upon the institution of the society of the Cincinnati in 1783, for the purpose of perpetuating "as well the remembrance of the late bloody conflict of eight years, as the mutual friendships which were formed under the pressure of common danger," Col. Tilghman became a member, and received as a present from the president general, his excellency, George Washington, the order of decoration of this society, which yet remains in the hands of his descendant, Mr. Oswald Tilghman, in the same condition as it was presented. A grandson, Gen. Tench Tilghman, was president of the society for Maryland, at the time of his death in 1874, and had been appointed its historiographer.

Col. Tilghman left two children, daughters, one of whom was a posthumous child. The eldest of these married Mr. Tench Tilghman, son of Colonel Peregrine Tilghman, of Hope, from whom has sprung a nu-

¹⁵ This sword was made in Paris. It is the usual officers' dress sword with rapier blade and gold and silver mountings. Upon the handle is engraved the insignia of the Society of the Cincinnati, and these words: "Presented to Lieut. Col. Tench Tilghman by Congress, Oct. 19, 1781."

merous family. The youngest married Col. Nicholas Goldsborough, of Ottwell, from whom also has come many descendants. All of these have a just pride in an ancestor whose life illustrated some of the best virtues of human character, and many have exhibited traits not unworthy of their distinguished lineage. After the death of her husband Mrs. Tilghman returned to her father's house on Bay-side, of Talbot county, but subsequently removed to her beautiful estate of Plimhimmon, near Oxford, in the same county, which Mr. Matthew Tilghman had purchased for his daughter. Here she lived in great comfort and simple elegance to the advanced age of eighty-eight years, surrounded by her children and her children's children, and loved and venerated by all who were privileged to come within the circle of her acquaintance or scope of her charities. Pious affection has dedicated a handsome monument to her memory and that of her husband, as has before been mentioned.

Of Col. Tilghman there are several portraits, one, a miniature, by Charles Willson Peale, taken from life, and represented to be a very exact likeness, is in the hands of a granddaughter, Mrs. Margaretta (Goldsborough) Hollyday. From this has been taken, by heliotype process, the portrait that accompanies this memoir. In the painting, more meritorious than well known, of the capitulation at Yorktown, by Charles Willson Peale, now in the house of delegates of the state of Maryland at Annapolis, Col. Tilghman is represented in a life-size figure standing beside Gen. Washington, holding in his hands a scroll, inscribed "Articles of Capitulation, York, Gloster, and dependencies, April 19, 1781." As this picture was executed soon after the event it commemorates, it is believed the portraits were taken from life, or from studies from life. That of Washington is regarded as especially accurate, both as to features and bearing. As Mr. Peale was an acquaintance and friend of Col. Tilghman, it is thought the portrait of him, one of the principal figures in the painting, is equally accurate. Lafayette stands beside him. In the Athenaeum at Hartford, Connecticut, there is a painting by Col. John Trumbull, representing a scene in the battle of Trenton. It is thought by some critics to be the most impressive of the works of this artist in that celebrated collection. The central group is composed of Gen. Washington, Col. Tilghman, Col. Harrison, Col. Smith, and the wounded Hessian officer Col. Rahl. The three first mentioned are mounted. The representation of Col. Tilghman in this painting also, is thought to be a true portrait. There is a fourth portrait in the city

of Trenton, in a painting, a particular description of which has not been obtained.

The personal appearance of Col. Tilghman was that of a gentleman of medium height and slender form. His complexion was fresh and florid, his eyes gray, and his hair a rich auburn, worn in queue, according to the fashion of the day. He was not insensible to the advantages of dress, in which he was scrupulously neat and regardful of the mode. His modesty gave to his bearing the reserve of hauteur, and though repelling familiarity, he was never wanting in courtesy, while to friends his manners were most cordial.

In this memoir the extravagance of praise, to which the biographer is prone, has been shunned as not befitting the ingenuous character of him whose memory it is designed to refresh and perpetuate. If the merits of Col. Tilghman had been fewer in number and lower in order than they really were, there still would be no need to exaggerate them in order to commend him to the esteem and admiration of good men. Even the eulogist seeking how best to praise him, finds "the simple truth his highest skill"—finds that he cannot better speak of him than by a frank relation of his life; and that any words spoken of him, not marked by the same fairness and candor that belonged to him of whom they should be uttered, would be rebuked by recollections of his pure and upright character. It is not pretended that he belonged to that small class of men, the very great

"Lights of the world and demigods of fame:"

men who by their deeds have changed the fortunes of nations; who have enlightened the world by their discoveries in science, benefited it by their inventions of usefulness, or delighted it with their creations in art or literature. As a soldier he was no leader of great armies to victory or destruction; as a citizen he was no projector of novel policies of government to bless or blight his country; as a man of affairs he was no pioneer of a new commerce, no founder of a new industry, to bring riches or ruin upon the land. He was none of these. He was the patriot soldier with whose motives mingled no desire of personal aggrandisement nor ignoble ambition, as his long and unpaid service of his country, and "that sublime repression of himself" in surrendering precedence of promotion to others, for the good of the cause, attest. He was the honorable merchant, who in his dealings knew not how to deviate from the line of rectitude; whom no suggestions of political passion could tempt to wrong even the enemies of his country; whom no opportunities, af-

forded by unjust laws, invited to an evasion of his obligations. To his perfect probity let his provision, when the war broke out, for the full payment of his English creditors, and his refusal to avail himself of the legal authorization of the payment of debts in a depreciated currency, although debts to him had thus been paid to his great loss, bear witness. He carried the virtues of chivalry into commerce—honor and courage. There is no evidence that he expected success in his mercantile adventures through any other or more dubious expedients than industry, perseverance, self-reliance and frugality: and all of these qualities of the merchant, in the letters he has left behind him, he speaks of, and claims to cultivate in his business. As a citizen of the new nation, he interested himself in every public measure projected for the perfecting that edifice, in laying the foundations of which he had participated. Disdaining rather than seeking official position, he was not negligent to inform himself upon those fundamental questions of government and state policy which were then occupying the minds of thoughtful men, in those years of uncertainty, confusion and danger, that succeeded the war, and he proved himself not inapt in giving direction to the political sentiment of the community of which he was a conspicuous and honored member. His letters, written during and after the revolutionary contest, gave evidence of political perspicacity, as well as of his independence of thought and disinterestedness of action. They indicate that he possessed many of the qualifications which belong to politicians of the best, if not of the highest order, and that his state in giving a soldier to the American cause lost a statesman from her councils. In the strictly private relations of life, of companion, friend and relative, of son, husband and parent, he exhibited those amiable traits which excite no envy, but command respect and win affection. In the trying position of a member of a military family, where jealousies are so apt to be engendered, he seems early to have gained, and to the last to have retained, the esteem not only of his commander, but of all his brother officers, and this in an especial degree. He preserved amidst the heats of a controversy which destroyed so many ties, the ancient and beautiful virtue of filial honor, for though separated from his father by differences of political opinion, he never forgot his reverence for him nor sacrificed his affection. His memory is still cherished by a wide circle of relatives and friends, as that of one endowed with the most endearing characteristics of mind and heart; and it is treasured by his descendants as the source of a becoming pride, as the incentive to all that is noble, and a protection from what is base. He was happy and cheerful in

his disposition, hearty and constant in his attachments, fond of society but found, at last, his chief pleasures in domestic endearments. Withal, he was possessed of a piety which was as sincere as it was exemplary.

His life was gentle, and the elements
So mixed in him, that nature might stand up
And say to all the world, this was a man.

TENCH TILGHMAN'S RIDE

FROM THE PEN OF GENERAL BRADLEY T. JOHNSON, C.S.A.

Matthew Tilghman, the patriarch of the infant commonwealth, with rare wisdom, fortitude and courage, guided the counsel of the State, while Colonel Tench Tilghman illustrated the chivalry which had defied the King's taxgatherers in the person of George Talbot and on every battlefield, from Long Island to Yorktown, proved his devotion to the liberties inherited from a long line of illustrious ancestors. He was military secretary and aid to Washington, and on the surrender of Cornwallis, October 19, 1781, was selected by Washington to carry his official dispatch to the Congress at Philadelphia, announcing that glorious and all-important event.

Taking boat at York river, he lost one night aground on Tangier shoals. On reaching Annapolis he found that a dispatch from the Count de Grasse, dated on the eighteenth, to Governor Thomas Sim Lee, had reached there a day ahead of him and been forwarded to Philadelphia. Without stopping he pushed on across the bay to Kent, having lost a whole day in a calm between Annapolis and Rock Hall. From there to Philadelphia is about eighty miles as the crow flies. De Grasse's courier had passed through the country a day ahead. The people were on tiptoe to hear the news from York. Their hearts stopped as they imagined they heard the great guns of the English and the French booming over the waters in the still night. All looked with wistful eyes to the South for some sign of the issue of the weary struggle.

It was the supreme effort of American liberty. It was the very crisis of freedom. But the flower of Maryland was in that fight, and the lower counties on the Delaware had sent their bravest and best to back their brethren of the Eastern Shore. One of the miracles of history, attested time and again by indisputable evidence, is that when the minds of a whole people are at white heat of excitement and expectation, knowledge comes to them independent of the senses. The Greeks believed that the great god, Pan, spread the knowledge of victory or

defeat in Athens at the time of their occurrence, hundreds of miles away. The result of the battle of Platea was known the day it was fought, and the news of Thermopylae spread over Greece through the silent chambers of the air carried by arrows of light. The victory of Pharsalia was known in Rome at the time it occurred, and the events of Waterloo were discussed on the London Stock Exchange before it adjourned on the eighteenth of June; and I, myself, in June, 1863, heard the attack of Ewell on Milroy and the result detailed in Richmond, one hundred and fifty miles away from Winchester, where the battle took place, on the Sunday afternoon on which it occurred. There were no telegrams or possible means of communication.

So when Tench Tilghman landed at Rock Hall, for his hundred miles' ride through the country, he found the hearts and minds of men and women aglow with a divine frenzy. They felt what had occurred without knowing it, and were wild for confirmation of knowledge. Up through Kent, without drawing rein, this solitary horseman sped his way. When his horse began to fail he turned to his nearest kinsman—for they were mostly of the same blood—and riding up to the lonely farmhouse would shout: "Cornwallis is taken; a fresh horse for the Congress!" and in a minute he would be remounted and pushing on in a free gallop. All the night of the 22nd he rode up the peninsula, not a sound disturbing the silence of the darkness except the beat of his horse's hoofs. Every three or four hours he would ride up to a lonely homestead, still and quiet and dark in the first slumbers of the night, and thunder on the door with his sword: "Cornwallis is taken; a fresh horse for the Congress!" Like an electric shock the house would flash with an instant light and echo with the pattering feet of women, and before a dozen greetings could be exchanged, and but a word given of the fate of the loved ones at York, Tilghman would vanish in the gloom, leaving a trail of glory and of joy behind him. So he sped through Kent, across the head of Sassafras, through Christiana, by Wilmington, straight on to Philadelphia. The tocsin and the slogan of his news spread like fire in dry grass, and left behind him a broad blaze of delirium and joy.

"Cornwallis is taken!" passed from mouth to mouth, flew through the air, was wafted on the autumn breeze, shone with the sunlight.

"Cornwallis is taken! Liberty is won! Peace is Come! Once more husbands, fathers, sons, lovers shall return to the hearts that gave them to the cause! Once more shall joy set on every hearth and happiness shine over every rooftree!" When or where in all the tide of time has such a message been carried to such a people?

Liberty with justice!

Peace with honor!

Victory with glory! Liberty, peace, victory, honor and glory now and forever, one and inseparable!

These were the tidings that Tench Tilghman bore when he rode into Philadelphia at midnight of the 23rd, four days from the army of York. The despatch from De Grasse had been received, but the Congress and the people waited for Washington. Nothing was true but tidings from him. Rousing the President of Congress—McKean—Tilghman delivered his dispatch to him, and the news was instantly made public. The watchmen as they went their rounds cried: "Twelve o'clock, all is well, and Cornwallis is taken!" In a minute the whole city was wild; lights flashed in every window, men, women and children poured into the streets. The State House bell rang out its peel of "Liberty throughout the land to all the inhabitants thereof!" And Thirteen sovereign and independent States were proclaimed to the world.

TILGHMAN TABLET AT ANNAPOLIS

A beautiful and lasting memorial of Colonel Tench Tilghman's famous ride from Yorktown to Philadelphia, in the shape of a handsome mural tablet, the gift of the Baltimore Chapter Daughters of the American Revolution, was, on June 6th, 1906, unveiled in the room of the ancient State House in Annapolis, adjoining the historic old Senate Chamber where Washington, on December 23rd, 1783, resigned his commission as Commander-in-chief of the American armies, to the Continental Congress, then in session there.

Thus has been immortalized in enduring bronze, that gallant and historic ride, "which meteor-like through the darkened night of suspense and anxiety, left a trail of glory behind it as it proclaimed victory, peace and liberty to a nation."

HON. JAMES HOLLYDAY, JR.

1722-1786

BY GEORGE TILGHMAN HOLLYDAY

James Hollyday, Jr., son of Col. James Hollyday, of Prince George's County, Maryland, and grandson of Col. Thomas Hollyday and his wife, Mary (Truman) Hollyday, was born at "Wye House," the Lloyd homestead in Talbot County, Maryland, November 30, 1722. His

father removed to that county prior to 1721, became eminent as a statesman, served several terms in the Lower House of Assembly, and was for many years one of his Lordship's Council, Treasurer of the Eastern Shore (that part of the State which lies east of the Chesapeake), and Naval Officer at the port of Oxford. His mother was Sarah Covington, of Somerset County, Maryland, who first married Col. Edward Lloyd, President of the Provincial Council and acting Governor of the Colony of Maryland, 1709-1714, and becoming his widow March 20, 1719, married May 3, 1721, Col. James Hollyday, whom she also survived.

According to tradition, Mrs. Hollyday "was a remarkably beautiful woman," and¹ her portrait, still in the possession of the family, defaced as it is by the ravages of time, gives undeniable truth to the report. The intellect and force of character there denoted were strikingly exemplified in the settlement and management of the estates of both husbands, she having been in each case appointed executrix.

In 1729 Col. Hollyday bought a tract of land beautifully situated on Chester River, in Queen Anne's County, known as "Readbourne," and in 1731 erected the fine mansion house now standing (1883), and occupied by his descendants of the fifth generation. This mansion, built of English brick, was planned and constructed under the supervision of Mrs. Hollyday, she being in correspondence with Charles Calvert, the fifth Lord Baltimore, in regard to its style of architecture. The family lived at "Wye House" until James, the subject of this sketch, was nine years old, removing to "Readbourne" when Edward Lloyd, his half-brother, having attained his majority, came as the heir to take possession of his paternal estates.

Mr. Hollyday, Sr., died at "Readbourne" October 8, 1747, and on his tombstone in the burial ground there is the following inscription, surmounted by the family arms—a demilion rampant holding an anchor and three helmets; motto, "Nulla virtute secundus."

To the memory of James Hollyday Esqr.

Who departed this life on the

8th of October 1747.

Aged 51 years.

He was many years one of his lordship's

Council, and in public and private

life always supported the character of a worthy

gentleman and good Christian.

¹ The present owner of this portrait is Col. Henry Hollyday, Jr., of Easton, Md.

Mrs. Hollyday died in London, April 9, 1755, and was buried in the churchyard at West Ham, County Essex, about ten miles from London. Her grave bears the following inscription:

Beneath this stone lieth the body of
Mrs. Sarah Hollyday,
late of the Province of Maryland, in America, from
whence she came to London in the year 1754, and died
the 9th day of April 1755, aged 71 years. She had been
the wife of Edward Lloyd (formerly of the aforesaid
Province) Esq; and, after his death, of James Hollyday
(late of same place) Esq. whom she also survived.
Though a stranger here,
she was known, esteemed, and respected in her
Native Country.

We have no data regarding the early education of the subject of our sketch, but he must have improved the advantages the schools of that day offered, for he commenced early in life to practise law, and was for several terms member of the Assembly prior to 1754, when, in order to perfect himself in his profession, he entered as a student the Middle Temple at London, then the great law school of England.

The exact date of his embarkment is recorded in the issue Sept. 19, 1754, of Green's *Annapolis Gazette*:

On Monday or Tuesday last, sailed from below Kent Point, the ship Prince Edward, Capt. Blackburn, for London, with whom went passengers, Madam Sarah Hollyday and her son James Hollyday, Esq., of Queen Anne's County.

Both mother and son suffered all the disagreeables of an ocean voyage, and had the misfortune to lose their captain by an illness resulting in his death. The object of Mrs. Hollyday's visit to England was to embrace once more her only daughter, Rebecca C. Lloyd, whose marriage with Mr. William Anderson, a London merchant, had caused a separation of many years. Her son having no family ties, and moreover unwilling to part with the mother he so loved, took advantage of this opportunity, not only to prove his filial love, but, as before stated, to continue his studies in London under more favorable auspices than those America at that time afforded.

During his residence in London, a period of nearly four years, Mr. Hollyday received many interesting and important letters bearing on the condition of the colonies at that time, some of them from the pen of his half-brother, Col. Edward Lloyd (born May 8, 1711, and, after

holding many positions of honor and trust, died Jan. 27, 1770), and Thomas Ringgold (born Dec. 15, 1715, died April 1, 1772), two of the most prominent men of the Maryland Colony at that period. Mr. Ringgold was a delegate from Kent County, and conspicuous as one of the commissioners from Maryland to the Stamp Act Congress held in New York City in October, 1765, and the following incident connected with his public career will show the character of the man.

Mr. Zechariah Hood was the person appointed by the British Ministry as Stamp Distributor in Maryland. His appointment gave great dissatisfaction, and McMahon writes:

An incident occurred soon after his arrival (in Annapolis) which made him still more obnoxious to the people of the province. Finding himself the object of general detestation he endeavored to palliate his conduct by the assertion that the office he held had been solicited by a member of the Assembly who had offered a large sum for the bestowment of it, and that therefore the people ought not to extend their whole fury on him for his acceptance of it. The person pointed at by this slanderous assertion was Thomas Ringgold, who, hearing the rumor, spoke the general sentiment of the people in the following noble and indignant reply. "I hope," he says, "that my conduct has been such both in public and private stations as to induce a general belief that I have the feelings of humanity, am a friend to liberty, and love my country. I should be extremely sorry by an act so truly contemptible to have afforded room for a contrary opinion. I therefore beg the liberty publicly to declare through your paper (*Green's Gazette*) that no consideration should have induced me to have had any hand in the execution of a law tending to the subversion of our dearest rights as freeborn subjects of England, and to the suppression of the freedom of the press."

Col. Edward Lloyd writes Nov. 25, 1754:—

We long looked, and for some time with a great deal of impatience, for a letter from you, as we heard of the misfortune that happened to you by the death of Capt. Blackburn some time before your letter reached us. The concern we had at hearing of both your and my mother's indisposition is not to be abated, until we hear that you have recovered yr health.

Thomas Ringgold, in his letter to Mr. Hollyday, dated Dec. 7, 1754, says:

Capt. Blackburn was really much lamented by all his acquaintances. Indeed, there are few men act their part in life so well as he did.

The events in Maryland during the period that Mr. Hollyday was pursuing his studies in London were of a highly interesting and important character, and as the correspondence treats largely of public affairs and the condition of the colony, and furnishes many details of operations during the French war, I quote freely from it.

McMahon records that "the colony during the early years of this struggle, from 1754 to 1758, was in a very distressed condition," and Col. Lloyd, in a letter to his brother, bearing date Nov. 25, 1754, says:—

We seem to be in but a bad situation here at present, our crops poor, Trade almost lost, and just on the brink of war in the very heart of our Continent. Our Governor (Horatio Sharp) since you went away has received a Commission which makes him a Lieutenant-Col. in the British Establishment, and 'tis said Commander-in-Chief of all our forces in America. He has gone to Wills's Creek to reconnoitre the troops, and to form schemes how the better to conduct the Springs Campaign, which we live in certain expectation there will be, although we are but a handful of men to the great army which the French can readily raise.

In Maryland and Pennsylvania the want of efficient co-operation in the French war was seriously felt in several of the campaigns. "The requisitions of the Crown for the supply of men and money," says McMahon, "although backed by the entreaties and remonstrances of their respective governors, were in almost every instance disregarded by the Assembly."

Thomas Ringgold writes Dec. 7, 1754:—

Our Governour has a commission from Home to command in Chief in ye Ohio and is very intent, but the stiff-necked Quakers of Penna. carried the Election again, and still stand out, will not give a farthing. Would they do anything, I believe matters would go on with some spirit, otherwise I fear the French will get too well fixed there next summer to be easily moved. We have report of 5 sail of men of war having arrived at Quebec, if so, it will no doubt be a great addition to our strength. Let us know what is thought of this affair at Home. Will it not bring on a general war and a second ruin to poor Maryland?

Mr. Ringgold writes Dec. 13, 1754:—

Your law business is and shall be taken care of so as to give your clients content.

Also March 10, 1755:—

Our Assembly is called very frequently but do little, they are now sitting, and have voted £10,000, but whether ye bill will pass or not we can't tell. Ye Upper House refused the same on terms in December, and they'll not alter it. The Lord Baltimore objects to two clauses of our inspection Law, ye one for ye regulation of ye money, ye other for Limitation of officers' fees, neither of which the Assembly will repeal, but obstinately insist on holding both. So I fear we shall lose ye whole, and then what shall we do? bad as times are they must be much worse.

Sept. 27, 1755, Mr. Ringgold writes:—

I sit down to write now, not because I don't know how to employ my time otherwise (for tho' I have quitted ye profit of the Law, I have been this summer hurried enough in finishing old affairs), nor because I have a great deal to say, but to show you when a ship is sailing to your door and you have no postage that I will not omit an opportunity of showing you that time or space wears not out ye friendly regard I always had for you. Times have been very difficult with us this season. Tobacco from great destruction in the House, has run short and put us in the loading way under difficulties about loading our ships. Crop notes have been precious things, tho' suppose we must lose by them, and they'd be more so next year, as we shall not have above $\frac{1}{4}$ th or a crop, & very scant of corn. This you may say is news for a Planter and Merchant, and not fit for ye Temple. To ye great shame of whoever is in fault, our Assembly nor that of Pennsylvania have yet done anything. Ours still split on ye ordinary licenses, and theirs now have voted a gen'l land tax to raise 50 thousand pound which the Governor will not pass unless ye Proprietary's private Estate is exempted, which they cry out is highly unjust and unreasonable. Whilst we are thus contending the northern people are exerting a noble spirit. Col. Johnson at the head of an army of American militia without one regular or officer on ye establishment, is making bold pushes for Crown Point, and the people fly daily to his assistance, so that we expect by this time he has 5000 men at least with him.

Your Brother the Col. [Col. Edward Lloyd] tells me he incloses you ye particulars of what he has done, I therefore need not repeat, but we are in the highest Expectation, as we have taken off all their principal officers we shall soon have a good account of them. It is said only 600 Indians and 200 French defeated Genl. Braddock, who was lost in his abundant security, and by his contempt for ye enemy, and a bad agreement amongst the officers. Tho' notwithstanding our defeat with Braddock, we have yet considering our ships and everything, abundantly the best of the campaign. Col. Washington behaved with great calmness, bravery, and intrepidity in Braddock's action, and keeps up his character. He had several horses shot from under him, his cloaths shot to pieces and came off unhurt.

A letter from Robert Lloyd (first cousin of Col. Lloyd, Mr. Hallyday's half-brother), Oct. 20, 1755, says:—

This will just give you to understand that I am still in motion, and upon the brink of dismal times. We don't make the country through above a fourth part of a crop of Tobacco, scarce corn to support the inhabitants, the stock must shift for themselves, the flax is messed, and the people almost naked and destitute of money and credit. The French and their Indians nibbling on our Frontiers, and no one seems to have resolution enough to set the dogs at them. You'll say this is a wretched situation to wish you back again to, but so it is. Yr assistance will be wanting for the relief of a distressed country, the good of which you know we have all much at heart. Would our grand Lord and Master permit us to furnish the necessary means for our defence. We have offered to give and they have refused 'till now they won't ask or even give us a publick opportunity of either giving or refusing. 'Twas expected on the defeat of Braddock we should have had an Assembly called, and again upon the arrival of packetts by Montgomerie, but I hear nothing of it.

Under date of Dec. 9, 1755, Col. Edward Lloyd writes:—

We are in a most unhappy situation here being often alarmed and under apprehension that the French and Indians will penetrate far into our country. The horrid cruelties that they have acted on some of ours as well as the Virginia and Pennsylvania back inhabitants, is most shocking and arousing, they impale men and women and even children, and set them up on high by way of scare crows, and mangle the bodies in a most frightful manner as a terror to others. The act of scalping has introduced this. 'Tis amazing that any civilized nation should countenance the practice, it ought to be held as against the laws of all nations. Our armies are all gone into Winter Quarters, although within this month we have been threatened with an attack on our army at Lake George. The report was that 9000 French and Canadians were on their march to attack Gov. Johnson, but this gasconade or boast presently went off in a mere puff. From Nova Scotia Gov. Lawrence has sent home into Maryland 903 of the people, who call themselves neutral French. A copy of his letter I here enclose you. They have been here this month.

The Gov. being at New York, Mr. Tasker called a Council, the resolution (if it may be called a resolution or advice) you have also here inclosed. As no doubt much will be talked in London of this transaction, you'll from that and the knowledge you have of the law of nations, form an adequate judgment of the fitness of the measures taken not only by us, but the Council of Nova Scotia. These inhabitants before the treaty of Utrecht were said to be the subjects of the King, as such no allegiance or obedience could be required of them by the King of England, therefore as soon as this place was ceded to the Crown of England, rather than distress or deprive them of the property they had gained on that part of the Continent, his Majesty was most graciously pleased to offer them the most advantageous terms that could be

consistent with the British Constitution, *i.e.*, that they should remain in possession of all they had on condition that they would become subjects of the Crown of Great Britain, and manifest their allegiance and willingness to the said King, by taking the oath or oaths prescribed to that end.

These were the terms by which these people were to be distinguished as subjects of the King of England. This, however, is it said and well known to be true, they would not condescend or subscribe to. Then in the first place it may well enough be made a question whether that act which they are charged with as being in arms in the French Fort at Bodusejour when it surrendered amounts to a rebellion, it being said that they never had consented to become subjects of the King of England. If the conclusion may be that they cannot be deemed rebels, then they are taken and held as prisoners of war, and this to me seems the proper state to set them in, for it seems that the subjects of the King of England (and I suppose by his command) for breach of treaty committed by these French, invaded and overcame with armed power, and took them as prisoners of war, and retaining them sent them as such into this province to the care of this Government. This Government received them in that state from the Capt. that brought them here, and afterwards sent them into several County's not under the restraint or confinement of any person, but let them at large and to their own liberty. It may be here made a question whether this conduct be prudent or consistent with good policy, for as enemies they came here and as such they must certainly remain, because they are all rigid Roman Catholicks, and so attached to the French king, that sooner than deny his power over them, they have quitted all that they had in the world. Now then, if it should be asked of us how came you to suffer these enemies to go at large, what can be said in our justification? I fear our, or rather I should say, the President's conduct in this will not bear a legal scrutiny (I was against this I assure you) however I shall be obliged if you'll give me your opinion candidly and as explicitly as your time will permit, and if you should be able to collect Mr. Calvert's opinion of this transaction, pray favor me with it which you may easily do by means of Mr. Anderson or Mr. Hanbury. He sometimes dines at each of their houses where I say you may see him. That they were taken and sent there as prisoners of war there can be no doubt I think, as we cannot devise any other honorable way of depriving those people who were all free born of their liberty. Now it has been made a question whether they could be justly deemed prisoners of war, as no declaration of war has been made since the last treaty of peace. To this mayn't it well be said that as these people have violated the treaties entered into with the Crown of England, either by committing open hostilities or assisting and abetting those that did, I say that they did thereby put themselves against the King, whence the King of England was impliedly acquitted from performing his part of the treaty with them and might renew the war without any proclamation since by that acquittance he became in the same state as

to them as he was in before the treaty was concluded. If this be the case then they were brought here as prisoners of war and are liable to be called for upon a cartel. What will our Government say or do, having released them from that just duress or imprisonment which the Government of Nova Scotia put upon them? they are restored or are again in a state of freedom. Query then, can this or any other government restrain them after such liberty granted, or without some new violation or breach of the laws as to put them under confinement, or can they oblige them into servitude? I say my opinion on the President's question was, that these people should be suffered to land, but restrained of their liberty. This advice I still think consistent and most proper, and the measure that ought to have been pursued, for it may well be said that we have as much reason here to be apprehensive of them as enemies, as they at Halifax had. But suppose this was not the case they ought not to have been released or suffered to be at large by us as they were the King's prisoners, and he alone I think is to order their releasement. The resolution Mr. Tasker, it is said, has taken, is I think unpolitick. He has ordered two of the four vessels to this shore, one at Oxford with 200, the other at Wicomico with they tell me, 260 additional, another at Patuxent, and the 4th stays at Annapolis, without any committment to the sheriff, so that they were at large for some time till Collister got many of them on board some vessels, one of which with sixty odd, was ordered by him into this river Wye, and the Capt. instructed to land them on my plantation, for me to do what I pleased with them, and this not only against my consent but in manifest opposition to me, although I had in order to prevent their starvation or being too heavy a burthen on the town of Oxford, ordered my storekeeper to pay Mr. Collister five pounds a week for their subsistence at Oxford where I expected they would all be kept under some rule. But he is so far from grateful for this benefaction, that he has sent the above said number, all to 8 or 9 that were left with Matthew Tilghman, and Phil Hambleton, and ordered them to be quartered on me which will subject me to the expense of at least £12 a week, besides making me liable to a great deal of danger, by their corrupting mine and other negro slaves on this river, of which there is at least the number of 300 that may be called Roman Catholicks, who being by some very late practices and declarations dangerous in themselves, become much more so by the addition of these people. I say dangerous, because some of my slaves have lately said they expected that the French would soon set them free, and Nic Griffin (that was Fitzhugh's overseer) was taken up the other day on information and affidavits, that he had said the negroes would soon be all free men.

If you think my sentiments just in respect to the conduct of our great man (then the greatest), and that these French from the intention of Gov. Lawrence, in sending them here ought not to have been suffered at large, be pleased to do me justice, and set me in a true light by saying that I was against this procedure. For this end it is that I have said so much on this head, and you may also say that through

necessity and to save them from starving (for the weather is very sharp and the sloop froze up in this river) I pay £5 per week towards the maintenance of 30 odd at Oxford, and expect every hour to be put to an additional expense of £12 a week for the support of them that are here and can't get away, should the river be all froze up which is likely. The Gov. had he been here when they were brought, would have prevented all this uneasiness & expense to private individuals. He, I dare say, wd have had them (the men at least) committed or taken into safe custody, but he was at New York attending a grand meeting or Congress of the Governors, and is but just come home. With great good will and sincere regard,

Your affectionate Brother,

EDWARD LLOYD.

I am to attend the Gov. as soon as weather permits.

April 30, 1756, Thomas Ringgold writes:—

Since you think a scrawl from me worth the postage I will drop a line now by way of Bristol. I observe you resolve to stay another year, and I think you judge right, and hope it will answer all your purposes. The attendance of Westminster must be a great advantage, and when at the Temple your studies must be much more entertaining and improving, being abstracted from all family and worldly concerns and use.

Shurely when you hear Murray you are not disappointed, he certainly speaks very well. Your resolution is prudent for another reason, you are out of the continual fears and alarms we undergo here on account of the Indians. We have not yet forgot since the old Indian war of Dorset to exaggerate matters and multiply fears, though we have now much more reason to fear.

Notwithstanding the danger we are in, we are just in the old strain. Courtiers contending for power and proprietary advantages. Patriots warm with zeal, and so I fear they'll continue. They have been sitting ever since the 20th February and nothing done. A bill was sent up to raise 40 thousand pounds several times and returned with negative, and nothing is likely to be done.

The Province is in the same state of defence as when you left it, where the fault lies I can't judge, but I think both sides to blame. I would have our Assembly protest and resolve, and waive all points for the present, raise the money, and make a good militia law, and put ourselves in a good posture of defence. I hope they will raise the money some way or other before they rise. I fear we shall have a bloody war and we have the seat of it. We hear 7 Regiments more are coming over under the general command of Lord Loudon, pray God grant him success and an honorable peace.

We have been much fermented this winter in our Province and Pennsylvania by the Recruiting Officers enlisting our servants, which we think a very arbitrary and unjustifiable step, and a great violation of our property. Pray let me know what's thought of it at home. I don't doubt the matter will be represented. As to business in the law, it is

much divided between young & old hands. You can't conceive how scarce Tobacco is. I don't think we shall export 10 Thousand hhds with both the remains of the old and the new crop. We have a fine prospect for a harvest, and a great appearance of industry in the people, were it not for the calamities of war I should be in hopes of plenty's being restored. As Montgomery will sail soon, I will write more fully. Hope I shall tell you our Assembly has done something, and hope to have the pleasure by and by of acquainting you of the success of our troops. The New England men go out this campaign determined to have Crown Point.

June 5, 1756, Thomas Ringgold says:—

Montgomery being near sailing, I set down to give you the best testimonial of my kind remembrance to you. I wrote you a short line by way of Bristol lately, wherein I told you I had received y^r Fav^r of the 5th of January, for which I am much obliged. The reflection of y^e Earth Quake and especially at Lisbon, is Terrible. Man! what is he? Why should we think much of ourselves, or the world, when liable to such a variety of woes? I have the pleasure to tell you that I am not a sufferer in the fatal catastrophe, though I believe many at Philadelphia are. I deal chiefly at home, don't haste to get rich, and by that don't Risque much, it seems to me to be the shurer way to get rich, tho' perhaps y^e former may be something longer. I take a view of my affairs once a year, and find them rather better, therefore am content with a little at home, without the slavery of attending County Courts, and can give you a glass of good old Madeira when I once have the pleasure of seeing you again.

Your old Cecil friends, much want to see you, and much your assistance, I believe, for from such lawyers they pray deliverance. Last March Court there was no sitting day. Ye over Elk Justices wou'd not or cou'd not get over. Col. Veazy neglected, and Bayard was not of the Quorum, and so the Court Fell.

The Assembly sitting, the Charles Town people set about a petition for Removal of the Court House to their Town, Ye Head of Elkers to have it there, the Sassafras neckers to continue it still on the ponds of Avon. The pistols flew about, and council was engaged on all sides, and after a debate of a whole day, it is still settled and fixed on the old spott, but Peter Bayard is to build a famous Tavern there, wherein you are to be entertained even with cheese, cakes and custards, so he promised ye Assembly.

Charles Gordon has lost his wife, poor Ben Pearce is no more, Will Bordley is married to Sally Pearce, Matt Bordley has lost his wife, and we tell Julia she must look out again, and since we are in the family, let me tell you Stephen is Attorney General and Naval Officer of Annapolis. So flies away burning glowing Patriotism! Dulany is at present out, talks of being in the Lower House again. Some say true patriotism or at least a moderate zeal for right, and the good of ye country, keeps

him out, others they have not come up to his price. So it goes amongst the great, but I suppose I need not tell you these things, being near ye Fountain you hear how the streams of Honour etc. issue forth. However James let me take the Freedom to tell you one thing, that is that yr Fortune and your personal abilities will be fully sufficient to put you above the paltry dependence waiting on the best of their officers. If they are rode as represented, as mean as my business is, I wou'd not give it with my liberty & Freedom for the very best of them at their pleasure. The solid satisfaction, the self approved consciousness, arising from true and real patriotism, from a life well spent in rectitude and real service of the country, must be worth much more than the mistaken tinsel Honour, attending what we call, our high stations here.

Our Assembly set three months, are now risen, have raised at last, with much to do, forty thousand pounds. 'tis by an excise on strong liqueurs, a land Tax, and many small duties, amongst the rest a Tax on old Bachelors! so take care and fix soon after you come in, or you'll be mulcted for your inactivity. Indeed a man who does not marry where there's so many good girls want Husbands as with us, deserves to pay. They splitt about a Militia law, and threw out the bill framed which was a very good one, so that for want of it we shall still be in a very bad posture of defence. But I hope we shall be more quiet than we have been. Our Provinces, publishing large rewards for scalpes, induced wood men to go out, and they have had some skirmishes with the Indians, killed some and drove off the rest, and 'tis said they begin to sue for peace, hope we shall be at peace with them again.

Our forces to the Northward are doing nothing, suppose they are waiting for Lord Loudon. I wish for an honourable peace that's best. If we have a war, believe it will be a bloody one. The King of Prussia seems to be the balance master. I don't understand Politicks, but I don't like his Treaty with us, will not the preventing the Russians from entering Europe make ye French easy on that side, and enable them to bend all their strength to the sea and against us? I long to see you, as does many of y^r Friends, but I think you quite right in not hurrying away too soon, and doubt not y^r making the best use of y^r time.

Mr. Hollyday remained in London pursuing his studies at the Temple until 1758, when he returned to "Readbourne," his Maryland home in Queen Anne's County. He qualified in the Provincial Courts, and resuming the practice of his profession soon ranked among the first lawyers in the colony. As a statesman he appears to have had the confidence of his constituents, but having a repugnance to holding any position in public life, it was only after earnest solicitations, and during very critical periods in the history of the colony, that he could be induced to serve in any office whatever. When the appeals came he did not

hesitate to sacrifice feelings, ease, and comfort, but cheerfully and willingly gave his best energies to the service of his country.

On September 7, 1758, his half brother Col. Lloyd from "Wye House" wrote to him at "Readbourne:"—

I hear from all quarters that the people of Queen Anne's all agree to choose you one of their representatives. It may be somewhat inconvenient to you to act in that station, yet I hope and believe that you have so much of the spirit of Patriotism in you that you will not refuse your good offices, at this so critical a time to your country.

Mr. Hollyday obeyed the call of his country, and served in the Lower House of Assembly from 1758 to about 1770.

We are informed by his friend Mr. Anderson (a wealthy London banker, and connected with the family by his marriage with Miss Rebecca C. Lloyd), that Mr. Hollyday was appointed by Lord Baltimore one of the Councillors, and a member of the Upper House, and his letter of congratulation written from London on April 29, 1765, reads thus:

I wish you joy of your seat in the Council, as Mr. Calvert desires me to keep it secret I don't alter your direction, he behaved very genteelly on the occasion. I doubt not you will write to my Lord, and return him thanks, which many have omitted to do, which is not right. Should you and I live until anything worth while drops, you stand as fair for it as any.

The Assembly convened on September 23, 1765, and the Stamp Act was the first subject that engaged the attention of that body, and on the second day of its session they appointed commissioners to the Stamp Act Congress, to be held in New York, and a committee to draft their instructions. Mr. Hollyday was of that committee, also Thomas Johnson, of Anne Arundel, John Goldsborough, of Talbot, and others. The English Parliament being satisfied that force alone could carry the Stamp Act into effect, it was repealed on March 11, 1766. The spirit of arbitrary power, however, had not yet departed from the colonial policy of England. It slept, soon to awake, and it awoke only to consummate the liberties of the colonists.

"On July 2, 1767," says McMahon, "an act was passed imposing new duties on paper, glass, in all its varieties, and generally on all articles of most necessary consumption, especially on tea, the duties to take effect after the 20th of November ensuing. As if to impart to it new features of oppression this Act was accompanied by others about the same period, whose objects entitled them to rank as its fellows." The

Maryland Assembly was not convened, after the passage of this obnoxious bill, until the 24th of May following, and on the 8th of June of that year (1768) the Lower House appointed a committee "consisting of gentlemen distinguished for their abilities, and attachment to the cause of the colonists, to draft a petition to the King remonstrating against the late impositions, and Mr. Hollyday was one of the number appointed, also Matthew Tilghman of Talbot County, and Thomas Ringgold, of Kent." Remonstrances and invectives of the most exciting character were let loose upon these Acts from every quarter of the country, which led to a partial rescinding of the duty Act, but still leaving a tax on tea.

The controversy with the mother country thus mitigated, was renewed with increased vigor in May, 1773, caused by an Act of Parliament allowing the East India Company a drawback upon teas exported to America, which resulted in war, and terminated in the independence of the colonies and the confederation of sovereign States.

"In 1692," says McMahon, "the Church of England became the established Church of the Colonies, and provision was made for the support of her clergy by the imposition of a poll tax of 40 pounds of Tobacco on the taxable property of each parishioner, to be collected by the sheriff, and paid over to 'those appointed to serve in the sacred ministry of the same.'" And again:

In 1763 an Act was passed reducing the tax to 30 pounds, at which it continued until 1770, when the disagreement of the two Houses (of the Assembly) permitted the Act of 1763 to expire, and that of 1702, which had fixed the tax at 40 pounds, was held to be revived.

The people of Maryland were greatly excited by these measures, called "the Vestry Acts," and Mr. Hollyday, and others equally interested in matters concerning the church, took a prominent part in the discussions arising therefrom, which though purely technical were intensely bitter on both sides. McMahon says:

The abilities of the most distinguished lawyers in the colony were enlisted, and rarely has the discussion of any legal question exhibited more learning and talent. The opinions of Mr. Hollyday and Mr. Dulany sustaining the validity of the Act, and those of Mr. Paca and Mr. Chase in opposition to it, have been preserved and are remarkable for their ingenious views and profound investigations.

In 1772, Rev. Hugh Neill, Rector of St. Paul's Parish, Queen Anne's County, wrote to Mr. Hollyday in the following words:—

Sir: Enclosed you have Mr. Cook's opinion delivered to Rev. Mr. McGill. I have had it carefully transcribed for your use. Mr. Dulany is of the opinion that there are not so many respectable authorities on the other side as Mr. Cook imagines. Among the many subsequent laws that have been quoted either in print or elsewhere as a confirmation of the Law of 1702 for the establishment of religion, I find one omitted which I think as cogent as any of them, viz., the law for establishing Charles Town. If a law may be trampled upon that has been so repeatedly confirmed, intervowen with the Constitution, and under which all the Vestries in the Province for seventy years have acted on, we may bid a final adieu to all Law, as each of the Acts of this Province may undergo the same fate and be abrogated not by the Legislature, but by the voice of clamour and faction. Dear sir, you will pardon me if I tell you that your country calls aloud for your integrity and abilities at the enshewing election. It is to be hoped that you will sacrifice your private tranquillity to the public good, and once more represent the good people of Queen Anne's.

I am with due regard
Your most obedient humble servant,
HUGH NEILL.

To this letter Mr. Hollyday sent on Aug. 1, 1772, the following reply:—

Sir: Inclosed is my opinion of the two questions upon the Act of 1702. Whether the Act is in force? and whether the Sheriff can execute for the 40 per poll? It has been delayed longer than I expected it would be when I saw you. I had then some business on hand which I was obliged to give the first despatch to, which with the interruptions I have met with prevented my sitting down to the subject until Tuesday last, since when I have been pretty closely employed with it.

My sentiments in point of Law as to the claim of the clergy you have pretty fully in the enclosed. My opinion of the success of a suit agt. a sheriff you already know. I would not undertake to give you any assurance on that Head.

I presume it is not expected that I should send copies of this opinion to Messrs. Keen and Alpin, but that you will of course communicate it to them.

I must not conclude without taking note of the undeserved compliment you are pleased to pay me in the conclusion of your letter, but I desire you will be assured that it is my fixed Resolution to engage no more in the Business of Assembly.

I am sir yr most obedient servt.

JAS. HOLLYDAY.

Mr. Hollyday did not long adhere to his "fixed resolution," for when the oppressions of America roused her virtuous sons to vindicate her injured rights, he was among the first to espouse her cause, and, sacrificing domestic ease and every home comfort that wealth afforded, he

hastened to discharge the important duties of a member of the Convention and Council of Safety, and performed them with credit to himself and honor to his country.

In the Journal of the Conventions of 1774, '75, and '76, we find a record of his services, and learn that Mr. Hollyday was a leading spirit in that galaxy of brilliant minds:—

In July, 1775, Mr. Hollyday was appointed by ballot one of eight persons elected from the Eastern shore of Maryland on the Council of Safety for the Province.

Dec. 29th, 1775, chairman of the Committee (elected by ballot) to prepare a draft of instruction for the deputies representing this Province in Congress.

Jan. 9th, 1776, elected by ballot chairman of a Committee "to prepare and report a scheme for the emission of bills of credit to defray the expenses of defending this Province."

Jan. 18th, 1776. "It was ordered that James Hollyday, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and Gustavus Scott Esqr., revise the Journal and proceedings of this Convention, and direct what part shall be published."

May 10th, 1776. "Mr. Hollyday was elected by ballot chairman of the Committee to examine the papers laid before the Convention by the Council of Safety, relative to the conduct of the said Samuel Purviance Jr., and report the charge arising thereon."

May 24th, 1776. "Mr. Hollyday was elected one of that celebrated Committee which politely invited the last Colonial Governor his Excellency Robert Eden Esqr. 'to vacate,' and was also chairman of the Committee appointed to consider a memorial from the officers of the battalion of regulars stationed at Annapolis."

May 25th, 1776. "Mr. Hollyday was elected one of a Committee to prepare a passport for his Excellency Governor Eden, and to draft a letter to the Committee of Safety of Virginia, and received orders to assist Jeremiah Townley Chase in revising the Journal of the proceedings of this Convention."

June 21st, 1776. "A letter from the President of the Congress together with resolutions of the 1st, 3rd, and 4th of June being laid before the Convention and read, 'ordered that the same be referred to a Committee to report their opinion thereon,' and Messrs. Hollyday S. Chase, T. Johnson, Goldsborough, and Plater were elected by ballot a committee for that purpose."

July 2nd, 1776. On reading a resolution of the Virginia Convention of the 31st May last, Resolved that a Committee be appointed to report proper resolutions in answer to the same, and Mr. Hollyday was one of the five gentlemen appointed.

This record is sufficient proof of the favor and good-will of the people towards Mr. Hollyday, and of their high appreciation of his talents as

a statesman, and of his character as "an honorable man," also of their confidence in his ability to act in all these positions of trust.

That he was "not without honor among his own people" we learn from a letter written by his relative, Mr. Michael Earle, to his kinsman, Mr. Ringgold, in which he says (referring to the appointment of a Council of Safety) "I hope Mr. Hollyday will be one that will serve. I wish you could get every man as able."

The following letter declining the office of Chancellor will be read with interest, as giving even greater evidence of the high estimation in which Mr. Hollyday was held, and of his preference for private life:—

QUEEN ANNE'S Co., 8th April, 1777.

To the Honorable Nicholas Thomas,
Speaker of the House of Delegates,
Annapolis.

Sir: Yesterday evening your letter dated the 3rd of the present month was delivered to me little after 6 o'lk. The messenger who brought it informed me that he has been waiting from 10 o'lk at which time I was rode out, and did not return until about 6. I will not conceal from you Sir, that having been told some time ago that the H. of Delegates had been pleased to recommend me for the office of Chancellor, and that it was thought their recommendation would be concurred with by the Senate, I had taken my resolution on the subject before the receipt of your letter. I have ever thought the task of judging to be among the hardest and Severest Duties, and I am the more unqualified for this particular Department as my practice in my profession has been altogether in the Courts of Law. It is my wish to spend the remainder of my days in Retirement from busy life, and in the exercise of such offices of Humanity as the Circle of my own neighbourhood may furnish occasion for, and in this wish I am not without hopes of being indulged. I really Sir feel that I am every day growing less fit for the discharge of any kind of public Duty. For these reasons I am obliged to decline the acceptance of this very honourable appointment, and desire that it may be considered in the light of an explicit refusal, if this should be thought necessary. If I imagined that under these circumstances my attendance at Annapolis was expected, I would immediately wait upon the Government, tho' my state of health at present is not very good.

I cannot conclude Sir, without expressing my grateful sense of the high distinction shown me by the honorable Bodies who have concurred in, and the obliging manner in which you have been pleased to communicate this appointment.

I am with very true Esteem and Respect
Sir, yr most obedt and very humble Servt

J.A. HOLLYDAY.

We learn from a letter written to Mr. Thomas Dockery, of North Carolina, February 11, 1779, that Mr. Hollyday not only retired from public life, but eventually abandoned (doubtless for good reasons) his profession as a lawyer, having

left the wrangling of the Bar and am in no other character than that of a plain Farmer, who is seldom out of sight of the smoke of his own chimney, happy enough, indeed, in this, were I conscious that I deserved the encomiums your partial Friendship has so lavishly bestowed on me.

Mr. Hollyday never married, and from his letters to his nieces, Mazey and Sally Anderson, we judge that his heart was never touched by *la belle passion*. There is a tradition that he was rarely seen to smile, but once indulged in immoderate laughter, which greatly alarmed his friends. This great depression of spirits can, in a measure, be accounted for in the irreparable loss of his mother, to whom he was devotedly attached. The affection he bore to his only brother, Harry Hollyday, of 'Ratcliffe Manor,'² breathes in every line we read from his pen, and his brother's children, and those of this half-sister, Mrs. William Anderson, of London, were constant recipients of the favors his great wealth enabled him to offer them. He led a happy bachelor life at 'Read-bourne,' keeping open house, and giving a hearty welcome and shelter to any relative who was not so blest as himself in this world's goods. —(*Genealogical Notes of the Chamberlaine Family of Maryland.*)

The prominent part Mr. Hollyday took in the discussions of the vestry acts leads us to suppose that he was a member in the congregation of St. Paul's, the parish church, and from the record of the past we have every reason to believe that, like St. Barnabas of old, he "was a good man," and that he was "accepted in the Beloved," when, November 5,

² Henry Hollyday (born March 9, 1725; died November 11, 1789) was also a member of the Maryland Assembly, and in September, 1765, was appointed by that body one of the committee which drafted the Resolves giving some solemn and explicit declaration of their feelings against the Stamp Act, such action being rendered peculiarly necessary by the attempts to misrepresent the Maryland people in England. "Pre-eminent amongst all the legislative declarations of the Colonies," says McMahon, "for the lofty and dignified tone of their remonstrances, and for the entire unanimity with which they were adopted, these resolves form one of the proudest portions of our history."

James, son of Henry Hollyday, served in both branches of the Assembly, and was a member of the Maryland Convention which ratified the Constitution of the United States. Since that time each Constitutional Convention of Maryland has included a member of the family, viz., that of 1851, William M. Hollyday (grandson of Henry through his son Henry), that of 1864, George S. Hollyday (grandson of Henry through his son James), and that of 1867, Richard C. Hollyday, brother of William M. Hollyday.

1786, "he was gathered to his forefathers" and "entered into life eternal." The following notice of his death appeared in the *Baltimore Advertiser* of November 10, 1786:—

"On Sunday last departed this life in Queen Anne's County, on the Eastern Shore of this State, the Hon. James Hollyday, Esq., a gentleman of distinguished abilities and virtue as a lawyer and a statesmen, and of the most amiable and benevolent disposition. He represented Queen Anne's County for many years, with honour to himself and advantage to his country, and was one of the framers of our most excellent Constitution.

He devised "Readbourne" to his nephew, James Hollyday (the eldest son of his brother Henry), who married Susan Stewart Tilghman, and dying in 1807 left many descendants.

In concluding this sketch of so eminent a man, it becomes not one so closely related as the author to dilate on the merits that justly entitle him to a lengthy tribute, but it may not be amiss to express a wish that many of the name among the rising generation may be found "to emulate his virtues."

FRANCIS BUTLER, GENT

A GRAVESTONE ON THE WYE WHICH MARKS THE GRAVE OF ONE WHO CAME TO
SEEK HIS FORTUNE IN 1688

On the Talbot shore of Wye, about half a mile above where it pours its waters into Miles river, may be found, if the search is pursued diligently, mid tangled vines, weeds and marsh grass, a gravestone, now nearly submerged in the oozy soil in which it lies, bearing this inscription:

"Here lyeth immured ye bodye
of Francis Butler, Gent. son of
Rhoderick Butler, Gent. who was
unfortunately drowned in St. Michael's
River, the 3rd Mar. 1689, aged
42 years or thereabout.—
Memento Mori.—"

There is a common tradition among those in the immediate vicinity and among the oystermen who ply their trade on Miles and Wye rivers that "He was an English sailor washed ashore," which fails to explain how his name was ascertained, or who was good enough to mark his grave with a slab—a rather costly article in those days.

It is not surprising that all knowledge of him was lost, with none of his blood here to perpetuate his memory, coupled with the fact that his

sojourn in Maryland was a bare two years. Yet few of our early settlers came into the province with brighter prospects of contributing a name to history. Having the advantage of powerful friends, the weight of whose influence was felt promptly on his arrival here, and their continued interest practically assured. It is to be regretted that his untimely end did not permit him to reap the benefit.

Earliest knowledge of him locates him in London in September, 1687, at which time he was favored with a letter from Lord Baltimore, then in London, directed to the members of his Lordship's council in Maryland. He doubtless left for Maryland on receipt of the letter, as he, "Mr. — Butler," was present at a council meeting held at St. Mary's on the 5th of April following and "presented the foll: Lre from his Lop in his favour, viz.—"

Gentl.:

The Bearer is so powerfully recommended to me that I cannot refuse giving you these Lines, which are to assure you that the Countess of Tyrconnell had laid her comands on me by the hands of Sr Wm Talbot to desire you to afford him all the favor and civility you can in Maryland where he is resolved to trye his fortune you must therefore receive him very kindly and in anything that may be for his advantage there, assist him what you can that soe he may find some good effects from these commands sent by Sr Wm Talbot from my Lady Tyrconnell to Gentl.

Your Lo: Friend

C. BALTEMORE.

London 7 bar the 5th 1687.

To the Honble Coll. Vincent Lowe

Coll. Henry Darnall, Coll. Wm. Digges

and the rest of the Deptyes of the Province of Maryland.

To this letter the Council "expressed their readiness and willingness to give all due obedience, according to the purport thereof," and on the 10th April, five days later, they appointed "Mr. Butler" sheriff of Talbot county, as the following will show:

Majr. Peter Sayer, present Sheriff of Talbot County, being intended for England as he himself gives it out, whereby there will be a vacancy in the Sher: Place of that County their honors in consideration of the great favour his Lop has signified in behalf of Mr. — Butler recommended to his Lop by the Countess of Tyrconnell were pleased to offer the Sheriff's Place of said County to the said Mr. Butler, which he accepted, and thereupon ordered that he have Commo for said Place accordingly giving good security, as in such Case is usuall.

Taking the statement on the gravestone that he was drowned in St. Michaels river, with that of the Admin. acc't that Kent County's Coroner viewed the body, it is safe to say the body floated out of the river, and across Eastern Bay to Kent Island, which then belonged to Kent Co. The question naturally arises, why was he brought to this lonely spot on the Wye for burial.

A glance at the old county maps of Talbot will show it to be the locality of the "Ancient town of Doncaster," and here lived Major Peter Sayer, whom Francis Butler succeeded as Sheriff; it is fairly reasonable to suppose he took up quarters with him, his predecessor in office, thereby gaining benefit of his knowledge of the office, as well as the comforts of a home. If we accept this explanation, it is more than probable that the grave marked the garden or yard of Major Sayer's habitation, it being well known that in early colonial days the burial place was seldom farther from the dwelling.

What prompted the Countess of Tyrconnell to engage in Francis Butler's behalf, does not appear. She it was, who was the "Belle Jenyns" of the Court of Charles II, and sister of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough. Sir William Talbot's interest was probably nothing more than a willingness to oblige his aunt, the Countess being his uncle's wife; and in this instance he was in position to be particularly useful, as Lord Baltimore was his cousin.

ROBERT MORRIS

THE OXFORD MERCHANT

1711-1750

It is difficult at this day to discover the causes of the concentration of trade at the pretty town of Oxford, which in the first half of the XVIII century gave to this port an importance second only to that of the provincial capital at Annapolis. The most rational of these are the excellence of its harbor, its proximity to and ready approach from the great bay, its accessibility by water by means of boats from all the regions bordering upon the Chesapeake, at a time when roads were either wanting or were mere bridle paths, and lastly the remarkable salubrity of its atmosphere, then as now unpoisoned by malaria. And the causes of decline after the middle of the century are almost as obscure; for if those of its prosperity, which have been assigned, were the true causes, in as much as they were permanent in their influence, they should have secured permanence

of commercial prominence. But there was really another cause for the decadence of Oxford as a centre of trade, and this was the absence of a back country dependent upon this place for an outlet of its products and an inlet for its supplies. The growth of the vast west demanded a port of entry and departure upon the opposite shore, and this port was furnished by the town of Baltimore which grew proportionately with the growth of the country north and west, and finally absorbed the foreign and the greater part of the domestic trade of the Province. But in considering the prominence of Oxford at one period and its declension at another just succeeding, regard must not be paid to natural or physical causes wholly: something must be attributed to human agencies—to the energy and capacity, or to the inertness or weakness of men. Examples are familiar of natural advantages being lost by ignorance or apathy, and natural impediments being overcome by intelligence and enterprise. While St. Louis, relying upon her splendid site, sat secure of her supremacy in the Mississippi valley, Chicago was building in a swamp the Western metropolis, one of the largest and most beautiful cities of the world. While the favorable environments of Oxford drew to her harbor and strand men of strength, resolution and foresight, with their ships, their capital and their wares, they, in return, gave impetus, steadiness and scope to her business interests and all that accompanies commercial prosperity, material and moral. Among these active and able merchants of Oxford, was the subject of this brief sketch, Mr. Robert Morris, whose name is familiar to the ears of the citizens of this county because of his lamentable fate, and to the country at large because it was borne by a distinguished son whose end was hardly less tragic than the father's, while it was far more reproachful to those who if they did not accomplish it, stood by consenting.

Of the English commercial firms trading with Maryland, one of the most substantial and prosperous was that of Messrs. Foster Cunliffe & Sons, of Liverpool, which had its ships plying between the Chesapeake and the Mersey, with detours to Madeira, the coast of Africa and the West Indies; and had its factories as their warehouses and stores were called, seated along the shores of our great bay and its tributaries. One, and a principal one of these factories, was at Oxford, and in charge of this somewhere about the year 1738, they placed the most capable of their employees, from their Liverpool house, who had acquired their confidence by services that had tested his probity and his capacities in business. This was Mr. Robert Morris of whom it is now proposed to speak. Of his parentage, birth and education but little is certainly

known. In his will he calls himself the "son of Andrew Morris, mariner, and Maudlin his wife, both deceased, late of the town of Liverpoole in Great Britaine," and upon his tombstone it is inscribed that he was born in that city. But whatever was his genesis this may be said of him that he overcame all impediments of birth and breeding by his own inherent forces, and vindicated his title to be called a gentleman through a display of those traits which distinguish that character from the vulgar, whether they be high or low born. The precise date of his birth cannot be discovered, but as his epitaph states that at time of his death in 1750 he was in the fortieth year of his age, his natal day must have been in 1710 or 1711. The humble station of his family renders it highly probable that his early scholastic training was very imperfect and limited: but either there was emplant in his mind in his youthful years a love of good letters or he had a natural avidity for good learning at least in its popular and elementary form and a natural capacity for its reception. It is known that he was neither ignorant nor weak; that he was fond of books and the converse of cultivated men. Of his training for practical life we know as little as of his education. In the Journal of Col. Jeremiah Banning, who as a youth had a personal acquaintance with Mr. Morris, it is stated that

This gentleman was one of those instances of many to evince that it is not always necessary to be high born and educated to become a conspicuous character. This was quite the reverse with Mr. Morris, being brought up in the mean business of a nail maker with a school education similar thereto. His great natural abilities overleaped every other deficiency.

Doubt is thrown upon this statement of Col. Banning by a descendant of Mr. Morris, as it must have been given upon mere heresay, he having been very young at the date of Mr. Morris' death. But assuming that it is true, as nail making was the work of women and children before the introduction of machinery, he may have followed his calling in his least mature years, and abandoned it as he grew older and more capable of higher employment. Keeping in mind the liability to fall into errors when, in the absence of testimony, conjecture, even the most plausible, is taken as a guide, it may be surmised that at an early period of his life he was received into the employment of Messrs. Foster Cunliffe & Sons, in some capacity or other. He may have been taken into the warehouses of this great commercial firm, to perform the humblest services, and been advanced to positions of confidence and responsibility. Or what is more probable still, in view of the facts that as sons

used to follow from generation to generation the avocations of their fathers and that as Mr. Morris was certainly the son of a sailor, and possibly the grandson of another, that Captain Robert Morris, of 1669, herein before mentioned, and finally in view of the fact that in his day, it was common for the sea-faring man to develop into the merchant, he served in some capacity on board one of the ships of the Messrs. Cunliffe, whose trade was largely with Virginia and Maryland. But whatever may have been his early position, there can be no doubt his abilities as a man of affairs displayed themselves in such a way as to obtain the recognition of the Messrs. Cunliffe, who were thus persuaded that in him they had found a suitable person to whom to intrust the management and control of one of their chief trading posts in America. He was accordingly sent out by them to Maryland and placed in charge of their business at Oxford, then one of the most important stations in the Province and the leading one upon the Eastern Shore. It will be seen in the sequel that their judgment of his capacity was not at fault and their confidence in his integrity not misplaced. At what date Mr. Morris arrived at Oxford it has been found impossible to determine. A communication to the *Maryland Gazette*, herein after quoted, says that at the time of his death in July, 1750, he had been in charge of the factory of the Messrs. Cunliffe at Oxford twelve years. This would indicate that he was in Talbot as early as 1738. His name first appears in the records of this county in or about the year 1741, then, however, in such connection as to lead to the inference that he had been here some years, the recognized agent of the firm of Foster Cunliffe & Sons of Liverpool.

Here, and in this capacity, Mr. Morris spent the remaining portion of his life, and there is no evidence that during this time he was permitted to visit the old country. He seems to have enjoyed the confidence of his employers, and to have justified their confidence by the management of their affairs in such a way as to render the station at Oxford unequalled by any in Maryland. Besides this factory there were others in his care and under his supervision, conducted by under-factors who accounted to him, and drew their supplies from his store. One at Cambridge was conducted by a Mr. Hanmer who seems to have had greater latitude allowed to him than to others, if he was not independent of Mr. Morris.

The success which was won for the Messrs. Cunliffe was not without much active competition. There were several establishments of London and Liverpool merchants at Oxford and its vicinity and else-

where in the county quite as extensive as those of Mr. Morris' principals, that contested for trade upon a footing which was rendered unequal only by his superior address. Among these competitors were Mr. Anthony Bacon who had a large store at Dover on Choptank, and Mr. Gildart, who had a store at Oxford, and Mr. John and Mr. William Anderson, who had stores on Wye and Chester rivers, and Mr. John Hanbury who had a store at Cambridge and probably one at Dover. There were others of equal extent. Mr. Morris pretended to compete not only with these but with merchants of long standing upon the Western Shore, and from the single fact that after the breaking out of the war in 1744 between England and France, commonly called King George's war, he was able to secure the contract for clothing the Maryland troops, with Manx cloth from his store at Oxford, it is evident he was capable of successfully contesting the commercial field with the largest merchants of the Province. In a letter of Henry Callister, his under-factor, to the Messrs. Cunliffe, dated Oct. 2, 1750, written after Mr. Morris' death it was said of the factory at Oxford, "for its present state and circumstances it cannot be equalled by any in Maryland, owing to the good management of your late factor there." Col. Jeremiah Banning, in his journal says of Mr. Morris, of whom he had personal knowledge:

Oxford was at the time of his death and during his agency, for he was its principal supporter, one of the most commercial ports of Maryland. The storekeepers and other retailers both on the Western and Eastern sides of the Chesapeake repaired there to lay in their supplies. . . . Oxford's streets and Strand were once covered by busy crowds ushering in commerce from almost every quarter of the globe. . . . After the death of Mr. Morris commerce, splendor and all that animating and agreeable hurry of business at Oxford declined to the commencement of the civil war, which broke out in April 1775, when it became totally deserted as to trade.¹

No better evidence could be given of the estimate that was placed upon his business capacity by the Messrs. Cunliffe, than the opportunities they gave him for bettering his fortunes by commercial adventures upon his own account while he was acting as agent for them. It was customary where young men were sent out from England, as under-factors, or clerks, and of course the same or greater favors were granted to their chiefs, to grant them in addition to a stipulated salary for a certain time certain privileges of trade, by which they were better quali-

¹ See extracts from his Journal in the Memoir of Col. Jeremiah Banning, one of this series of papers.

fied for independent action, their diligence stimulated and their small income increased. To Mr. Morris these privileges were unusually favorable because of his extraordinary abilities as a merchant. He was not taken into partnership by the Messrs. Cunliffe, but according to Mr. Callister, they winked at or gave their assent to a business arrangement by which a firm was formed of a Mr. William Anderson of London, Mr. Morris and Mr. Hanmer, to conduct a store in the upper part of the county. Mr. Callister said also that Mr. Morris, whether with or without the consent of his principals, was a member of the firm of Messrs. Anthony Bacon & Company whose factory was at Dover, or to use his words kept "a great store at Dover on Choptank." Continuing Mr. Callister said of him:

Mr. Morris died possessed of a good estate which I think became him well. I thought I could see by what means he acquired it, viz., by your particular indulgence in allowing him to ship tobacco and trade as much as he thought fit (which he did to some purpose); and you lately gave him a very remarkable proof of that indulgence by admitting him a partner in the Oxford snow for the Guinea trade. So far, without doubt, was agreeable to you, but as I questioned whether you were privy to the other partnerships, I thought it my duty to make you acquainted.

As tobacco was the staple commodity of the country at the time it was the principal object of trade; and as it was the medium by which values were estimated, and debts paid it was the common currency. Of course scarcely any thing could have been worse for this latter purpose, for it varied in quantity and quality year by year. As an object of commerce it was greatly unsatisfactory for the same reasons, with this one in addition, that there were no standards of excellence by which it could be measured but the arbitrary or partial judgments of buyers and sellers; and its bulkiness was so great that the difficulty in ascertaining its condition when in its packages was almost insuperable with those who had not the opportunities and appliances of inspection. Inspection laws, had not then been passed, nor were there public warehouses for the reception and critical examination of the staple established throughout the county as there were subsequently. The evils enumerated had been long felt in the community, but the legislation necessary for their amelioration had not been secured. The difficulty of securing the reform of any mischievous system which has grown up in any society, and penetrated the whole body by its roots, is one of familiar facts of practical politics. When innovations, acknowledgedly demanded, are attempted

to be initiated in a community where customs or laws are established, the interests of so many persons are injured or imperiled; the interests of so many more are undeservedly and improperly promoted at the expense of the innocent and helpless, there are so many established rights invaded, and so many private wrongs inflicted; the natural conservatism or inertia of men to whom ancient order, with all its inconveniences and detriments, is acceptable, is so violently assailed; and the new order of things, with all its advantages, is so repellent by reason of its difficult applicability to cases originating under old conditions, that there is always a pervading objection to reforms however clearly their beneficent results are perceived and however severely the evils they promise to remedy are experienced. While laboring to secure legislation for the removal of the evils to commerce and society of an unsettled standard of valuation of the staple product upon which all business transactions were based, the active mind of Mr. Morris devised a remedy which though of voluntary application was so just and wise that it was accepted by all the dealers in tobacco and most of the producers. This consisted essentially in the appointment by the merchants of private receivers, who were expert and honest, and went from plantation to plantation examining the crops, and giving certificates of quality to the owners, which were generally accepted by the buyers as proof of the grade. When the tobacco was brought in to the warehouses, as fraud was sometimes attempted by the planters, a second inspection was sometimes requested by the merchant. When a planter shipped his own product, a fear of rejection abroad rendered him wary of including anything of an inferior quality.² The benefits resulting from the system of private inspection were so marked that in 1747 an Act for the legal inspection of Tobacco was passed, but it was imperfect and after several amendments in years following, it seems to have lapsed. No good law was secured until that of 1763, which was most comprehensive and efficient. The inconveniences resulting from the employment of tobacco as a currency or medium of exchange, Mr. Morris attempted to remove by the adoption in his private business of a system of accounts kept in denominations of sterling money. He is said to have been the first to make this attempt in Maryland. In this he succeeded but imperfectly, his premature

² See memoir of Henry Callister and also that of Col. Jeremiah Banning in each of which are references to the part taken by Mr. Morris in improving the staple of tobacco by the employment of receivers; and also in securing the passage of an Inspection law.

death probably interrupting his endeavors to give generally to what he found useful in his own transactions.³ If this statement be true, and it was made by one who should have known, it justified the remark of that person, that Mr. Morris, "As a mercantile genius was thought to have no equal in the land."

In Mr. Morris' time, besides the export of tobacco, a very considerable trade in wheat had grown up, the Talbot lands having shown that remarkable adaptability for the production of this grain which they have continued to manifest to the present day, and their unfitness for the growth of the finer qualities of tobacco, which has caused the entire abandonment of that crop. There were other articles of export, such as peltries, pork and the products of the forest. One of the most profitable parts of the business of the Messrs. Cunliffe was that of supplying the shipwrights at Oxford and its vicinity with these articles which were requisite in the construction and equipment of vessels. Ship building was carried on extensively, and this firm was a purchaser of the products of the shipyards of the neighborhood. Besides the materials for the building of vessels which could not be supplied from domestic sources, the families of the workmen had to be furnished with many of the necessities of life from the stores under Mr. Morris' care, and this was a source of great gain. It has been noted that the Liverpool house was engaged in the African slave trade, and that its factor at Oxford had been admitted to share the bloody emoluments earned by one of its vessels. The standards of morals are not absolute, but vary with time and place: so it is not proper to judge the Messrs. Cunliffe and Mr. Morris by that one which is accepted at the present day as a measure of the character of this traffic in negro slaves. Although, at the time, there may have been some few whose moral sensibilities were more acute than those of the great majority (and such sensibility was by that majority thought to be morbid or eccentric) most people were either indifferent to the question of the right or the wrong of the trade, or they pronounced upon it in the manner their interests dictated. There is no evidence that the Messrs. Cunliffe or Mr. Morris were men of low moral development,

³ Whether Mr. Morris was the first to introduce the system of keeping accounts in money or not, the records of Talbot county show that at or about 1750 it became common for merchants to employ this method. Suits were brought upon accounts in 1754 rendered in part in Sterling money, in part in Currency and in part in Tobacco. In 1723 the rates of charges at the Ordinaries were stated in currency and in tobacco; in 1734 and forward in currency only. The levys of the county were made in tobacco until 1777.

yet they seem to have had no qualms of conscience about the purchase or sale of negro slaves:⁴ and it would be difficult now to prove by any ethical dialectics founded upon an utilitarian system of morals, that African slavery was wrong, the enormities of the middle passage excepted which were not necessary incidents of the system, if its injurious effect upon the superior race, then not apparent or at least not realized, were eliminated from the premises. They were not absurd though they may have been dishonest who said they enslaved negroes that they might better them, by bringing them within the verge of civilization.

There was another form of human traffic carried on by the Messrs Cunliffe and their agent at Oxford which was entirely free from censure, though not always nor wholly free from hardship and suffering to the objects. This consisted in the transportation and sale of servants under articles of indenture and convicts under judicial sentence. It is not necessary to warn intelligent readers against the error of confounding these two classes of enforced immigrants. The first, as is known from the records of this county, as well as from those of others lying upon tide water, were generally not the scum and refuse of the city populations, but reputable, self-respecting though poor and humble people, who driven by the pressure of necessity at home, or invited by the hope of bettering their condition sought the new world; but being unable to defray the cost of their passage across the ocean in money, contracted with Master or Ship owner to serve for a certain specified time such person, in the colonies, as should purchase the right to such service. There was no dishonor, except such as will attach to laboring poverty in spite of all our philosophy and religion, accompanying this condition; but each indentured servant was respected as his character and position deserved he should be. It is known that some who came into this country were the equals if not the superiors, of those who bought their term of service in the elements of a self-reliant manhood and all that wins the regard of men except wealth; and this they were not slow in acquiring, so that they became the founders of families as reputable as any existing in the county. The other class of enforced immigrants, the convicts, were persons of a very different combination of qualities, and were never welcomed. Its numbers seem not to have been very

⁴ The advertisement of Mr. Robert Morris in the old *Maryland Gazette* of July 8, 1746 of "a parcel of negro men, women, boys and girls" just received by the ship *Cunliffe*, Capt. Johnson from Barbadoes, and for sale at Oxford, falls upon eyes illumed by the light of the last quarter of the nineteenth century with startling effect.

great at any time. As previously intimated this whole system of obligatory servitude, whether applied to reputable or disreputable persons, was, like the system of slavery, liable to be abused, and the court records give abundant evidence of the wrongs and cruelties inflicted upon its subjects, though the law pretended to afford defence and protection to these very helpless classes of citizens. The Messrs. Cunliffe were justifiable in appropriating any profit that could be derived from the transportation of these people, and are not, in any degree, censurable for such injuries as were inflicted by the cruel masters who bought the right to the services of the redemptioners or the convicts. There were a few other involuntary immigrants, who suffered neither from poverty nor crime, landing at Oxford, while Mr. Morris was factor there, with whose transportation and distribution he may have had nothing to do, but with whose compulsory domiciliation in Maryland and elsewhere in the colonies, the fortunes of the Cunliffe's were involved. There were the Scotch rebels taken in arms at the battle of Culloden in 1746, fighting under the young pretender, Charles Edward. Mr. Robert and Mr. Ellis Cunliffe were zealous supporters of the Hanover dynasty, and rendered such military service during the uprising of the adherents of the Stuarts, as to merit the notice of the King, who rewarded them with orders of Knighthood.⁵

While thus contending in life's race, overleaping all obstructions and daring all dangers of a new and untried course; just when he was distancing all rivals however fleet or strong, and he thought the prize of superiority was surely within his reach; when he already heard the plaudits of the witnessing throng, and felt in his own breast the pulses of a laudable pride in his success, he was suddenly cut off in mid career. The circumstances of his unfortunate death, which constitute one of the tragic legends of the county, have been related with a particularity of detail so varied as to impair their authority: but fortunately there has been preserved a record written by a person who was personally cognizant of the occurrences, if not an eye witness to them. It was the custom of the period for the captain of a ship making a successful voyage from the old country, and arriving safely at his destination in the new, to entertain on board his vessel, in such manner as sailors think most proper and agreeable, the neighboring planters, merchants and other

⁵ These rebels came by the ship *Johnson* of Liverpool, William Pemberton, Master, and arrived at Oxford, July 20th, 1747. Scharf's History of Maryland, vol. I, page 425. The ship *Johnson* belonged to Mr. Richard Gildart of Liverpool who had a factory at Oxford.

consignees or shippers. The factors or commercial agents of the ship owners were favored guests, if they were not often the provident hosts, upon these festive and sometimes too hilarious occasions. It was while returning from one of these scenes of bibulous jollity, where prudence had been supplanted by good humor, that Mr. Morris, who had so far preserved his usual equilibrium as to have been apprehensive of danger from the maudlin demonstrations of good will, received a hurt that speedily cost him his life. The following account of this sad occurrence, which strips off many of the accretions the story of Mr. Morris' death has gathered about it in time, is said to be part of a letter of a gentleman of Talbot, dated July 14th, 1750.⁶

On Thursday last died at his house in Oxford, Mr. Robert Morris, Merchant, agent and factor of Foster Cunliffe, Esq., of Liverpool. He received his death by a gun-shot wound in his right arm, which melancholy and unfortunate accident happened in this manner:—The Friday before his death, upon the arrival of the *Liverpool Merchant*, a ship of Mr. Cunliffe's, he went on board her with some company, and after a small stay there, went into the boat to come ashore, at which time the Captain⁷ was about paying him the usual compliment with the guns. Mr. Morris (as he told me himself), being under an unusual apprehension of mischief, desired the guns might not be fired till he was astern of the ship. But the Captain not apprehensive of any danger and in the boat with him, unfortunately gave the signal for firing whilst the boat was aside of the ship, at about twenty yards distant. The wadding of the first gun passed near the head of Mr. James Dickinson, who sat by Mr. Morris; and that of the third did the mischief. The breechings were left indiscreetly under the guns, and the ship had a heel to the side next to the boat; otherwise this sad accident could not have happened, for without the concurrence of these circumstances, the waddings must have passed over the boat without doing any mischief. The bone of his arm was broken a little above the elbow and a large wound and contusion was made in the flesh. The wound began to mortify the next day, but by the skill and assiduity of those who attended him, the mortification was stopped, and there was good hopes of saving both his life and his arm, until Wednesday evening, when he was seized with a violent fever, which carried him off the next afternoon. Thus

⁶ There is but little doubt, from internal evidence, that this letter was written by Mr. Henry Callister.

⁷ The name of the captain commanding the *Liverpool Merchant* was Samuel Matthews and inasmuch as after the date of the accident neither his name nor that of his ship appears in the long list of Masters and their vessels which has been compiled from the county record. It is believed that they no more visited the waters of Talbot. If this be a fact, it may partly be attributed to the superstition of sailors.

melancholy and unfortunate was the exit of this gentleman, after he had about twelve years past managed the extensive concerns under his care, with advantage to his principal and reputation to himself. My acquaintance with him warrants me to affirm, that he was a merchant punctual and strictly honorable; as a friend sincere, steady, and generous; as a companion gay, cheerful and sensible; as a member of society the foremost to promote any scheme for the public good; in a word a gentleman of the most flowing and diffusive benevolence; frequent and most disinterested and secret in charity, and other good offices; and a shining example of every kind and friendly disposition. These qualities deservedly gained him a general esteem while he lived and have occasioned a hearty sorrow among his friends for his death.⁸

By chance there has been preserved another letter, written undoubtedly by the presumptive author of the one just quoted, which gives some additional incidents connected with the death of Mr. Morris, and also a glimpse of his inner life. This letter is one addressed to Mr. Robert Morris, of Philadelphia, the son of the subject of this memoir, who subsequently became the great financier of the Revolution, by Mr. Henry Callister, to whom reference has heretofore been made, and is dated Dec. 11, 1764. It says:

If I were writing to your father of respectable memory, I should be more particular; and this I can show by four or five voluminous rolls of his letters in my trunk. He seemed to be at first and for some time, my enemy; but it was a mistake. Before his unlucky death, I am much mistaken, if, barring that cursed accident, he would not have preferred my friendship in his last days, as indeed he made a beginning, which however produced more benefit to Messrs. Cunliffe than to him or me. You are perhaps yet too young to read lessons of morality. I shall not plague you with them. I shall only tell you that I was the last that spoke to your father, and the last that heard him speak (for I make no account of two or three old women in the chamber). At his request I read him Plato's *Phaedo*, with which he was extremely pleased, and I

⁸ *Maryland Gazette*, of July 18th, 1750. The variants of this story need not be given, as they are important and apocryphal. One of the fullest of these accounts is given by a grand-daughter, Maria Nixon, and published in Boocher's Repository, of Philadelphia, for March, 1883. In this the expression of Mr. Callister "being under an unusual apprehension of mischief," is explained by the statement of Mrs. Nixon that "he dreamt the day had been agreeably spent but on returning to the shore, he received a wound from a salute (which was customary to fire), and which would cause his death." The statement, that has been repeated again and again, that the accident was caused by the movement of the Captain in brushing a fly from his face being taken by the sailors as a signal for firing the guns, is probably the product of a frivolous imagination.

am confident he died with less pain than he would have done without that. I have the last place in his will, but it was written before he contracted friendship with me, and his death was too sudden.*

It would seem from this that Mr. Morris, instead of seeking in his last hours the consolations of religion dispensed through the authorized channels, which would have been the ministrations of the Rev. Thomas Bacon, the rector of the Parish, than whom none was more capable of strengthening the hope of another life by Christian persuasives, preferred those afforded by a heathen philosophy as presented by its highest interpreter, through the unlicensed medium of an humble fellow servant and friend. It must not be inferred from this, however, that he rejected those tenets which are distinctive of the accepted and orthodox belief, for his will is prefaced with the customary pious formula, expressive of a godly faith and hope, though it must be confessed his life in some particulars had not been conformed to that severe rule of morals, which devout minds accept if religion does not always impose.

He was interred in the burial ground of the parish Church, called White Marsh, and upon the occasion a funeral discourse was pronounced, probably, by his friend the Rev. Thomas Bacon, the rector. An extract of this sermon, so much of it as related to the deceased, was sent by Mr. Callister to Mr. Craven, then in the employ of the Messrs. Cunliffe, for whose eyes it was intended. The grave of Mr. Morris, at the south-west corner of the old and deserted church edifice, may be seen to this day, covered by a much mutilated slab of stone, bearing the following inscription, at this time almost illegible.

In Memory
of
Robert Morris, a Native of Liverpool
In Great Britain
Late a Merchant at Oxford
In this Province
Punctual integrity influenced his dealings
Principles of Honor governed his Actions:
With an uncommon degree of sincerity
He dispised artifice and dissimulation.
His Friendship was firm, candid and valuable.
His Charity frequent, secret and well adapted.
His Zeal for the Public Good, active and useful.
His Hospitality was enhanced by his conversation
Seasoned with cheerful wit and Sound Judgment.

* The collection of Callister letters, unedited, and in the possession of the Diocese of Maryland.

A Salute from the cannon of a Ship
 (The wad fracturing his arm)
 Was the signal by which he departed
 Greatly lamented as he was esteemed,
 In the fortieth year of his age:
 On the 12th day of July
 1750¹⁰

There is a legend connected with the death and burial of Mr. Morris which, being better authenticated than most of its kind, for it is of contemporary record, may have mention here, if for no other reason than that it is confirmatory of the possession by brute animals of the nobler sentiments. It is related that a spaniel dog belonging to Mr. Morris lay in his sick chamber until his death, and then refusing to leave the room where his body was placed preparatory to interment, it crouched beneath his lifeless form, there died and was buried the same day as its beloved master.¹¹ Another story of more doubtful authenticity has been often told and may be repeated without however the garnishments of fiction with which it is usually served. It is related that Mr. Robert Morris, the son of the merchant of Oxford, years after the death of his father, gave a turtle feast to some of his young friends, ladies and gentlemen of Philadelphia, upon the banks of the Schuylkill. When the intelligence reached him that the man who fired the cannon which had killed his father was present, he was overcome by his emotions in the midst of the festivities.¹²

The business of the Messrs. Cunliffe at Oxford, after the death of Mr. Morris was for awhile conducted by Mr. Hanmer, and at a later date by Mr. Henry Callister: but having lost him to whom it owed its great-

¹⁰ The epitaph as given in the text is as printed in the *Easton Gazette* of March 31st, 1821. There are variations such as "Punctuality and fidelity influenced," &c., for "Punctual integrity influenced," &c.; "Principals of honesty governed," &c.; "He despised art" for "He dispised artifice;" "His Charity free, discreet and well adapted," for "His Charity frequent secret and well adapted;" "His Zeal for the Public," for "His Zeal for the Public Good;" and MDCCL for 1750. The lineation is not always the same, nor is the spelling of certain words, as "Publick" for "Public," and "canon" for "cannon." Copies of the epitaph have been made by different persons, no two of which are precisely alike, though the differences are immaterial.

¹¹ This story is varied by the statement made upon apparently good authority that the dog "followed his master to the grave—could not be induced to leave it—and died there."—Maria Nixon in *Booche's Repository*, March, 1883.

¹² This story with embellishments was first told in *De la Plane's Repository* of Philadelphia in 1821; but it was discredited by the circumstances recited.

est vitality, it languished, and seems to have become wholly extinct in or about the year 1759 or 1760.

Any successful portraiture of the character of Mr. Morris, must be little more than a reproduction of the lines and shades that have been already given in the foregoing imperfect depiction of his life. The laudatory words of his epitaph seem to have been better deserved than such mortuary inscriptions generally are, for their truthfulness is confirmed by the concurrence of the testimony of disinterested contemporaries with the well established traditions of descendants. The encomiums of Mr. Callister or of him who wrote the communication to the *Maryland Gazette* at the time of his death, correspond not only with the inscription upon the tomb, but with the estimate of Col. Banning written many years later, which probably reflected the opinions that were still entertained by men who had known Mr. Morris in various relations of life. Mr. Banning in his journal said in addition to what has already been quoted:

As a mercantile genius 'twas thought he had no equal in this land. As a companion and bon vivant, he was incomparable. If he had any public political point to carry, he defeated all opposition. He gave birth to the inspection law on tobacco and carried it, though opposed by a powerful party. He was a steady, sincere and warm friend, where he made professions, and had a hand ever open and ready to relieve real distress. At repartee, he bore down all before him. His greatest foibles, that of a haughty and overbearing carriage, perhaps a too vindictive spirit, and to this may be added an extreme severity to his servants—and which indeed might have been reckoned the greatest reflection on the times, for it was not uncommon, when people of the first class met together at each other's houses, to hear them boast of the new invented ways of whipping and punishing negroes and servants; and I am sorry to say, that the ladies would too often mingle in the like conversation and seem to enjoy it. I am assured, if such characters existed at this day they would be hooted out of society.

This strong and vivid delineation is doubly valuable, first because it was not the extravagant expression of friendship made in the first hours of sorrow and bereavement, and secondly because it notes the spots and blurs upon a character which but for these would have appeared to be too free from blemish to be natural. In a letter of Mr. Robert Morris the younger to Mr. Henry Laurens, President of Congress, dated Dec. 26th, 1777, he said:

Mr. Thomas Morris and myself are descended from a father whose virtues and whose memory I have revered with most filial piety.

Such words could hardly have been drawn from one of such tempered speech and spotless candor unless there had been ample justification for their warmth and sincerity, written when he was suffering the shame and humiliation which the disgraceful conduct of a brother had brought upon him. What then, does this picture painted by different hands, strangers and kinsmen present to our view? A young man overcoming all the hindrances of humble birth, imperfect education and exigent poverty; rising through simple native vigor of mind and probity of character to a position of trust, responsibility and influence; faithfully promoting the fortunes of his employers, yet achieving by no questionable means considerable wealth for himself, in the short space of twelve years: reforming the vicious customs of trade, which he found established, by the introduction of new and untried expedients, to be finally confirmed by statutory provisions; simplifying transactions involving finance, by the abolition of cumbersome methods of the notation of values; giving to the pretty town where his lot had been cast, a distinction and prominence above every other in the Province, the seat of government excepted, by the extent and boldness of his commercial adventures; influencing legislation for the public good, without the aid of official position, and often in defiance of strong opposition; by his intelligence, integrity and trustiness, securing the esteem and friendship of many of the first characters of the county and Province, and by his cordiality, vivacity and wit making himself their chosen companion in their hours of relaxation and merriment; no niggard in personal expenditures and liberal in his bounties to the poor. But this portrait is not all light and color. It has its dark lines and shades. The habits he formed as the independent agent of a great commercial house, in a remote station, and divested of all direct control by his superiors, may have strengthened a naturally imperious will and rendered him arbitrary and exacting towards his inferiors and haughty to his equals. The assumption of these qualities, if they were not inherent, may have been necessary, for the constituents of the new and unsettled community, with which he had to deal required their exercise. As society was then and there constituted, the arrogance and pride of the large planters had to be met with like manner and disposition or the meek and humble would go to the wall, while the ruder populace took the display of such humors to be the right and privilege of the strong and rich, to be tolerated if not admired. Cruelty to servants and slaves cannot be excused but the offence may be palliated by the circumstances. The white servants were often from the most degraded classes of the large cities of England,

and sometimes actual criminals from the jails and work-houses of the old country, and the blacks were actual barbarians fresh from the African coasts. By both of these tenderness would have been interpreted as evidence of weakness and its exhibition would have rendered them more and more idle and disobedient. It should always be remembered when forming our judgments of the treatment of servants and slaves by their masters and owners, that what would be cruelty to highly organized and sensitive natures would be nothing more than tolerable, if not proper punishment, for these constructed of coarser and less impressionable fibre.¹³ It should be remembered too, in considering this particular case, that when Col. Banning, a very compassionate man to his negroes notwithstanding he had been in the African slave trade, perhaps because he had seen the enormities of this trade, was writing of these flaws in the character of Mr. Morris, and reprehending the conduct of the men and women of his time in this community, his mind was suffering from a feverish spell of philanthropy, instituted by the teaching of the Quakers, Methodists and French Philosophers, so that his impressions may be said to have been morbid, though his facts may have been precisely as he has stated them.

All that is known of Mr. Morris' personal appearance is derived from an oil painting in the possession of his great-granddaughter, Miss Elizabeth Nixon of Philadelphia, which has been reproduced in an engraving. It represents him as a man of medium height, full habit, heavy but intelligent countenance, with stern expression, in an attitude of address, or command.

Mr. Morris left two sons by different mothers. The eldest inherited his name, his talents and his fortune. The name he rendered illustrious, and it is inscribed "in letters of living light" upon that scroll of Fame, the Declaration of Independence. The talents and the fortune developed and enlarged by a prosperous mercantile career, after he was appointed the minister of finance for the United Colonies were most diligently and unselfishly devoted to the cause of freedom, so that to him more than to any other man save Washington only, is the success of the American revolution attributable. He is said to have come to

¹³ This subject has frequently been referred to in these contributions, to correct impressions that excessive cruelty was practised upon negro slaves. The writer is no apologist of slavery, but also, he is no slanderer of slave holders. The real evils of that institution were sufficiently great for it to merit the condemnation of all men, and to consign it to the perdition it has so justly found without resort to the exaggerations and inventions of inflamed minds.

America when he was thirteen years of age, and to have spent some time at school in Talbot, before entering the counting room of Mr. Greenway in Philadelphia. After the war of the Revolution he was a partner in business of Col. Tench Tilghman, a native of this county, the aide and friend of General Washington. Mr. Morris of Oxford has descendants through Robert Morris, the signer and financier, yet living. The second son bore the name of Thomas, and died in 1777 without children.

The authorities consulted in the preparation of this memoir have been commonly mentioned in the text or the notes: but they may be summarized as follows: The Public Records of the County, the 'Maryland Archives,' the Maryland Gazette, the Callister letters, the Banning Journal, the Easton Gazette, Boochee's Repository, and private letters of Henry Casey Hart, Esq., of Philadelphia.

HENRY CALLISTER

(Pronounced Collister)

Among those persons who were arriving in the year 1742 by one of numerous ships trading between Liverpool, England, and Oxford, Maryland, was a young man, able, intelligent, ambitious and poor, who, without pretending to any such lofty and disinterested motives as were said to have actuated the early settlers in Maryland—such as a "laudable zeal for extending the christian religion and also the territories of our empire" as our Charter hath stated—but with sole purpose of taking advantage of those opportunities for bettering his fortune which, denied in the old country, were offered to him and all others in the new, came to America, and became a resident of this county. This young man was Henry Callister. Without the distinction of high public office or the eclat of brilliant performance, by his many useful services, and equally by certain eccentricities of opinion and conduct, he drew such attention of the community or communities in which he lived as few men of his day, of superior prestige were able to win. For what he was and for what he did, he is not undeserving of such commemoration as can be given by some imperfect account of his life of failures and disappointments, drawn from materials furnished by his own hand. In the keeping of the librarian of the Protestant Episcopal diocese of Maryland there is a large collection, probably as many as one hundred or more, of the letters of this Mr. Callister to his relatives and friends in the old country, or to the commercial houses of England and America of which he was either the factor or the independent customer. They

are copies of his letters, made with much labor at a time when there were none of those ingenious devices for duplicating writings that are now employed. At one time this collection of letters was in the keeping of the Goldsboroughs of 'Myrtle Grove,' who were the kinsmen by marriage of Mr. Callister, and they came into the possession of this family through Mr. Callister's daughters, the frequent visitors to this home of wealth, refinement and intelligence, where probably some of them ended their days. These letters fell into the hands of certain annalists or putative historians who have left marks of their ravaging in the many interruptions of continuity in what at one time was a connected series extending over many years. There are lacunae which can only be filled by the recovery of letters which have been very evidently abstracted. It is lamentably true that there is often little regard paid by persons engaged in historical research to the sacredness of original documents confided to their confidential examinations: and that there often exists a very obtuse sensibility to the criminality of surreptitiously carrying off portions of such documents that may be of use to the investigator, in order to save the labor or expense of transcription. It is probable that the many letters which have been removed from this collection of Henry Callister may yet be recovered, as some of them have been published and the remainder may be among the papers or in the hand of the person authorizing the printing of these few. What is known of Mr. Callister and most of that which shall be related of him has been drawn from this collection; but there are slight references to him in the records of Talbot and Queen Anne's counties, and a few traces of him discoverable in the old *Maryland Gazette*. Much that shall be conjectural or based upon purely circumstantial evidence, for no one of his blood has taken the pains to perpetuate any of the incidents of his life—not so much as the places and dates of his birth and death.

There is but little doubt that he was a native of the Isle of Man and in early life a resident of the town of Douglas, where his family lived, and is still represented. Assuming, what is circumstantially probable, that upon his arrival in Maryland he had passed, by several years, the term of his minority, he must have been born somewhere about the year 1716 or 1717. He was one of seven sons (Anthony, Robin, Ewan, Hugh, Thomas and John) of a widowed mother who died in 1743. It is very evident that his education was intended to fit him for some other avocation than that of a commercial agent or merchant. If he did not possess a knowledge of the Greek and Latin, he had read and appreciated the masterpieces of those languages as translated into his vernacular.

He was acquainted with French, acquired probably during a short residence in that kingdom for one of his extant letters is written in that tongue. Many references to books in his library which he brought to America, or which he imported after coming, indicated his familiarity with the English classics and contemporary literature. It is evident also that he was well informed in certain branches of natural science, zoölogy and botany, of which he seems to have been very fond, as will be hereafter noticed.

If the conjecture be true, and it is merely conjectural, that his early education was intended to prepare him for one of the liberal professions, discouraged either by a consciousness of a lack of a natural capacity, a deficiency of moral qualifications, or what is more probable, by the narrowness of his means, from persevering in a path which had been marked out for him by parental partiality or chosen by personal ambition, he appears to have soon abandoned all hope of advancement through those professions in which long scholastic training is necessary, and of which the rewards were dilatory in coming. He therefore, according to one of those letters which were abstracted from the collection mentioned, entered into "a regular apprenticeship in a counting house shop and cellars at home, afterwards two years more in a compting house in Dublin and one year in France." After this, it appears, he went to Liverpool, then growing to be the great emporium of American Commerce, largely through its participation in the slave trade, and later in privateering, so nearly akin to piracy, in both of which, as agent but not as principal, he became engaged. In this city he met with many countrymen, Manx men, and through them he found employment in the commercial house of Foster Cunliffe & Sons, who were ship owners and merchants trading with the West Indies, Virginia and Maryland, having their 'factories' and 'factors,' as their warehouses and agents were called, at several points upon the Chesapeake, Oxford apparently being the principal depot and Robert Morris, at the time under consideration, the chief manager. How long he remained at Liverpool is not known, but evidently his stay was brief. Discovering that promotion was likely to be slow and the chances of advancing his fortunes but slender in a city to which the adventurers from all quarters of the Kingdom were flocking, he turned his eyes to those countries of which he was receiving glowing accounts from the Captains of the vessels belonging or consigned to the Messrs. Cunliffe. Finally he asked that he might be sent out to Maryland as an under-factor. Accordingly he entered into a contract with the firm that he should serve them in that capacity

for five years, with an annual compensation of twenty pounds sterling, with "the privilege all this while of selling my own goods in the store" according to the letter already quoted.¹ After such preparations as we may suppose one would make, who was leaving behind all those whom he held dear, and sundering associations that had afforded in the past and were promising in the future his greatest pleasures, he was dispatched "with good recommendations" by one of the ships owned by this commercial house to Oxford, with instructions to report to Mr. Robert Morris, their chief factor at that port.² He seems to have arrived in Talbot about the middle of 1742, for his first letter addressed to the senior partner, Mr. Foster Cunliffe, of which a copy has been preserved, is dated August 1st of that year, and another letter addressed to Mr. Ellis Cunliffe of the 14th of September, 1743, speaks of his having been in the country just one year. Very soon after his debarkation he was sent to Cambridge, where the Cunliffes had a factory, and where he seems to have remained a considerable time—long enough at least to become interested in a young lady, whose favor he failed to secure on account of a scandal, the truth of which he denied in a letter of singular frankness to the object of his passion, and attempted, ineffectually it would seem, to shift the consequence of an illicit connection from his own door, where it had been laid, to that of his fellow clerk, Mr. Hanmer. He soon, however, returned to Oxford, and there remained during the five years of his indenture as under factor of his 'masters,' as he calls the

¹ In another letter he states that his compensation, at first, was 30 pounds, and that afterwards it was increased to 35 pounds. In this letter he also states that he had certain undescribed privileges of shipping upon his own account. In a letter to Mr. Henderson, King's Officer at Ramsey, of Aug. 21st, 1746, he says: "You'll not be ill pleased to hear that I am now settled here on as good footing as I can wish. I have a good salary and a pretty extensive allowance in trade for my own acco's, with other privileges and perquisites with which I am quite satisfied and which I would not exchange for all the schools in the Isle of Man." It may here be noted that this same letter contains a story of a boy near Oxford, who had a marvelous vision; but this is not worth relating.

² The firm of Foster Cunliffe & Sons, of Liverpool, consisted of Mr. Foster Cunliffe, the father, and Mr. Ellis Cunliffe and Mr. Robert Cunliffe, the sons. They were the owners, or they had interest in the cargoes of these ships trading between Liverpool and Oxford from 1742 to 1746: Ship *Robert and John*, Capt. Johnson; Ship *Antelope*, Capt. Goulding; Ship *Prince of Orange*, Capt. Smith; Ship *Cunliffe* (built at Skillington's Point, near Oxford), Capt. Prichard; Ship *Ellis and Anne*, Capt. Ashburner; Ship *Liverpool Merchant*, Capt. Gardiner; Ship *Planter*, Capt. Fowkes; Ship *Middlesex*, Capt. Welsh. All these and others are mentioned in the Callister letters.

Messrs. Cunliffe, the chief factor as before mentioned being Mr. Robert Morris.³

The collection of Mr. Callister's letters contains much that is of little permanent interest, but there are many passages which merit the attention not of the biographer only, who would trace the character and career of this worthy, but also of the historian of the county and state, as illustrating, perhaps as illuminating subjects and events of prime importance. Omitting, for the present, those references to incidents of a strictly personal nature which these letters contain, those relating to subjects of a more general significance may first receive some brief notice. For many years the "town and port of Oxford" had been growing in importance as a place of trade. The flood tide of its prosperity may be said to have marked its highest point during the time of his residence there, and the ebb of its decline to have set in soon after he abandoned its once busy streets and frequented harbor. In a letter of Jan. 10th, 1743, he speaks of there being "twice as many buyers in the county this year, as heretofore." In the year following he notices the decline in the quantity of peltries offered for sale at the factory. In 1750, soon after the death of Mr. Morris, he says of the factory at Oxford, "its present state and circumstances cannot be equalled by any in Maryland, owing to the good management of your late factor there." He mentions the fact of Alderman Gildart having a factory at the same port in 1744 and of Mr. Anthony Bacon, the brother of the Rev. Thomas Bacon, having once "kept a store on this river, and is now a merchant of London." This Mr. Bacon formed a copartnership in 1748 with Mr. James Dickinson, and had "a great store at Dover on Choptank," and others elsewhere. When Callister became an independent merchant, the London House of Mr. Bacon furnished him with goods as long as his credit was unimpaired, and that it did not continue to do so, gave him much offence, which he plainly expressed in some of his letters. He refers incidentally to other persons having stores either in Talbot or Queen Anne's counties: thus after his removal from Oxford to the Head of Wye, he mentions a Mr. Banks as being a merchant of his neighborhood. In a letter of Aug. 5, 1747, he gives the names of several persons apparently having stores—Bennett, Brown, Nicols, R. Goldsborough, J. Goldsborough. He says "Bennett will have a store at Wye-town, another at home. R. Lloyd and E. Lloyd have only goods for their own families. Mrs. R. Lloyd says

³ Of this gentleman some account, such as very meagre memoranda will allow, is given in another contribution.

they are cursed dear; so are P. Emerson's.⁴ In a letter to Messrs. Foster Cunliffe & Sons of Oct. 4, 1750, he refers to new firms for business in his neighborhood. One, having the style of Anderson Company, consisted of Mr. W. Anderson of London, Mr. Robert Morris and Mr. J. Hanmer of Maryland. Their store was said to be eight miles from his at Head of Wye, and of this Mr. Jonathan Nicols was the factor. He intimates very clearly in a letter written after Mr. Morris' death, his belief that Mr. Morris and Mr. Hanmer, the head factors of the Messrs. Cunliffe had been conducting this business clandestinely, or without the knowledge or consent of their principals. He also intimates that Mr. Morris had been playing the same game at Dover under the firm name of Anthony Bacon & Company. He said explicitly:

Mr. Morris in his most unguarded hours never gave me the least hint of it. * * * If he has not himself advised you of this proceeding, then I am right.

These insinuations made under the guise of solicitude for the interests of his "masters," against the probity of a man who had doubtless, from the day of his landing, befriended him, and who was probably the greatest merchant of his day in Maryland, give us a view of Mr. Callister's character the most unfavorable. Evidently there had existed a jealousy of Mr. Morris' personal standing with the Messrs. Cunliffe, and envy of his commercial success and eminence. Of this Mr. Robert Morris of Oxford, whose name has a celebrity from its being borne by the signer of the Declaration of Independence and distinguished financier of the Revolution,⁵ his son, a separate memoir has been prepared, in which will be found many references to Mr. Callister, who seems to have enjoyed a more intimate relation with him than usually subsists between superior and subordinate. Mr. Callister was with him in his last hours, and was remembered in his last will, with these words:

I give to my friend, Henry Caleister, Merchant, six volumes that he shall chuse out of my Library, and ten pounds sterling and one mourning ring and one of my mahogany armd chairs.

⁴ The records of Queen Anne's Court indicate the existence of a commercial firm or company in 1756 composed of Richard Lloyd, Edward Lloyd and William Anderson.

⁵ This day, Jan. 3, 1888, the public journals announce that the great-granddaughter of Robert Morris, the Revolutionary financier, who was allowed to be imprisoned for debt, is begging the contribution of one hundred dollars, for the purpose of securing her admission to a charitable institution of Washington.

The 'factories' of the Messrs. Cunliffe were supplied by them with every article of luxury or necessity demanded by the people of the county including cloth from the Isle of Man, wine from the Madeiras, spirits and sugar from the West Indies and negroes from the coast of Africa. In payment for these their ships took homeward tobacco, 'skins,' wheat, pork and lumber—perhaps little else. At or about the time of the coming of Mr. Callister, the chief factor at Oxford had introduced, in default of a good law for the grading of tobacco a system of private inspection, for which duty skilled receivers were appointed. In a letter of July, 1745, Mr. Callister said:

I dare say you will meet with very little bad tobacco this year: indeed most of the planters are as great knaves as ever, but the receivers are not so. They refuse, I believe a third part as much as they receive and the planters cull it over again and get sometimes a hogshead or two out of two or three bad. Though the receivers are so hard to please, we find a good deal of trash that has escaped them, after fetching it in, which we debit the planter for.

In the following year the matter of a general inspection law came before the General Assembly of the Province, and as every contemporary reference to the politics of Maryland, at a period when the public press gave so little information of public affairs is of use to their understanding, the following extracts from a letter of Mr. Callister to his "masters" dated May 4, 1746, may possess some value.

We are in great hopes of getting an Inspection law made. Our Assembly seems to have it in their heads and it is approved by most of the Clergy and Officers, who were the chief objectors at first, and the Planters are in general convinced of the necessity of some such scheme as they have in Virginy [sic]. Some are for a burning law, such as they have had formerly in Maryland. Another plan has been proposed, but as it is blended with the Revenue bill for 2£ 9s stl., further duty per hhd., on Tob'o exported (a scheme to pay quit rents which they had under consideration last year and which the government is very earnest for,) and as the Tob'o is there confounded with other branches of trade that ought to stand on their own bottoms, I hope they will find out a better method than to set up an insignificant lumber trade at the expense of the Tob'o trade which is the only great support of the Colony. The Revenue bill is the absurdest scheme that ever was invented, yet many are for it, though its most potent advocates can offer no better reason to support their opinions than that the people desire it, and that if the Planters lose by it, they will not be sensible of the loss, because then the Merchants and Shippers will pay the Land Rents, both for them

and those that make no tobacco; not considering that the merchant knows how to proportion his price to their incumbrances—a strange delusion and at the same time a very poor compliment to Messieurs the Planters to imagine them so stupid and insensible of their interest that they will suffer themselves to be so grossly imposed on. * * * But further as to the Inspection plan: it is by some proposed, besides the Officers and Clergy allowing a reduction of their fees in proportion to the meliority of the staple when regulated and improved, that the merchants &c. shall also proportionably abate their bonds and outstanding debts, [no] doubt they ought to be consulted upon an affair where their property is so much concerned; which, however, unreasonable it may be to retrench anything of a just debt that was contracted to be paid in Toba'o of the same quality that this scheme is calculated to give it, as it actually will be so much better than they can otherwise have it, I believe the merchants will find it to their account in subscribing to these terms.⁶

While tobacco continued up to the time of Callister's leaving the service of the Messrs. Cunliffe, to be the principal article of export in their ships, already it has been discovered that the lands of this and the adjoining counties possessed that peculiar adaptation to the growth of wheat for which they have since become celebrated, and the culture of this grain, which here grows to such admirable perfection, was gradually supplanting that of the "Sot Weed" which does not attain the excellence it displays in other sections of the State. In an inventory of the stock of Messrs. Cunliffe at Oxford taken by Mr. Callister in 1756 there are items of 3436 bushels of wheat in the graneries and only 7 hogsheads of tobacco in the warehouse. The former was valued at three shillings and six pence currency per bushel and the latter at three pence currency per pound; or by reducing these prices to Federal money at the rate

⁶ The last part of this extract is somewhat obscure, but it has been copied as it was found written. The Inspection law of the passage of which Mr. Callister was so sanguine failed to receive the approval of "Our Parliament" as he calls the General Assembly of the province, in the letter; but in 1747 an act for the improvement of the Staple of Tobacco did pass, which had supplements and amendments in subsequent years. To this law of 1747 he refers in a letter of August 6th, of that year when he speaks of the necessary changes to be made in the methods of business through its provisions. In this letter he speaks also of a class of country merchants in this county who were styled *Chinces* (if this word be correctly read) and who bought tobacco of the small planters generally in debt to them. Mr. Callister states that the large planters shipped their tobacco upon their own account, without the intervention of factors. It may be said that no effectual Inspection Law was framed and adopted until the great act of 1763, which had notable political consequences.

of two dollars sixty-six and two-thirds cents to the pound Maryland currency we discover that in our golden age, in the "good old times" of 1756 wheat was worth in Talbot county at tide water only forty-six and one-half cents and tobacco but three and one-third cents, which may be consolatory to the farmers of the present time. The article which was the first to be exported from Maryland namely peltry, was diminishing in quantity with the spread of the settlements and accordingly we learn from a letter of Mr. Callister already quoted that at Oxford 'skins' were scarce in 1743, but were still an object of commerce. He mentions in another letter the exportation of 'walnut logs and plank,' and to this more than to home consumption may be attributed the rapid destruction of a valuable timber and the almost complete extermination of a beautiful ornamental tree which grows when permitted with great vigor and luxuriance in the soil of Talbot. In Mr. Callister's letters there are many casual references to the participation of the Messrs. Cunliffe in the slave trade which they carried on both directly with the Coast of Africa and indirectly through the Barbadoes. Thus after the death of Mr. Morris in a communication addressed to the Liverpool house he said:

You gave him a very remarkable proof of your particular indulgence by admitting him a partner in the Oxford snow for the Guinea trade.

There are references to a trade with Senegal also. The allusions to the arrival of ships at Oxford from the West Indies with negroes on board are so numerous as to indicate that this kind of commodity very commonly made a part of the cargoes from those islands. There is not positive evidence in the Callister letters that the Cunliffes engaged, as many of the Liverpool merchants of the time did, in private predatory naval warfare after the breaking out of hostilities between England and France, in the year 1744; but there are intimations that in the fall of that year it was in contemplation at Oxford to fit out the new ship Cunliffe, then just completed at Skillington's Point at the mouth of Trippe's creek, as a privateer. It appears however that she went to sea an armed merchantman prepared to defend herself and cargo rather than to spoil the enemy, but perhaps ready to attack vessels of her own class if there should be favoring opportunities. She encountered on the 7th of January, 1745, a French privateer of twenty guns and two hundred men, off Cape Clear, when a severe fight ensued. The Cunliffe succeeded in driving off the enemy and arrived safely at Liverpool, but she lost her brave captain in the engagement. Referring to this action

in a letter of July 28th, 1745, to his fellow clerk in Liverpool, Mr. Robert Whitfield, he said:

Though we are with reason concerned for poor Captain Pritchard's misfortune, yet his gallant behavior in defending his ship and his safe arrival are very agreeable news to us. * * * Capt. Pritchard and his crew behaved as they ought to do. He died with glory. His epitaph is prettily done and has been printed in the *Maryland Gazette*. I dare say none of our commanders here will behave ill in such circumstances, but God avert the occasion.

There are in Mr. Callister's letters many references to the war with France, declared in 1744, and known as 'King George's War.' Into this war the colonies of Virginia and Maryland entered in a kind of half-hearted way, but those of New York and New England with much more spirit and vigor, as they meant to convert it into one of conquest. These references scarcely merit notice, for they add nothing to our knowledge of the events which were occurring, and which were merely preliminary to the great contest for supremacy upon this continent that came on a few years later; nevertheless, as they may be illustrative of the temper of Maryland, some of them may be quoted. In a letter to Mr. John Lewellin of Ramsay of August 13th, 1744, there is some political and military information imparted to his correspondent respecting the war then in progress, in which Spain as well as France was involved—of the treaty with the Six Nations, of the fitting out of privateers and the capture of prizes, &c., &c. In a letter to Mr. Robert Whitfield of Liverpool, dated November 25th, 1744, he says:

Immediate upon the news of your having declared war against France in England, we did the same in Maryland; and a pretty condition we are in for the war. I hope our neighbouring colonies will fight for us North and South, and the Indians have promised us they won't let the French come down upon us in the West. But I believe there will be no attempt made upon us. Our poverty will protect us.

Again in a letter of May 4th, 1746, he said:

Our Parliament had a sitting lately. They did no business but to grant 100£ sterling to be given to the Indians to engage 'em on our side against the French, who 'tis said have been tampering with them. The meanness of the present tribe or subsidy, whatever it may be termed, is matter of ridicule to our neighboring colonies. The Pennsylvanians say it is intended to furnish the Indians with Jewsharps; and the Virginians call it a present of an Indian Tomhawk; but as the Governor more seriously expresses it in his speech at the breaking up

of the Assembly, they have put the Province to 600£ expences to give 100£ to the Indians, and desires them to consider the absurdity of it at their next meeting. There is a great deal of bad blood betwixt them, which hinders their doing of business.

In a letter to Mr. C. Craven of August 21, 1746, he speaks of Maryland having raised three hundred men for the French War, of the factors at Oxford having clothed them in a 'livery' or uniform of "Manx cloth faced with red and blue, half thicks (?)." He adds:

I don't think there's above a score of the Natives or Country born in these three Companies. The remembrance of the Spanish massacre is terrible to them.

In another letter railing at the people for their slackness, he says:

We are a parcel of mean-spirited fellows in this province. They are still worse in Virginia.

In a letter to Mrs. Dufour, mindful of the foible of her sex, he writes:

We are busy here about reducing Canada. We have clothed the best part of that share of the forces furnished by Maryland, with Manx cloth out of our store, faced with red. You never saw the Manx russet make so smart a figure in your life. I was the first that beat up volunteers, and in half an hour got fifteen men. It was fifteen days before they got shirts for these fifteen men. Bearskins and Indian scalps in abundance, by and by.

From this long digression from the narrow but devious path of the life of Mr. Callister into a consideration of general topics suggested and illustrated by his letters, it is now necessary to return, and to attempt to follow his trail by such slight marks as he has left behind in these fugitive leaves. His career has heretofore been followed down to the earlier years of his apprenticeship as clerk at Oxford under Mr. Robert Morris. Before his term of indenture had expired he was indulging ambitious hopes of succeeding the chief factor, for he said in a letter of September 21, 1746, to his brother:

As to the chief place here, it is a place of great profit indeed, and I without doubt must expect to succeed to it; but while it is filled with the persons now in it, I am quite satisfied and very well. You must know there are two of them [Mr. Morris and probably Mr. Hanmer] and I think I stand a chance for either as soon as they incline to drop it.

But his advancement was not made immediately in the line of his expectations, though ultimately it was. After he had served his apprenticeship, he was, in 1747, ordered to take charge of a store of the Messrs.

Cunliffe at the "Head of Wye," the locality of which is in some doubt, though possibly it was what at one time was called Emersons, and now Wye Landing, or it may have been above this, for in latter years the Head of Wye was at the farm now owned by the Foremans, in Queen Anne's county. In the year following he contracted a marriage with Miss Sarah Trippe of a Dorset family, of whom nothing is certainly known but that her sister was the wife of Mr. Mazwell, a neighboring merchant and a kinswoman of Mr. Emerson, also a merchant of the same vicinity. The business of the store at the Head of Wye seems never to have prospered under Mr. Callister, owing as he intimates to great competition, and accordingly he was removed by the Messrs. Cunliffe to their store at Townside⁷ on Chester river, which had previously been under the care of Mr. Hanmer who was sent to succeed Mr. Morris at Oxford after his lamentable death in 1750. It had been Mr. Callister's hope to be placed in charge of this factory at Oxford, which was "unequalled by any in Maryland," as he said, and his letters to his principals casting suspicion upon the conduct of both Mr. Morris and Mr. Hanmer were designed to effect this object. The store at the Head of Wye was still kept open under the care of Mr. Kemp, and there was a store of the Cunliffe's at 'Newtown,' with Mr. Dannet as under factor. Mr. Hanmer was the over-factor for all the establishments.

How long Mr. Callister remained at Townside is not precisely known, but from what has been said of his connections with the Acadians, it is evident that he had been removed to Oxford in 1755, and was then in charge of the factory there. Thus was his ambition gratified, as well as his longing for the invigorating atmosphere and luxurious bivalves of Third Haven and Choptank. For his health had suffered from malarial diseases contracted upon the head waters of Wye and Chester rivers, and their shell fish were unpalatable. When alluding to Oxford, as he often did in his letters, the praises of the salubrity of its air alternated with those of the excellence of its oysters—commendations which are not less deserving now than then. It may be well enough to note here that Mr. Ellis Cunliffe and also Mr. Robert Cunliffe had in about the

⁷ It is difficult to determine where "Townside" was located. In a letter of Callister he says it was upon Chester river, twelve miles above Newtown. Now according to the act of 1706, chap. 14, also act 1730, chap. 15, was the same as Chestertown: So that "Townside" may have been at or near Crumpton, in Queen Anne's. This is largely conjectural. No citizen of Queen Anne's or Kent, who has been consulted, knows of any place that bore or is bearing the name of *Townside*. Nevertheless, Townside may have been Chestertown.

year 1756, received the honors of Knighthood, upon which Mr. Callister congratulated them, possibly for their military services to the King, rendered at the time of the rising of the Pretender, for the former had then commanded a company in the royal army. The commercial business in Maryland, however, was continued under their direction, but how long is not evident. A curious and characteristic advertisement was inserted in the *Maryland Gazette* of September 1, 1757, by their factor at Oxford, which was as follows:

Oxford August 27, 1757. Thou who, for want of assurance, or want of modesty, have been so bashful as not to regard the kind admonition lately given them is so many Gazettes, are now desired to pay in cash what they owe to Messieurs Cunliffe's concern in Oxford; for the tobacco I presume is in the ground, and in that condition it no longer pays debts. They have hitherto been invited to pay with wheat, tobacco, and almost every way the most indulging to them. Since the discontinuance of that advertisement, I have indeed called upon several of them in the way best suited to the Constitution of the country. To the rest, I intend to allow five weeks from the date of this public notice; after the expiration of which, if they do not comply they may take to themselves five courts according to custom, and then petition for an act to pay off in oyster shells at twenty-five per cent. more than they are worth. The persons to whom this is addressed, understand me well, and perhaps, will allow I now speak plainer English than I have hitherto done. They never had so much patience with one another as I have had with them.

H. CALLISTER.

It would be interesting, but it would be out of place, to trace the significance of certain allusions in this advertisement—as for instance to taking ‘five courts,’ which of course means delay of judgments and executions; or to petitions for “acts to pay off in oyster shells,” which may mean laws to satisfy debts by some other medium than the usual currency.

Many of the letters in the collection from which so much has been extracted were written at Oxford during the time of Mr. Callister's second residence there, but they are almost wholly of a business character and give as little insight into his own. There is but slight doubt that the business at Oxford seriously declined under his management. Whether this was owing to his incompetency and neglect, or to circumstances which no capacity or attention could control, for Oxford had even then entered upon its era of decadence, it is impossible now to determine; but this decline brought about a variance between the Messrs. Cunliffe and their factor, which resulted in his resignation of their

employment in or about the year 1759, and in his removal again to Townside on Chester river, where in 1760, he was conducting a store on his own account.⁸ He appears to have been aided by Messrs. Anthony Bacon & Company of London, in his trading adventure, by whom he was supplied with goods from abroad: but he had other commercial correspondents at home, through whom he secured supplies. Among these were Mr. R. Greenway and Mr. Robert Morris of Philadelphia, the last mentioned being the son of his former over-factor, and Mr. Wolstenholm of St. Mary's and Annapolis. A letter to a Mr. Gilpin, apparently a neighboring merchant written in 1760, may serve to indicate a commercial custom of the time. It says:

Although it is not the plan for one merchant in this country to assort another, I will assort you with tobacco at ten shillings prime, provided the articles you may want do not put me out of sorts.

It would seem, from this, that country merchants deriving their goods from abroad, were not desirous of supplying a neighboring merchant.⁹ Other letters of Mr. Callister, written during this portion of his career, which are almost wholly of a business character, indicate that changes were taking place in the manner of conducting trade with the mother country. Importation was concentrating in the large cities, or ships were sent out from Liverpool or London to the Maryland waters, with assorted cargoes, which found a market, wherever they could, among the numerous country merchants, or large planters, without the interposition of established factors or agents: and their ships took back as freight the products of the planters, who were becoming more independent. It is evident that Mr. Callister had several stores upon Chester river, conducted by his clerks, with his supervision, and that his business was of considerable magnitude. This did not prevent, perhaps it was the cause of his falling into financial embarrassments. By

⁸ It appears that in 1759, the Messrs. Cunliffe closed their business in Maryland.

⁹ Etymological reflections are clearly misplaced in a biographical sketch: but nevertheless it may be well enough to say, Mr. Callister uses in this letter the word *disassort*, as signifying breaking of assortment. Again: may not the phrase as used by him "out of sorts" be the origin of the current phrase of the present, signifying a broken or disordered condition of the health of the body? In the same letter to Mr. Gilpin, Mr. Callister asks of him, "A coil of such wire is as proper, according to Franklin's scheme, with a gilded point, to set to a martin pole, seventy feet long." Lightning rods were then as novel as electric lights are now.

the middle of the year, Messrs. Bacon & Company who had established him in business refused any longer to send him goods. This he resented very warmly in his letters to them, and claimed to be the cause of his discredit. The result was that in 1763, he became bankrupt, made an assignment of all his effects for the benefit of his creditors, surrendered his property at Townside to Messrs. Bacon & Company, abandoned trade and removed to his farm, near Crumpton. In a letter of December, 1762, he speaks of having "shut up shop forever," and added: "I begin to look down to the earth," which did not mean that he was preparing for death, but to cultivate the soil for a living. Accordingly we find that in September, 1763, he had removed to a farm in Queen Anne's county, near Crumpton, where he had built a house as a place of residence. Among the land records of this county, there is a deed from him to his then oldest daughters, Sarah, Margaret and Elizabeth of two hundred and fifty acres of land, called Pearle, and one hundred and sixty acres of land called Sandyhurst, both on Chester river, in consideration of his having received one hundred pounds [money] for three negro girls which were bequeathed to their daughters by Sarah Emerson of Talbot county. It is stated in the deed that the cause of his selling these negro girls was this: that at the time of the bequest he was factor of the Messrs. Cunliffe of Liverpool, at Oxford, and that he was unwilling to receive these negro slaves into his house, in as much as the cost of their support would fall upon his employers. An example of uprightness more admirable than common among fiduciaries.

There are abundant evidences in Mr. Callister's letters that he took a deep interest in public affairs both in England and America, but there are but few indications that he sought political advancement. In the year 1760 he very hesitatingly accepted the appointment from the Governor of a Justice of the Peace for Kent County, and in the following year he resigned. He, however, at the same time applied to be made Sheriff of the county, but failed to receive a favorable response. Some of his earlier letters show that he was a Whig, and a warm supporter of the House of Hanover, and in one he congratulated his "masters" the Cunliffes, upon the defeat of the Pretender in 1746. He loyally, if not religiously, celebrated the anniversary of the Gunpowder plot, as is shown by a passage in a letter from Oxford to his friend William Tear, of Douglas, of November 5, 1745, which reads:

Today is Gunpowder Plott day, and I must go aboard directly to commemorate it.

He lived down to the time of that controversy originated by the Stamp Act, which was preliminary to the great conflict for political independence; but his letters, terminating in the year 1765, make no reference, the most remote to the subject of colonial taxation.

In religion, it is believed his opinions were exceedingly liberal. Doubtless he as a true whig supported the church as established by law and in condemning Papistical disloyalty, also condemned Romish superstitions, but there is an absence from his letters of any thing like religiosity or sanctimoniousness, as well as impiety or skepticism. His references to the clergy of the Church of England are not always the most respectful, and there are hints that he was in sympathy with the dissenters of various schools. This however seems to have been rather from a spirit of opposition than of actual approval of doctrine or discipline. There is hardly a doubt he had imbibed something of the Deism which prevailed in the last century, but continued to pay a decent regard to the observances and respect to the ministers of the church. He certainly secured the good will or even friendship of pious clergymen, and was fond of their companionship. Soon after his arrival in Oxford he had the pleasure of welcoming to Maryland and his home a fellow-countryman from the Isle of Man, the Rev. Thomas Bacon, often mentioned in the paper, who became the rector of St. Peter's Parish, otherwise called 'White Marsh,' and subsequently of All Saints parish in Frederick county. It was this Mr. Bacon who was the able and industrious editor of the magnificent folio volume of the "Laws of Maryland," and the founder of the Charity Working School in Talbot, the first absolutely free school ever founded in Maryland. Much of what is known of this excellent man has been derived from the letters of Mr. Callister, who maintained a personal intimacy or epistolary correspondence with him during many years. Although there was not a complete harmony of belief between these two persons, they were too sensible to contend over matters that, perhaps, admit of no solution; and they found, in addition to the bond of compatriotism, another of good fellowship in their mutual love of music, which they were accustomed to gratify in concerted performances upon instruments of tone.¹⁰ Another clerical friend of Mr. Callister was the Rev. Richard Harrison, long a rector of St. Lukes' parish in Queen Anne's county, who is said to have enjoyed the esteem of his parishioners, to have been just in

¹⁰ The letters of Mr. Callister written of and to Rev. Mr. Bacon may be found in the memoir of this clergyman, making one of this series of contributions.

his dealings, humane, benevolent and prudential to a fault.¹¹ Him Mr. Callister tempted to conviviality by an invitation dated March 14, 1760, to participate in a supper at Townside upon 'oysters' brought from Oxford, which he pronounced to be the best of their kind and caught by the most expert oystermen of that town.¹² Another clerical correspondent and associate of Mr. Callister in 1764, was the Rev. John Barclay, a Scottish clergyman of the Church of England, who succeeded Mr. Harrison as rector of St. Lukes parish, Talbot. He was a man of ample learning, and for this was made one of the boundary commission to supervise the line drawn between Pennsylvania and Maryland. He was a clergyman of reputable life, which cannot be said of all the cloth in his day. He died at Easton, and has left descendants here. The fact that Mr. Callister sought the companionship of men of decided religious convictions must not be taken as evidence of community of sentiment in matters of faith, but rather of his preference for the society of persons of the best intelligence and most virtuous lives. That he secured this companionship, when it was known that his religious views were of a latitudinarian order, must be taken as a proof of his possessing that fundamental element of the gentleman's character, a thoughtful regard for the sensibilities of others, which forbade his obtrusion of his own doubts and questionings into his intercourse with men who are apt to regard all expressions of scepticism as not simply erroneous, but morally culpable, and worse than all, as imputations upon their own sincerity of belief.

It is necessary, though disagreeable, to say that the life of Mr. Callister was not regulated, at least in his early manhood, by the strictest rules of morality, but he erred in two points, where men are most fallible, his intercourse with the sex, and his indulgence in intoxicants. His own letters refer to several entanglements with women, from which, it is to be inferred, he did not extricate himself with entire credit. In the first year of his apprenticeship he was severely reproved by his masters, the Cunliffes, for his abuse of liquors, and in his reply to their letter he candidly acknowledges his fault and promises entire abstinence from inebriating beverages in any "shape or dress." Whether he kept the

¹¹ Dr. Ethan Allen's MS. History of St. Lukes Parish.

¹² It is thus seen that the oysters of Oxford had then an established reputation for excellence. The names of the oystermen mentioned by Mr. Callister were *Daniel Peck* and *I. Ogle*, and are the first in their occupation to be named in any authentic document. Who will grudge to these precursors in a long line of "toilers of the sea" a cranny in the crowded temple of history.

pledge or not is unknown, but it is extremely doubtful if he was able to resist the solicitations of an appetite which is apt to become inordinate and habit which is strengthened by social customs. In fact neither temperance nor continence were the conspicuous virtues of the past century. His want of success in life may, possibly, be attributed to a lack of moral restraint.

One of his pleasures, to which he was evidently much devoted, was music. He was a performer upon several musical instruments, the German flute, the violin, the haut-boy, the spinnet, and later in life the violincello. After the Rev. Mr. Bacon came to Talbot his passion was gratified by concerts with this gentleman, who appears to have been quite an adept with the violin and violincello. What he said of Mr. Bacon as a musician may be found in the memoir, making one of this series of papers, and need not be repeated. It appears he had another musical companion, who also was a Manx man, Mr. William Stevens. Of him he said in a letter to Mr. Tear of Douglas:

I have had the pleasure of playing a tune with Billy Stevens. He has lost a great deal of his musical capacity. However his performance was found sufficient to ravish and surprise some of our best top-men. You must know we abound in fiddlers, but most wretched ones they are. Some of the better sort have a little of the true taste, but they are content if they exceed the vulgar in that, and seldom get any further. I shall give you at foot a specimen of the music that is most relished here. As to other English tunes, they murder them here ten times worse than the county fiddlers in the Island. It is, however, diverting to hear how they do it. I should have passed for a tip-top musician, if the Rev. Mr. Bacon had not come in, &c., &c.

Some years later, in 1760, he writes to Mr. Wolstenholme, a merchant of the Western Shore:

I have had a long fever this unwholesome fall, and have, as well as Mr. Bacon, declined in my passion for music. But I have just got a Violincello, which I have an inclination to learn; and if ever I see the Parson again the Muse's influence may be revived in us again.

It may be a mere metaphysical caprice but nevertheless the thought is ventured, that the same aesthetical impulses which sought gratification in the practice of music were also indulged by the culture of flowers. Philosophy may yet reach the correlation of the tastes, as it has that of the forces. Mr. Callister, by his frequent requests that his friends in the old country would send him roots and seeds of flowers, reveals to us his sensibility to the pleasures imparted by the bright colors, the graceful forms, and the delicate odors of the parterre.

It has already been noted that his education was such as to fit him for other employment than that of commerce, if indeed it may not be said it unfitted him for trade. He was fond of intellectual pursuits, a great reader and a profuse letter writer. He was an observant man, especially of nature. Natural history, including zoölogy and botany, was a favorite study, and he seems to have been upon a level with the science of his day in those departments of knowledge. He frequently sent home to his friends specimens of birds and small animals, and had a habit of keeping live animals upon his premises. There is to be found among his papers an extended essay or memoir of the swallows of this county. It is written as by one acquainted with the details or minutiae of ornithology, as it was then understood. The judgment of a scientific man would be required to determine its value. It evinces the fact that he had divested his mind of certain natural history superstitions, such as the disappearance of swallows under the water upon the approach of winter, and of other popular errors of like kind. There are many allusions in his letters to the trees and plants about him, showing not simply a curious interest in novelties, but an estimate of their value as illustrations of systematic Botany. His library seems, from references made to its contents, to have been quite extensive, considering his circumstances, and was composed of good books of permanent value in letters and science as well as those written upon topics of contemporaneous interest. He also indulged in periodical literature, which then had not attained the extraordinary development it has reached in later years. He had an immoderate propensity to use his pen. His letters are long, in accordance with the custom of a day when newspapers did not supply all the information of current events and comments upon them, and exceedingly well written. They are really notable as showing how a cultivated man may mingle philosophy with commerce in correspondence. To be sure they are artificial and would be regarded as anything else than models for a business man to imitate at the present day, when the extreme of brevity, and simplicity has been reached in stated forms. He seems to have been something of a dreamer, and his thoughtful manner was actually put down, to his discredit by his enemies, to indolence and inertness of mind. His inclination to take broad views and to generalize instead of attending to details and the matter in hand, justified, in some degree at least, this adverse opinion of his character. He was too philosophical to be practical.

Of those qualities of mind which are thought to constitute character, we know something as they were possessed by Mr. Callister, unless

his own letters misrepresent them. He was a man of nice sense of honor and of an integrity that scorned a personal advantage to the injury of another. This is said with the recollection of his information against Mr. Morris, imparted, however, after his death, when no harm could result to the object. He was liberal to brothers in England, giving them generous assistance when their circumstances became straightened, and aiding other kinsmen when they came to America.¹³ His open handed benevolence to, and his active sympathy with the French exiles cast upon our shores, as expressed in his prompt contribution of means and labor towards their comfort and protection, attests the possession of sensibilities keenly alive to the appeals of humanity. Though somewhat self-concentrated and inclined to severe judgments of his fellow-men who made no appeal to his compassion, he was social in his disposition, liking the companionship of the intelligent and virtuous. He evidently did not court the rich, and scorned the aristocratic pretensions of many who surrounded him. He was very impulsive and irritable—quick to take offense and ready to resent injury. These qualities became more prominently developed after he fell into pecuniary embarrassments. He was unable to bear “the wild blows and buffets of the world” with serene equanimity or bold defiance when he came to suffer the latter part of his life the mortification of failure, the loss of his means, and the consequent apprehensions of poverty; and he so gave expression to this suffering in weak complaints and in bitter reproaches heaped upon those he conceived to be the authors of his misfortunes.

As has been before mentioned, he married in 1748, Miss Sarah Trippe, who bore to him five daughters, but no sons, who seem to have been left in dependent circumstances, and as they were well accomplished, they or some of them resorted to teaching for a livelihood. Whether any of them married is uncertain, but there are persons of this county in a very humble station, claiming property as the rightful heirs of Mr. Callister. A young lady bearing the name of Callista Callister inspired some elegiac verses, and perhaps the amorous passion of Mr. John Leeds Bozman, and she is thought to have been a kinswoman of the subject of this sketch, or possibly even one of his daughters.

Of the time and place of Mr. Callister's death nothing has been learned; but if there were those living whom pride of ancestry or hope of inheritance would stimulate to attempt the labor of research, there is

¹³ Francis, a nephew, son of Evan Callister, came to America and for him his uncle sought employment upon the ships of Col. Lloyd and in the counting house or ships of Mr. Robert Morris, of Philadelphia.

little doubt that the records of either Kent or Queen Anne's county would reveal the day of his release, and the bed of his repose from care. His letters ceased about the middle of the year 1765, and it is presumed that broken in fortune and in spirit, he died near this time, in poverty and obscurity, upon his farm near Crumpton, and that there he is buried.

It will be thought more has been said of this worthy than he deserves. Although his services were not remarkably useful and not at all brilliant, it must be remembered that as some men are honored for what they tell, Mr. Callister's aid to the Acadians should cause his name to be admirably remembered by the people of Talbot and other counties: but his letters, written with no vain hope that they would perpetuate his memory to after generations, are such valuable memorials of personal, county and state history, that the poor tribute of this commemorative account of a hitherto unpraised and almost unmentioned man, will not be considered unmerited.

February 25, 1873.

WENLOCK CHRISTISON

THE QUAKER CONFESSOR

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE RELIGIOUS ANNALS OF TALBOT COUNTY, MD.

The persecutions of the Quakers by the authorities and people of New England have long afforded a favorite theme for two classes of people: for certain religionists who think they enlarge the excellencies of their own peculiar sect when they magnify the imperfections of others, and think they hide the faults of their own church when they point to the foibles of what they call in derision the conventicle: for certain patriots who think they can best show a love for their own country by an exhibition of hatred to other lands, and fancy they can manifest a due appreciation of the worth of their own State or section only by denying merit to all beyond its bounds, or at least by a due appreciation of a neighboring country's deficiencies. To hate Massachusetts, with some intense lovers of their State is thought to be the best devotion to the interests of Carolina—to be the equivalent of wisdom in council and fidelity in service; while the man of the North has not been inapt to reciprocate these feelings towards the men of the South, and to misapprehend the nature of patriotic devotion. Now these persecutions by men who had left their old homes to find in the wilderness "freedom, to worship God," were certainly a sad and mortifying exhibition,—sad, that men could be so cruel, mortifying, that they could be

so weak—and deserving our condemnation: but this condemnation will be mitigated in its intensity when we reflect that the atrocities that were practised upon the Quakers were not the result of Puritan, but of Human nature, and that they were not peculiar to New England, but that George Fox was imprisoned and whipped, and Ann Downer beaten in Old England before William Leddra and Mary Dyer were hung at Boston. In America, Round Head and Cavalier, Massachusetts and Virginia united in these persecutions, and even Maryland, with her noble charter of religious toleration, of which we are so proud, has not wholly escaped the foul blot. The laws of Virginia, against these people, were almost as severe as those of Plymouth or Boston, though they were certainly not enforced with nearly so much fierce vigor; while we must blush to read that the council proceedings of the 23d July, 1659, of the province of Maryland contains an order directing all

Justices of the Peace to seize any Quakers that might come into their districts and to whip them from Constable to Constable until they should reach the bounds of the Province.

It is not *certain* that any Quaker was ever whipped, though one historian of the society states that three were fined for extending hospitality to one of the preachers who had been ordered to leave the province, and whipped for refusing to assist the Sheriff in arresting the same person, who was imprisoned for a year and a day, and then sent away to New England, whence he returned to Maryland again to give much trouble to his own friends the Quakers, and finally to be “disowned” by them. There were a few other cases of fines, imprisonment and banishment, beside these of Thomas Thurston and those who gave him hospitality. Unless we accept these instances as veritable, there is no other in our State records of any corporal punishment having been inflicted upon a Quaker—no instance of mutilation by “cutting off the ears” or “branding in the hand”—no instance of the barbarity of being tied to a “great gun,” flogged through the town, and turned adrift in the woods—no instance of hanging by the neck until dead, followed by the stripping of the body, and the refusal of decent burial, such as occurred in New England. It is indeed gratifying to know that after a very short interval of the predominance in the State of a spirit of intolerance to these people, Maryland resumed her early sentiment of freedom of worship, and that she who from the first was the refuge of the persecuted, became again the sanctuary of the Friends. From a libertine King, a papistical proprietary, and a prelatical assembly,

these people received an indulgence not vouchsafed by a sanctimonious Protector, an evangelical governor, and a general court, one of the qualifications of whose members was church fellowship. Our books of laws indicate, and history records, that our provincial authorities, Governor, council and legislature, after the short period of persecution, became not simply tolerant, but solicitous to protect the Friends in all their rights and privileges, even so far as to modify the statutes so as to humor, as it were, their peculiarities. To be sure the property of Friends who would not "train with the militia," or contribute to the support of war by personal service or payment of taxes, or who would not pay the assessment of "church rates," was seized and sold by the Sheriff, and continued to be: but they were exempt from personal violence, and their rights of worship were scrupulously guarded by special statutes. A thorough examination of the records of the court of Talbot, and an equally thorough examination of the "minutes" of the meetings of Friends in Third Haven, have revealed not a single instance of personal violence inflicted upon a Quaker, on account of his religion, in this county, and it is to be noted that our court records extend back to 1662, a period when persecution was rife in New England, and the minutes of the meetings commence with 1676 a period when Friends were still emulous of martyrdom, and would have been sure to record any case of "suffering." The only instances of persecution for religious opinion, or seeming persecution, in all our local annals are the *disbarring* of one John Walker, an Attorney, in 1689, on account of his being a Roman Catholic, and refusing to take the oaths of supremacy and abhorency, and the arrest and imprisonment in the Easton jail (not the jail now standing—as some think) of Joseph Hartley, a Methodist preacher, in 1779, on the "charge for preaching and teaching the Gospel contrary to the act of assembly, entitled an act for the better security of the State"—to use the words of his recognizance. But in both these instances, political rather than religious intolerance was the motive of the laws under which the persons named were punished, and it will be observed they both occurred at periods of political revolution—the one at about the accession of William and Mary and the other at about the overthrow of the English rule in the colonies.¹

¹ What is here said must not be understood to mean that there were no religious disabilities in Maryland. The existence of a *State church* necessarily involves religious disability in dissenters of all sects. It is proper to say also, that at the period when the intolerant laws against Quakers in Virginia and Maryland were in operation the Puritans were either dominant in those States, or largely influential.

There are reasons to believe, at least there are some circumstances that render it probable, that Maryland, and Talbot county itself, where almost from the very first foundation of Quakerism in America, there was a society near the head of Third Haven Creek, afforded an asylum for many of the persecuted and harassed Friends of Old England, New England, Virginia and other colonies. We have or had families in this county, the representatives of which bore the names, Christian or surname, or both, of some of the very earliest and most prominent—prominent for labor and suffering—of the Friends, and these families, as far as we have evidence were of the society. For instance: There was *John Burnyeat*, who lived at "Killingsworth" on Bugby creek near Choptank river, Bullingbroke Hundred, and died about the year 1726. Although said to be the son of William Burnyeat, is it not probable he was connected with that *John Burnyeat*, who travelled and preached in Maryland, and, in all likelihood, here in Talbot, before Fox himself came over, and who was one of the earliest apostles of Quakerism, and organizers of the society? There was *John Edmondson* one of the first Quakers in Talbot,—first in regard to time, and in regard to prominence—a large merchant, who lived at "Cedar Point," the present residence of Jos. R. Price, Esq., at whose house George Fox, in the year 1672, tarried while he attended a five days meeting at the meeting house at Betty's cove, upon the land that now belongs to Robert Dixon, still a worthy follower of that George Fox, as he followed the right. Was not this John Edmondson related to that *William Edmundson*, who was the companion of Fox, and who abode with him at 'Cedar Point?' There was William (?) Crouch, who gave name to that island in the mouth of Wye river, now improperly called "Bruff's Island," and which is occasionally used for purposes that good Quaker, if he was a Quaker, would not probably have approved.² Was he descended from that *William Crouch*, who is spoken of in the Quaker annals as "a remarkable example of Christian meekness and fidelity," and who in England "suffered imprisonments for not swearing, scoffs and revilings of men, loss of goods by distresses, for a good conscience towards God, for not paying to the hireling priesthood, and for meeting with

² William (?) Crouch sold his Island to Capt. Peter Sayer, who was a Roman Catholic, and devised by his will, dated Aug. 29, 1697, 5 pounds sterling to every Priest in the Province, and also gave one-ninth of his estate to "ye Benedictine nuns of Paris," and another ninth to "ye Benedictine monks of Paris, and another ninth to the English Fryars." Capt. Peter Sayer sold the Island to Thomas Bruff in 1762, and from him it derives its name.

the people of God to worship Him?" There was *Thomas Taylor*, who when George Fox was in Talbot lived upon Kent Island, and there entertained that apostle, but subsequently moved up into the Chapel district, near King's creek, and afterwards into Bailly's Neck, and who was appointed on the 8th day of the 7th month, 1676, the first Secretary of the meeting at Third Haven, or as the minutes of the meeting put it, characteristically disdaining to use any title—to "Keepe Friends' Books, and write the concerns of Friends in their men's meeting." Was this Thomas Taylor, the son and biographer of that Thomas Taylor, who surrendered his benefice at Richmond in Yorkshire, to become an unpaid minister among the despised Friends, and who rather than take an oath, suffered an imprisonment of ten years and a half, the loss of his real estate for life, and his personal forever, and the deprivation of the protection of the law? Besides these there are numerous other names borne by Quaker families in Talbot that are distinguished in the annals of the society by having been the names of Friends who suffered for conscience sake, or labored to propagate the doctrine of the "inner light." The Birkheads, the Dickinsons, the Richardsons, the Harwoods were Talbot Friends and these names stand high in the roll of Quaker hagiology, as those belonging to departed saints and confessors. Doubtless there are or were representatives in this county of other more obscure but not less holy personages, who sought and found a sanctuary within our bounds. But without resorting to conjecture, there is one instance well authenticated, of a person who suffered much persecution for his profession and practice as a Quaker, and who, after being beaten, imprisoned, banished and even condemned to death, from which he narrowly escaped, came to Talbot, here settled, married, and died. This was Wenlock Christison, of whom it is now proposed to give an account.

The records of the Third Haven meeting of Friends, if not the earliest, are the most complete of any relating to this county. Commencing with the year 1676 they continue down to this date, with only here and there a small hiatus from negligence of registers. With the permission of Friend James Dixon, to whom no other title of courtesy is here given because he wishes no other, and because in the revolutions of years, that which was designed to be no title, has become one of high distinction, these records have been placed in the hands of the compiler of these memoranda for examination. They are full of information, valuable and curious to the antiquarian and annalist—so valuable and curious that they ought to be placed beyond the reach of fire, that

malign demon that seems to delight in the destruction of all memorials of the past, and to satisfy whose appetite all records seem destined first or last. The first minute in these records is in these words:

Att our men's meeting at Wenlock Chrystison's the 24th day of the first month 1676 [i.e. 24th of March, 1676]. It was concluded by the meeting that the meeting house att Betty's Cove should be finished as followeth; viz't To seale the Gable end and the Loft with Clapboard, and make a partition betwixt the new roome and the old, three foot high, seiled, and with windows to lift up and down, and to be hung with hinges, according to the direction of Bryan O'Mealy and John Pitt, who are appointed by the meeting to have oversight of the same, and to be done with what conveniency may be.

This minute refers to the repairing or completion of the first meeting house that was erected in this county, namely, that upon the creek making in from St. Michaels river, between the lands of Friend Robert Dixon and William Hayward, Esq. It was at this house George Fox attended in 1672, and not at Third Haven meeting house, that now standing near Easton, as is commonly supposed. The Third Haven meeting house was not erected until 1682, when the land was purchased, though it was not completed in 1684. It was called the "Great meeting house at Trade Haven Creek," and was built larger than would otherwise have been necessary, to accommodate the half-yearly meetings held here and West River, on the Western Shore alternately. The John Pitt named as one of the supervisors of the improvements at Betty's Cove, was that John Pitt who gave name to the bridge above the town of Easton (near the slaughter houses) from which bridge the Court House erected near, received its name, and was designated in the court records as the "Court House near Pitts his Bridge." Even after the Friends had one meeting house, and until others were built in various parts of the county, it was customary for them to hold their meetings at private houses—as for instance at Howell Powell's, John Edmondson's, Will Stevens, Wenlock Christison's, Thomas Taylor's, and others. The present concern is with Wenlock Christison himself. Some other circumstances hereafter to be mentioned, concerning this man, mentioned in the records of the meeting, arrested attention, and upon glancing over Janney's History of the Friends, in order to satisfy some other inquiries, it was found that this Wenlock Christison was a notable personage. Mr. Janney drew his information about him from a rare and most curious book, which after much trouble the writer has been able to procure, through the courtesy of the Cherry Street

monthly meeting of Friends in Philadelphia, and of which this is the grimly quaint title:

New England Judged,
Not by Man's, but the Spirit of the Lord:

AND

The SUM sealed up of *New England's*
PERSECUTIONS.

BEING

A Brief Relation of the *Sufferings* of the People called *Quakers* in those Parts of *America*, from the beginning of the 5th Month, 1656 (the time of their first Arrival at *Boston* from *England*) to the latter end of the 10th Month, 1660.

WHEREIN

The Cruel Whippings and Scourgings, Bonds and Imprisonments, Beatings and Chainings, Starvings and Huntings, Fines and Confiscation of Estates, Burning in the Hand and Cutting off Ears, Orders of Sale for Bond-men and Bond-women, Banishment upon pain of Death, and putting to Death of those People, are shortly touched: With a Relation of the Manner, and some of the other most Material Proceedings; and a Judgment thereupon.

IN ANSWER

To a certain Printed Paper, Intituled, *A DECLARATION of the General-Court of the Massachusetts, holden at Boston, the 18th of October, 1659. Apologizing for the same.*

By GEORGE BISHOPE.

Therefore, also saith the Wisdom of God, I will send them Prophets, and Apostles, and some of them they shall slay and persecute: That the Blood of all the Prophets that was shed from the Foundation of the World, may be required of this Generation. From the Blood of Abel, to the Blood of Zacharias, who perished between the Temple and the Altar. Verily, I say unto you, it shall be required of this Generation.

L O N D O N, Printed in the Year 1661

And now Re-printed, 1703.

The above is the title of the First Part. The following is the title of the Second:

New England Judged.
The second Part
B E I N G,

A Relation of the Cruel and Bloody Sufferings of the People called QUAKERS, in the Jurisdiction, chiefly, of the *Massachusetts*: Beginning with the Sufferings of *William Leddra*, whom they murdered, and hung upon a Tree, at *Boston*, the 14th of the first Month, 1660-1, barely for being such a one as is called a *Quaker*, and coming within their Jurisdiction: And ending with the Sufferings of *Edward Wharton*, the 3d Month, 1665. And the remarkable Judgments of God, in the Death of *John Endicot*, Governour; *John Norton*, High-Priest; and *Humphrey Adderton*, Major-General.

By *George Bishope*.

Fill ye up then the Measure of your Fathers ye Serpents, ye Generation of Vipers, How can ye escape the Damnation of Hell?

Wherefore, behold I, send unto you Prophets, and wise men and Scribes, and some of them shall you scourge in your Synagogues, and persecute from City to City.

That upon you may come all the righteous Blood, shed upon the Earth, the Blood of Zacharias, son of Barachias, whom ye slew between the Temple and the Altar.

Verily, I say unto you, all these things shall come on this Generation, Mat. 23, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36.

LONDON, Printed in the Year 1667.

And now Re-printed, 1700½

This book constitutes one of the most terrible indictments ever issued against any people, and though written by a Quaker, with which character we are accustomed to associate all that is gentle and mild, it must be regarded as perfectly ferocious in its language, and vengeful in spirit, as the title pages will alone sufficiently indicate. But George Bishope was one of the sufferers, and much may therefore be forgiven him. Among those who endured persecution of whom this book gives account, Wenlock Christison was not the least conspicuous. The first notice that is given of him is when he with many others was in prison in Boston on the 13th of the 10th month (December) 1660. Among the prisoners was William Leddra, who was destined to suffer death by hanging. It would appear that W. Christison had no settled home, but wandered from place to place preaching. At this time he seems just to have come from Salem. It is not clear what was the particular charge against him, if there really was any other than his being a Quaker and in Boston, contrary to law. He was released, however, with numerous others, including William Leddra, his dear friend, without undergoing any other suffering, or indignity, and ordered to leave the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, under penalty of death if he

should return. But apparently this was not his first imprisonment in New England, nor indeed in Boston, for Bishope in recounting the sufferings of two other faithful servants, mentions that they went to "Plimouth Patent," a settlement not within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts at that time, nor until 1692, "where Wenlock Christison had been imprisoned and suffered Twenty seven cruel stripes, on his naked body, at one time, laid on with deliberation, (so was the order of the magistrates, who stood to see it) in the cold Winter season, who bid the Jaylor lay it on; who did as hard as he could, and then robbed him of his wastcoat (though in that cold time of the year he was to pass through the wilderness,) and his Bible the Jaylor took for fees, who came about midnight, much in drink (so depriving him of the scriptures) and then turning him out in the morning, having not cloathes sufficient left to keep him warm, keeping him without food, from the time of his cruel whipping, to his turning out, (he was five days upon his first commitment not suffered to have food for his money) the Jaylor stopping up the holes saying, *That at such places he might be supplied with provisions;* keeping it so, until he asked them, *Whether they meant to starve him?* After which they allowed him provisions of three pence a day, for five weeks, such as the Jaylor would give him; blood thirsty Barloe [marshal of three towns Sandwich, Plymouth and Yarmouth] having also robbed him of his two other coats, and hat and bag of linen, with upwards of four pounds, when he apprehended him at Sandwich, after ye had banished him upon pain of death, and kept him fourteen weeks and two days, in the coldest time in winter. And thus was he whipped, Robb'd and turned out, after Tho. Prince, the Governour and magistrates, had caused him to be tied neck and heels, for speaking for himself in the Court, who denied him the satisfaction for his goods, robb'd by Barloe, as aforesaid, when he was had to the Whipping-Post, and with much ado, he obtained so much moderation of the Governour as to hear him, who said in answer *'That he must first pay for his Preaching.* * *

**and all this was but for coming into their jurisdiction [Plimouth patent] when he was banished from yours [Massachusetts]." The above account, copied verbatim, is not very lucid, but it is sufficiently clear that Wenlock Christison had been cruelly dealt with at Plymouth, before his imprisonment in November, 1660, at Boston, and it is probable he had been banished under pain of death from Boston before his arrest at Sandwich by Barloe.—Sandwich was within the jurisdiction of Plymouth. The succession of the several persecutions it is very difficult to trace, but it is evidence enough he had been imprisoned, robbed,

starved, whipped and sentenced to banishment, at more than one time and place, up to 1600.

When Wenlock Christison was released from prison in Boston, he was ordered to leave the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts settlement, under a penalty of death in case he should return, as has been before mentioned. At the same time William Leddra was released, and banished under a similar penalty.

But these orders of the civil authorities were held as nothing compared with those commands that were laid upon them, as they were fully persuaded, by Supreme authority; so it is not astonishing, when they felt a spirit within moving them to testify in those places from which they had been driven, that they took their lives in their hands, as it were, and again appeared in Boston. This was not in bravado, but in conformity with a sense of duty which was deemed imperative. Governor Endicott, the Court and the Clergy interpreted their conduct differently, and as proceeding from a determination to defy their power and authority. Accordingly in the latter part of the year 1660, William Leddra, going to the jail in Boston to visit some Friends there imprisoned, was himself arrested placed in irons, chained to a log, and suffered to lie in prison without fire during a severe New England winter. On the ninth day of March, 1661, he was arraigned, in company with others, and refusing to accept his life on the condition of his leaving the province and going back to England, he was put upon his trial, if that can be called a trial where there was no denial on the part of the prisoner of the offences laid to his charge. While the trial was in progress, the proceedings had a most extraordinary interruption, which shall be related in the words of Bishope himself.

But Wenlock Christison, being moved of the Lord, and brought by the Mighty Power of God, with his life in his hand; and being made willing by the same Power and Life, to offer up his life in Obedience to the Lord (in performance of which he found rest and peace) if he saw it good to require it of him, was not afraid of your Laws nor Gibbets, but in the Name and Power of God, though he stood in the Predicament of Death, having been already Banished by you, upon the *pain of Death*, came into your Court, not fearing the Wrath of the Devil nor the Fury of the Dragon in you, which had the Power to kill some, and persecute others of the Saints of the Most High God, even in the very time that you were Trying the said *W. Leddra*, and there nobly shewed himself over the Head of all your Blood and Cruelty, in the strength of the Lord. This struck a great damp upon you, to see a Man so unconcerned in his Life to come upon your Law of Death, and trample it under, insomuch that for a little space of time there was Silence in the Court;

but you recovering your swoon, or the spirit of Iniquity, rising up over all in you again, you began to gather strength, and recover Heart, in your Wickedness, and one Cries out, "*Here is another: Fetch him up to the Bar,*" said you, which your Marshal performed, and bad him "*pluck off his Hat,*" who said "*No, I shall not!*" Then said your Secretary Rawson, "*Is not your name Wenlock Christison?*" Wenlock said, "*yea.*" Then said the Governor John Endicott unto him, after he had acknowledged his name (which he denyed not, though in the Face of Death) "*Wast thou not banished upon pain of Death?*" Wenlock said, "*Yea, I was.*" (See how Truth enables a Man to bear his Testimony, though the Consequence be Death.) "*What dost thou there then?*" said your Governor. He cried, "*That he was come to warn them, that they should shed no more innocent Blood; for the Blood that ye have shed already Cries to the Lord for Vengeance to come upon you.*" Whereupon you said, "*Take him away, Jaylor?*" It must be remembered that three persons had already been hung for being Quakers, and returning to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts after being banished. Accordingly Wenlock Christison was again committed to jail, and his friend W. Leddra being sentenced to death on the eleventh of March, was executed on the 14th of that same month 1661, making the fourth victim of this cruel and senseless persecution.

After the execution and upon the very day that Willaim Leddra was hung, the magistrates, thinking "that his Death would cool or bring under Wedlock Christison," and wishing, as is very clear, to save the life of this man, as well as vindicate their laws, had him arraigned before them. It was then said to him, "unless you will renounce your religion you shall surely Die." To this he firmly answered, "Nay, I shall not change my religion, nor seek to save my life; neither do I intend to deny my Master. But if I lose my life for Christ's sake, and the Preaching of the Gospel, I shall save it." The Court was amazed and confounded by this "Noble Valour for Truth." A Friend, the same who prepared his grave clothes, standing by, said, "Wenlock, Oh! thy turn is next." To whom Wenlock replied with fervor, "The will of the Lord be done." He was then remanded to prison to await the next term of the court, to be held in the 3rd and 4th month, 1661. Before the time for the assembling of the court, there was apparently a reaction on the minds of the people and the magistrates, with the exception of Governor Endicott. Consequently some hesitancy was shown in proceeding to the trial of Wenlock Christison, and the Governor became enraged at this reluctance to enforce the laws,—laws which he seemed not to perceive were not only ineffectual in arresting but were most efficient in spreading the obnoxious doctrines and practices of these scismatics the Quakers, for conversions were made under the very gallows, and which shocked the sensibilities of all by their unnecessary harshness. The Governor after absenting himself, in his anger, for two days from the court, was prevailed upon to return, the magistrates having consented to proceed with the trial of Wenlock. It was a prevalent sentiment of that day, and is one not entirely dispelled at the present, in

which the Quakers were participant, that nature, sometimes—manifests a sympathy with man in his joys or sorrows, by an inversion of her laws, and by giving birth to “signs and wonders.” Accordingly, the writer from whom all these circumstances are gathered states, that during two weeks the “conspiracies of blood” were revolving in the minds of the judges and others engaged in the prosecution, “the natural Sun in the Firmament shone not,” “a remarkable demonstration of the Displeasure of the Lord” * * * “and a true figure and representation of this your wickedness and work.”

At last Wenlock was brought to the bar for his trial, of which we have this most singular account, drawn from, and given in the very words of Bishope’s book.

“So you being agreed, before the judgment seat *Wenlock* was brought; who thither came in a good Dominion, because he felt the Power of God over all; who being there set your Governor asked him, ‘What he had to say for himself, why he might not dye?’—‘I have done nothing worthy of Death,’ (reply’d *Wenlock*) ‘if I had I refuse not to dye.’—‘Thou art come in amongst us,’ said another of you, ‘in Rebellion, which is as the Sin of Witchcraft, and ought to be punished.’—‘I came not in among you in Rebellion,’ answered *Wenlock*, ‘but in obedience to the God of Heaven; not in Contempt to any of you, but in love to your souls and bodies, and that you shall know one day, when you and all men must give an account of your Deeds done in the Body. Take heed’ (said he) ‘for you cannot escape the righteous judgments of God.’—Then said your *Major General Adderton* ‘you pronounce woes and judgments, and those that are gone before you pronounced woes and judgments; but the Judgments of the Lord God are not come upon us yet.’—‘Be not proud’ (reply’d *Wenlock*) ‘neither let your spirits be lifted up; God doth but wait, till the measure of your iniquity be filled up, and that you have run your ungodly Race, then will the Wrath of God come upon you to the uttermost: And as for thy Part, it hangs over thy Head, and is near to be poured down upon thee; and shall come as a Thief in the night, suddenly, when you thinkest not of it.’—‘By what Law’ (said *Wenlock*) ‘will ye put me to death.’—‘We have a law’ (reply’d you) ‘and by our Law you are to Dye.’—‘Who empowered you,’ said he, ‘to make that Law.’ One of you answered, ‘We have a Patent, and are the Patentees, judge whether we have not power to make Laws.’—*Wenlock* replied again, ‘How, have you power to make laws repugnant to the laws of *England*?’

“‘Nay,’ said your Governor.

“‘Then,’ answered *Wenlock*, ‘you are beyond your bounds, and have forfeited your Patent; and this is more than you can answer.’ And he cried out and said. ‘Are you subjects to the King, yea or nay?’

“‘What good will that do you,’ replied your Secretary. ‘What will you infer from that?’

"Wenlock answered, 'If you are, say so, for in your Petition to the King, you desire that he would protect you, and that you may be worthy to kneel amongst his Royal subjects,' or words to that effect.

"To which one of you said, 'Yea.'

"Then Wenlock answered and said, 'So am I; and for anything I know, am as good as you, if not better; for if the King did not know your Hearts, as God knows them, he would see that your hearts are as rotten towards him, as they are towards God. Therefore seeing that you and I are subjects of the King, I demand to be tried by the laws of my own nation.'

Thus terminated this remarkable trial. It has been given in all its details, as far as they can be gleaned from the book of George Bishope, not only because the incidents are extremely interesting of themselves, and illustrative of the character of the man around whom they cluster, as well as of the class of people with whom he was allied in religious sympathy, but because they are profoundly suggestive to the reflecting mind of certain inferences bearing upon the philosophy of human character and conduct. These reflections there is no room here to give, and perhaps nothing new could be said upon a subject that has engaged the best minds.

The sudden change in the conduct of the magistrates and other authorities may be accounted for readily. There was unquestionably a reaction in the minds of the people of the colony, if not favorable to actual toleration, at least to a more lenient treatment of the obnoxious scismatics. It revolted the men who had left the old country that they might enjoy freedom of worship that a fanaticism, as they esteemed Quakerism, so harmless should be treated with so much severity, as to lead some to the gibbet. Another cause of this milder method of dealing with the Friends was the apprehension that the King did not approve of the extreme measures. The first part of the very book from which quotation has been so liberally made had been circulated in England, and had served to awaken public attention to the enormities practised. The King had himself been listening to the representations of persons friendly to the persecuted people, and corrupt and vile as he was, he was neither cruel nor fanatical—A man of the easy virtue of Charles II, was not going to allow his pleasures to be disturbed, or his equanimity to be shaken by the cries of certain of his subjects or the indulgence of malign passions of certain others. Rumors of the disapprobation of the King had reached the authorities in New England, and in anticipation of Royal commands, they modified their laws so far as to exempt the Quakers from the punishment of death. The order of the King was

issued, and sent over by a special messenger in a ship chartered for the purpose in England, not by the government but by Friends; but before it reached Boston, the prison doors had been thrown open, and the prisoners released, as related above. But the New England authorities still continued to inflict the other penalties of these laws with the same rigor and cruelty. The Edward Wharton, who so singularly interrupted the proceedings of the court, as related above, who in disregard, or as they esteemed it, in defiance of the authorities, remained at his home after banishment, and so impudently as they deemed, demanded unconditional pardon and release, was whipped from town to town out of the Massachusetts jurisdiction. And he was not the only one who suffered this ignominious punishment by very many. The following is one of the orders of the court to the constables with reference to this man, and will serve to exhibit the character of the punishment inflicted upon many of the victims of these senseless persecutions of the Quakers:

To the Constables of *Dover, Hampton, Salisbury, Rowley, Ispwich and Wennam.*

You, and every one of you, are required in his Majesty's Name, to receive into your Custody *Edward Wharton*, a *Vagabond Quaker*, and convey him from Town to Town, until he come to the place of his Habitation in Salem; and the Constables of Dover, Hampton, and Newbury, are to whip him through their respective towns at the Cart's tail, not exceeding ten stripes in each town, according to the law of *Vagabond Quakers*, in that behalf. This being the sense of the court held at *Dover*, the 4th July, 1663. And hereof you are not to fail at you Perils. Dated the 4th July, 1663.

Per Silas Stilman,
Cleric.

Thus, E. Wharton on this occasion alone, received three whippings, and these were but three of many. Indeed, he seemed the special object of legal vengeance.—One John Chamberlaine, who was *convinced*, that is converted to Quakerism at the execution of Will. Leddra, was whipped nine times in two years. Worse than all, women, even old and weakly women, were stripped and whipped at the cart's tail through the towns. But to return to W. Christison.

After the release of Wenlock and his fellow sufferers from the Boston jail in 1661, and his expulsion from the Jurisdiction, we have little information respecting him during several years. He is mentioned more than once incidentally by Bishope, apparently during the time from 1661 to 1664, but the writer is so confused in his chronology, that it is

quite impossible to determine the dates of many of the events he narrates. Wenlock appears to have traveled about from place to place, among Friends. At one time he was in Rhode Island, at another at Salem, at another at Hampton, in what is now New Hampshire. At this last named town we hear of him in connection with one Eliakim Wardel, a resident of that place and a Friend. It appears that Eliakim Wardel contrary to the law gave him entertainment, or hospitality, and was fined therefor, but refusing to pay the fine his horse was seized, "a pretty beast for the saddle, worth about fourteen pound."—This same Eliakim was again arrested at the instigation of one Seaborn Cotton, a clergyman, for a like offence in receiving W. Christison, "in the name of a Disciple." On this occasion Wenlock showed that he was not without a certain kind of grim humor, and not at all intimidated by the fierce laws, or their executors. Seaborn Cotton, the Priest, came to arrest Eliakim, accompanied by the constables and posse; or, in the words of Bishope

like a Sturdy Herdsman, he got to him some of the fiercest of his swine. and himself in the Head of them, with a Leader's Truncheon in his hand,

Wenlock meeting them as they approached Eliakim's house asked Cotton "What he did with that Club in his hand." He answered, "He came to keep the Wolves from his sheep." Wenlock asked, pointing to the rough fellows that accompanied Cotton, "whether these were his sheep," and impliedly if Eliakim and he were the wolves. This enraged Cotton, but the keen satire did not deter him from ordering his lambs to carry off the Quaker wolves. The dates of these incidents are not known, but on the 30th June 1664 we find Wenlock again at Boston whither he had come from Salem to meet Mary Thompson and Alice Garey, two female apostles, who had just returned from Virginia where they had not escaped persecution similar to that they had endured in New England; for there too they had endured the pain and indignity of being whipped, receiving

thirty-two stripes apiece, with a nine corded whip, three knots in each cord, being drawn up to a pillory in such an uncivil manner as is not to be rehearsed, with a running knot above the hands, the very first lash of which drew Blood, and made it run down in abundance from their Breasts,

and had been robbed of their goods for fines imposed upon them and finally "expelled those Coasts." To see these returning friends W.

Christison and Edward Wharton came from Salem, and with the women were arrested, convicted of being in the jurisdiction after their banishment contrary to law, and sentenced as usual, to be whipped through the towns. But a Colonel Temple and the wife of the Governor, interceded in their behalf, and all were exempt from the suffering except E. Wharton who was sentenced to be bound to the wheel of a "great gun" and to receive thirty stripes, which sentence was executed in such a cruel manner, says Bishope,

That Pease might lie in the Holes that the Knots of the whip had beat into the Flesh of his arms and back.

In the early part of the year 1665, as near as can be determined, Wenlock Christison was again apprehended for being in Boston, contrary to law, and carried before Deputy Governor Bellingham, Endicott being now just dead, when this colloquy took place between the prisoner at the bar and the Deputy:

Bellingham.—"You shall be whipped."

Wenlock.—"For what?"

B.—"Because you are a vagabond."

W.—"Cain was a vagabond, he slew his Brother, yet he was great in the Earth and built a city. What is a vagabond, as saith your Law?"

One of Cain's Flock.—"Such as have no certain dwelling place."

W.—"How do you know that I have no certain dwelling place among you? If it be so, go then and whip out the King's Commissioners from among you, for they came out of England since I did. They do hire rooms, and carry the keys in their pockets, and so can I. I have Money in my pocket, and clothes to wear, and a Beast to ride on. And what is a vagabond saith your Law. At this Bar the time was, that sentence of death was passed upon me, yet by the help of God, I continue unto this Day, standing over the Heads of you all, bearing a faithful witness to the truth of the living God. Some of your associates are gone, and the Lord hath laid their Glory in the Dust and yours is a Fading Flower.

It is worthy of note, that many of the expressions of Wenlock Christison, uttered under great exaltation of feeling were regarded by his friends at least by Bishope, as prophetic, as for instance in this case, this author declares the words above to be predictions of evil to the authorities. Elsewhere in the book, the realizations of these prophecies are narrated. The sudden death of Maj. Genl. Adderton by a fall from his horse, is adduced as a fulfillment of a prophesy uttered by W. Christison in his trial, as related above. It does not appear that W. C. consciously claimed prophetic powers, but evidently he regarded his words as

prompted by a Divine intelligence, and his prognostications of evil to come as something more than the anticipations of human reason, or the denunciations of human passion. ¶The prisoner was then ordered to be carried to jail but he appealed to the Laws of England. It must be observed that he always called himself a "foreigner" disclaiming citizenship in the Colony, and regarded himself amenable to the laws of the mother country. His appeal was denied. He then said,

Bellingham.—"We are Commissioners, and more than Commissioners."

W.—"Do you own these men whom the King hath sent among you."

B.—"We will let that alone now."

Another of the Court.—"If thou hadst been hanged it had been well."

W.—"You had not Power to take away my life from me; but my Blood is upon you for you murdered me in your hearts."

One characteristic of these Quaker trials as related by Bishope is, the accused frequently attempted to turn the tables upon the members of the Court, by trying to involve them in treasonable or disloyal utterances, or in profane, sacriligious, irreverent, or heretical expressions. Doubtless this was designed to affect the minds of the people, to bring the Court into disrepute at home; and to invite condemnation from the Royal government, in England. Wenlock was now, with Mary Thompkins, Alice Ambrose, the two women who had been so cruelly whipped in Virginia and banished from that province.

stripped to the waste, and made fast to the Cart, and whipp'd through Boston, Roxbury and Denham. Wenlock had ten cruel stripes, in each Town, and the other two, his companions, six apiece.

They were driven "into the Wilderness,"

but the Lord was with them, and the Angel of his Presence saved them, who had none in Heaven besides God, and none in Earth in Comparison of Him. Let the Living sign Glory to the Highest, saith Wenlock Christison.

These people appear to have taken refuge in Rhode Island, where there was an asylum always open for those who would escape religious intolerance, under Roger Williams, himself, a banished and persecuted man, or his successors in the Presidency of that colony.—But impelled either with a desire to preach the "Truth" in foreign parts, or at last wearied out with the cruel persecutions in New England all three of those mentioned came up to Boston from the Providence plantations under the protection of one of the King's Commissioners, Sir Robert Carr, for the purpose of taking ship, Wenlock for *Barbadoes*, and the

two women for the "Bermudes." Here they met other Friends from Salem—the inevitable and irrepressible Edward Wharton, of course, being of the number; for whenever kindness was to be shown to Friends, or suffering to be endured,—why may it not be properly said suffering to be enjoyed, for verily these good people went to it, and seemed to seek after it, is though it was a real pleasure to suffer for the cause of Truth—Edward Wharton was almost certainly present. This was in May, 1665. The Constables were soon on the alert, to ferret out the "*Cursed Quakers* as you call them whom the Lord calls *Blessed*." They were not hard to find, and were arraigned before Deputy Governor Bellingham. As preparatory to the trial Bellingham went to say his prayers, and the "irreverent gestures" of the prisoners, their "sitting, walking about with their hats on their Heads" during his devotions was made one of the grounds of action against them.—The trial was soon despatched and Wenlock, Edward Wharton and Alice Ambrose, alias, Garey, were sentenced to be whipped through three towns out of the Jurisdiction, but Edward, being an old offender, was also imprisoned, as well as whipped.

Although there exists no positive knowledge, circumstances, hereafter to be related, render it highly probable that Wenlock Christison, though foiled in this effort, did embark for Barbadoes, at some subsequent time. After this trial, for standing with his hat upon his head during the Governor's devotions, there is no account of his movements for some years. But certain it is he did leave New England, and there are grounds for belief that he did go the to West Indies, upon some of the islands of which there was, at this early period, societies of Friends. We lose sight of him as he is driven forth with blows into the wilderness, a wanderer, without certain home, truly a vagabond, but not in the opprobrious sense, imprisoned, starved, robbed, beaten, outlawed. When we catch glimpses of him again it is under more auspicious circumstances: we find him settled in his own quiet home, sitting at his own fireside in the midst of loving wife and children; we find him surrounded by kind and honoring neighbors, occupying the seat of the elders among Friends, without fear of pillory, jail, or constable's whip; we find him protected by benign laws, and even daring to stand covered, a precious privilege, in the presence of Governors and magistrates; we find him in short in tolerant Maryland, and in our own beautiful Talbot. Of his life here, an account will be given in the next number.

Wenlock Christison has now been followed in his devious and thorny path of life down to a time somewhat subsequent to the year 1665.

He had just come up to Boston from Rhode Island with Alice Ambrose, alias Gary and Mary Tompkins, under the protection of Sir Robt. Carr, a Commissioner of the King, for the purpose of embarking for the West Indies; but they were foiled in this intention by the cruel diligence of the authorities, for they were immediately arrested, and driven with blows, from the jurisdiction. From the known character of these Friends whom no amount of suffering deterred from following a course which they verily believed was marked out for them by a Divine hand, it is not likely they were diverted from their purpose of visiting Friends in the Bermudas and the Barbadoes, but it is altogether probable they subsequently, and at no distant day, carried their design into successful execution and that they escaped out of the "bloody town of Boston" as Bishope calls it, and the "Habitations of Cruelty" of New England. It may be that the journey to the West Indies was only a part of that circuit of travel followed by many of the early Quaker Preachers, which circuit was completed by going from those islands to Virginia and Maryland, and thence through the "Woods" to Long Island and back again to New England. At the period of these events, Pennsylvania had not been founded by William Penn. Religion is apt to follow the track of commerce and there was an active intercourse between the W. I. Islands and the New England Colonies, and also between those islands and the settlements of Virginia and our own State. But conjecture aside it is known from actual and authoritative records that Wenlock Christison, and one of those women with whom he last suffered in Boston, were in the State of Maryland, as early at least as the year 1672 and no doubt some time before, and that he himself, as early as 1670, was in Talbot county. In the Register's office of Calvery county there is recorded the Will of Peter Sharpe, "Chirurgion," who is also called "Peter Sharpe of the Cliffs," meaning the Cliffs of the Patuxent, (in Liber No. 1, for the year 1635 to 1674) bearing date of the year 1672. The following is an extract from the Will, as given by L. L. Davis in his "*Day Star*."

I give to Friends in ye ministry, viz: *Alice Garey*, William Cole, and Sarah Marsh, if then in being; *Wenlock Christison* and his wife; John Burnett and Daniel Gould; in money or goods, at the choice of my executors, forty shillings worth apiece; also for a perpetual standing, a horse, for the use of Friends in ye ministry, and to be placed at the convenient place for their use.

But there is a yet earlier record of the presence of Wenlock Christison in this State, and of his being a resident of this county, a record in which the same Peter Sharpe is mentioned in connection with the sub-

ject of this article. From the Land Records of Talbot county No. 1 fol. 120 it appears that on the first of August 1670 Peter Sharpe of the Cliffs of Calvert county, surgeon, and Judith his wife transferred to Wenlock Christison

in consideration of true affection and brotherly love which we have and beare unto our well beloved brother Wenlock Christison, in Talbot County, and also for other divers good causes and considerations wee att this present especially moving,

one hundred and fifty acres of Land, part of Hausley, [evidently an error of the transcribing clerk for Fausley, as other records plainly show, for it must be noted that the first volume of our county records is a transcript and not an original, unfortunately] on Faisley [Fausley] Creek, southside of St. Michaels river and known by the name of "Ending of Controversy." What more appropriate name could there be for the home of a man whose life had been spent in strife and dispute! It will not escape notice that this conveyance expresses no "consideration" but "true affection and brotherly love." There can be but little doubt that the good Quaker Physician of Calvert, who was a man of large possessions, bestowed this little farm upon the poor wanderer, because of his sympathy for him in his sufferings and privations and in recognition of his services in the cause of "Truth," and "Light." This gift of land was not the only act of kindness on the part of Peter Sharpe, towards Wenlock Christison. He with others was remembered in the Will of the Calvert worthy, and had a legacy of two pounds sterling, not an insignificant sum at a time and in a place where money was so scarce, and worth probably ten times as much as now. Nor was Peter Sharpe the only sympathising friend who bestowed worldly goods upon Wenlock. What was land worth unless it could be cultivated, and what could Wenlock do with One Hundred and fifty acres of wild land, covered with heavy timber, and perhaps not one acre under the plough,—he a preacher, often called away on long journeys, having "a concern to visit Friends" in distant quarters? Henry Wilcocks, another Friend, sets about remedying this trouble, and on the 20th 1st month 1670-1 (March 1671) he, for no consideration, as far as expressed in the conveyance, assigns and makes over to him a servant man, named Francis Lloyd. This was really a valuable addition to his wealth, for labor then as now was the great want and demand of the people of this county, and indentured servants were sought after, with even greater avidity than we are now seeking German emigrants. Other records of the

court for 1675, and for 1676 show that Wenlock became possessed, probably by purchase, of other servants, for in the former year, he brought his servant Edward Gibson into court to have his age and time of service to be adjudged, and in the latter year, he brought his servant John Stacy before the Justices for a similar purpose. It may be mentioned that this John Stacy was set free by the will of Christison, and he left him legacies in consideration of his good behavior.

It will be understood, of course, that these servants were white men, that had been brought from the old country and sold for a term of years to defray the cost of their transportation. They were not necessarily, criminals, for many most estimable people came over as bond servants and there are families now in this county who are as respectable as any, whose ancestors, it is known, left their old home under indentures to serve a specified time in the new for the price of their passage across the ocean. No more reproach should attach to such families than to those whose friends gave their founders a few pounds to pay for their berths in the ship; and not as much as to those wealthy connections were glad to defray the cost of their journey across the sea, that they might be rid of worthless dependants, and scapegraces that disgraced them at home.

But to return: Wenlock Christison not only became possessed of white servants, but we shall see in the sequel he was interested in colored ones also. In the year 1673 the landed estate of Wenlock was enlarged by the acquisition of One Hundred acres. This was derived from John Edmondson, another very wealthy Quaker, before referred to in this memoir, a merchant, in good repute with the society, but one whose extensive dealings often brought him under discipline by his brethren, for the early Quakers scrutinized a man's conduct with great sharpness, and they were very particular to keep themselves without reproach, in the eye of the world. John Edmondson on the 18th Nov. 1673 conveyed to Wenlock Christison One Hundred Acres of land on "Fausley Creek" called "Addition." It apparently joined "Ending of Controversy" and in the conveyance no consideration is mentioned. This too may have been a gift, and in all probability it was. Again, in the 15th Oct. 1677, Wenlock buys (but there the consideration is not mentioned and this too may have been "for true affection and brotherly love") from one John Davis another tract of land on Fausley Creek "lying between Fausley Branch and the Eastern branch of St. Michaels River" and being a part of the land laid out for one Roger Gross, called and known by the name of "Ashby." So it appears Wenlock prospered

in this world, and became the possessor of broad estates and troupes of servants, verifying the truth of the declaration of the great founder of doctrinal Christianity, that Godliness is profitable unto all things having the promise of this world and of that which is to come.

From what is here said of the lands acquired by Wenlock Christison, whether any gift or by purchase, we are enabled to determine almost precisely the place of his residence. There is no doubt that he owned that point of land formed by what are now called Glebe and Goldsborough's creeks, and owned by Addison Randall Esq.,—one of the most charming sites in Talbot county, and now adorned by the beautiful villa built by Mr. Rich'd France. It is certain also that he owned a part of the tract of land adjoining the "Ending of Controversy," called "Fausley."—Family tradition establishes the fact that the residence of William Dixon, who married the widow and obtained the estate of Christison, and who bequeathed this estate to his nephew Isaac Dixon, in the absence of direct heirs, was the brick dwelling, in part yet standing in a dilapidated condition upon the "Woodstock" property, which now embraces a part of "Fausley." It is therefore probable almost to certainty, that at this house Wendock Christison lived and died. It is possible, of course that Will Dixon may have built this house, and may not have built it upon the exact site of the residence of his wife's former husband. Fausley—not Woodstock—has another title to celebrity beside being once in the ownership of the Quaker worthy: it was the birth place of the Hon. William Tilghman, the distinguished Judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, and one of the purest and best of men. The precise spot where he first saw the light may yet be pointed out to the curious in local antiquities, or to devotees at the shrines of civic merit or private virtue, by Mr. Thomas Kirby, now living upon the place.

"Fausley Creek" was what is now improperly called "Glebe Creek." It could not have been called by its present name until the year 1714, for it was not until then that the lands, from which the name is derived were devised by Col. Thomas Smithson to St. Michael's Parish for a Glebe. What is now called Goldsborough's creek, was in the early record designated by the Eastern Branch of the St. Michaels river. It will be perceived that the home of Wenlock Christison situated wherever it may have been, on Glebe creek or Goldsborough's Creek, was very convenient for attendance upon his place of worship at Betty's Cove, to which it was but a short passage by water, of less than two miles. In those early days our beautiful rivers and creeks

were more generally used for local travel and transportation than now, and the canoe or barge then took the place, in the absence of carriage roads, of the wheeled vehicles we now so commonly employ. At his house, probably to accommodate Friends in the upper eastern and lower parts of the county, meetings were occasionally held, as was shown in the first of these articles, for it must be remembered that the cross road over Court House bridge, from what is now Easton, to the Bay side road, was not then constructed, and people from what is now the Trappe district, to get to Betty's Cove meeting, went round by the Glebe road, and those from Tuckahoe had to take the same route, so they could get to Wenlock's house almost as easily as to the meeting house itself. In 1676 then, when the minutes of the Friends Meeting in Talbot county commence, the first men's or business meeting of which any record remains was held at Wenlock Christison's. But that he held a station of honor and confidence among his people before this date is known by the fact that in 1674 he was one of the petitioners to the General Assembly of Maryland for a modification of the law with regard to oaths, so as to allow Friends to make their solemn affirmations, instead of swearing, which they say in their prayer for relief they "dare not do." He was doubtless one of those appointed by the meetings to present the petition to the Governor and his council, and as his name heads the list, the text of this address which is on record, was probably from his pen. This petition was sent by the upper to the lower house, but some doubt arising as to the right of the assembly to alter the form of oath prescribed by the law of England, it was referred back again to the upper house, which ordered it to remain upon the journal until the opinion of the Lord Proprietary could be obtained, who declared, when it was laid before him, that though he formerly had intentions of gratifying the desire of the Friends in this matter, he wished "all proceedings therein to be for the present suspended," assigning no reason for this course. The object of this petition was not attained until the year 1702, when the "Act for the establishment of religious worship in this province, according to the church of England," was passed, upon which a section was engrafted declaring that "the solemn affirmation or declaration of the people called Quakers shall be accepted instead of an oath in the usual form." For so long a time were good citizens subjected to vexations and losses. But while presenting this petition to the Governor and Council of Maryland we see Wenlock Christison in a very different position from that he occupied when before Governor Endicott and the General Court of Massachusetts. The committee

of the Friends meeting, of which he was apparently the chairman, or speaker, were received courteously by Governor Charles Calvert, subsequently Lord Proprietary, and his council, and their complaint respectfully considered. Let us indulge the fancy, that Wenlock was allowed to wear his hat in the Governor's presence, a privilege so estimable that rather than forego it he was once ready to be led to the gallows.

But Wenlock Christison did not enjoy the confidence of Friends only, for we have indubitable evidence of the respect and esteem in which he was held by the citizens of the country at large in the fact that he was elected by their suffrages to the highly honorable place of Burgess or Delegate to the General Assembly. Not yet having examined the Journals of Proceedings of the House, at Annapolis, opportunity has not offered to determine the date of his election, but it is known that a proclamation for an election was made in April 1676, and that Wenlock Christison is mentioned as being one of the Lower House in 1681 though at that date his death is noted. It is presumable he was chosen in the former years, and held his seat until his death. He was probably the first Quaker who had occupied a political position in this county. John Edmundson appears to have been elected Sept. 2, 1681, to fill the place of W. C. and he took his seat in the General Assembly in November of that year. Although Friends, by reason of their scruples upon many matters with which government has to deal, have been for the most part excluded from political and civil position, it is certain that about the time of the event here related they were members of Lower House, and Justices of the Peace. In 1685 no less than three of the ten Justices or Judges of this county were Quakers, namely, William Sharp, Will. Stephen and Ralph Fishbourne. It would appear that the election of Wenlock Christison, or of Quakers, did not give entire satisfaction, and that politicians were pretty much the same then as now, as the following incident, apropos of the election of the Quaker delegate from Talbot, will show. Col. Vincent Lowe of this county, circulated a report "of Friends that were chosen Assembly men," the purport of which was that "Friends should be the occasion of the Leavyes [levies or taxes] being raised soe high." This report of which we know no more, seems to have so scandalized the Friends, that it was first noticed by the monthly meeting at Third Haven, and then by it referred to the Yearly meeting. A committee was appointed, 3rd day 8th month, 1677, composed of John Edmondson, Bryon O'Mealy and Ralph Fishbourne, "to treat with Lowe for ye clearing of Friends and ye Truth"—so solicitous were these people of covering all reproach.

No doubt Wenlock Christison's conduct as an "Assembly man" was the subject of Col. Vincent Lowe's animadversions, and of this early committee's investigations.

There is nothing in the book of Bishope to lead one to believe that W. Christison while undergoing the persecutions in New England was a man of family. No reference is made to his having a wife, but among the first notices of him in Maryland, namely that made in the will of Peter Sharpe already quoted, is a reference to him as a married man, for the devise is to "Wenlock Christison and his wife." But we have in the minutes of the meeting other references to this fact, some of which are exceedingly curious. The following minute needs no apology for its insertion here, being so interesting and suggestive.

Att our men's meeting att Wenlock Christison's the 14th day of the 5th month 1676,

Wenlock Christison declared in the meeting that if the world, or any particular person should speak Evilly of the Truth, or Reproach friends concerning his proceedings in taking his wife, that then he will give further satisfaction and clere the Truth and friends by giving forth a paper to condemn his hasty and forward proceedings in that matter, and said that were the thing to do again he would not proceed so hasty, nor without the consent of friends.

Now it is very clear from this that Wenlock Christison had recently married, that he had married either without having made the proper advertisement in meeting, or had married out of the society, some one not a member, for which he had been called to account. It is likely therefore this was a second marriage, for Friends would certainly not have called him to an account for a marriage contracted anterior to 1672 and at least four years before. So it appears that Wenlock prophet and apostle, and almost martyr as he was, was not insensible to female charms, and he whom the threats of Judges and the whip of Constables could not subdue, yielded to the blandishments of a fair lady, so far as to forget not the requirements of rectitude we may be sure, but the exactions of ecclesiastical rule. There was on his part no lapse from virtue, nor fall from grace, but a little obliviousness of canonical law more readily pardoned by the "world" than by church authorities, even though these authorities be Friends who have always been very indulgent to the infirmities of human nature, when the "Truth" was not compromised thereby. That W. Christison had children born to him is well attested. His eldest daughter Mary married one John Dine, who lived upon St. Michaels river, but subsequently removed to

Kent Island, where he may have representatives to this day. It is thought that another daughter married Peter Harrod, or Harwood, who lived and died in this county. A third daughter is referred to probably in the following minute from the records of the Friends meeting held 5th day of 12th month 1692. It must be premised that William Dixon, who is mentioned in the minute married the widow of Wenlock Christison, and hence he may properly accordingly to an erroneous usage, have called a daughter of his wife a daughter-in-law. He certainly had no children of his own.

William Dixon informs this meeting yt his Daughter-in-law is stole away and married by a priest in ye night, contrary to his and his wife's minds; that he has opposed ye same, and refused to pay her portion, for which he is cited to appear before ye Commissary generale, and now he desires to know whether ye meeting would stand by him, if he should sue ye priest yt so married her. Ye meeting assents to it, and promises to stand by him in it, he taking ye meetings advice from time to time in his proceedings therein.

Nothing seems to have afflicted Friends in Talbot more than the "outgoings" of members of the society in marriage. To be married with license by a magistrate, or by a "hireling priest" was an abomination in their eyes, that could not go unreproved. At a meeting held the 4th month 1681, the committee that was appointed to wait on the Lord Proprietary

concerning friends children being taken away from them and married by the priest without their consent or knowledge,

gave an answer to the effect that they were treated "very civilly" by the Proprietary who said among other things

that for ye future he would take care in all his counsels that the like should be prevented.—The evil continuing unabated, the quarterly meeting held 10th of 6th month 1688, recommended that Friends should disinherit their disobedient children, and give them 'no part nor parcel of their outward substance.'

This action of the quarterly was confirmed by the yearly meeting held at Third Haven the 9th of the 8th month 1688, with a supplementary recommendation that

Priests or magistrates that do marry Friend's children without their parent's or guardian's consent should be prosecuted.

This explains the conduct of William Dixon in his appeal to the meeting to "stand by him" in his refusal to pay over the portion due

to a daughter of Wenlock Christison (probably) and his proposal to sue the Priest who married her. History is silent as to the name of the offenders—William Dixon died without heirs of his body leaving the estate derived through his marriage with Wenlock Christison's widow, to Isaac Dixon, the son of a brother, he having bought out the interest of Mary Christison Dine in 1684.

The precise date of Wenlock Christison's death is no where given, and unfortunately the will that he made is neither in the Court Records, nor in those of the Third Haven meeting. But it is pretty certain he died about 1678 or 9, and that he made a will appointing his wife Elizabeth, jointly with Will. Sharpe and Thomas Taylor, executrix. In 1679 it is stated in the minutes she was about to marry again, and the meeting took measures to have the estate of Wenlock Christison properly partitioned to the heirs and legatees. John Edmondson, Bryon O' Melia and William Southbee were appointed by the meeting, in accordance with a custom among the Friends, to counsel, advise and assist the executrix in the settlement of the estate. It is worthy of note that the early Friends took especial care of the interests of orphans, and protected their estates by other than legal guards. They even had a register whose duty it was to record wills, at a time when there *seems* to have been no legal registration. In his will Wenlock set free his servant, John Salter, the same whom, as mentioned above, he carried into court to have his time of service adjudged. This John Salter was a carpenter as it appears, and after obtaining his freedom he became the contractor for and builder of the "Great Meeting House at Third Haven"—that which we see standing at the present day in the near vicinity of Easton. This contract to build was dated in 1682. The first meeting held in the house was on the 24th of the 8th month (24th Oct.) 1684.

Where Wenlock Christison was buried is not known, but probably at the meeting house at Betty's Cove, for there was a grave yard attached to that house. No monumental stone marks the grave of this worthy, for "the people called Quakers" will not minister to a vanity that seeks even posthumous display, by erecting memorials to their dead, nor gratify the pride or affection of the living by blazoning on tombstones in false or fulsome praise the virtues of departed Friends. They who look with such confidence to an immortality beyond the grave are not apt to be solicitous for that transitory immortality the most glowing epitaphs upon perishable marble bestow. So Wenlock Christison sleeps in an undistinguished tomb, and yet he is more secure of a lasting memory

than if his last resting place was marked by "storied urn or animated bust."

Here properly should terminate this memoir, but an occurrence that happened after his death reveals an incident in the life of this Quaker worthy, so strange and startling that, although the absence of date has prevented its incorporation in this essay in its chronological position, it must not be omitted. It will be recollected it was stated that there is sufficient evidence on record to render it probable that Wenlock Christison, after leaving New England, some time between the years of 1665 and 1670, went to Barbadoes; also, in another place, that he had in his possession after settling in Talbot, African slaves, as well as European indentured servants. Now this evidence is furnished by a brief minute of the Third Haven meeting, under date of 16th of 7th month, (16th Sept.) 1681. The minute is to the effect that the executors of his last will and testament, namely, his wife, William Sharpe and Thomas Taylor, had been arrested at the suit of "one Diggs concerning of some negroes sent by Wenlock Christison out of Barbadoes to this country." Not unprobably this Diggs was that Col. Diggs who was at one time a Justice of the Provincial Court and member of the Upper House of Assembly, and who commanded at St. Mary's when the archives of the State were surrendered to John Coode, who was leader of the forces of the Protestant Association at the time of the revolution of 1689. The phraseology of the minutes would seem to indicate that these negroes were not purchased from a cargo imported by Col. Diggs, but that they were sent by Christison out of Barbadoes, he himself being present in the island, and making the shipment. It is well known that the West India islands were depots for the reception of slaves brought from the coast of Africa, and that from the barracoons upon those islands they were sold to shippers trading with the various colonies. The Quakers have been so long, and they were such early opponents of the whole system of slavery, that many suppose that their "testimony" has always been against the holding of man in bondage. This is of course erroneous. Well informed Friends know that negro slaves were held by the early members of the society. The records of their meetings here, as well as the records of our Court, indicate the fact. The glory of the society is that at so early a period, even before the public conscience had been awakened, it should have uttered first its advice, and then its command against the holding of slaves.³ But even before there was even advice

³ In the year 1759 the Yearly meeting of Maryland advises care in importing and buying negroes: but does not condemn. In 1760 the meeting condemns

given by the meetings, there had grown up a sensitiveness in the minds of individual members of the society on this subject. Thus, Will Dixon, in the year 1664 (as by the minutes of the Third Haven meeting), wishing "to sell a negro his freedom desires ye meetings advice." No advice is given, but he is referred to the yearly meeting "for advice in y't particular." This same Will Dixon, who married the widow of Wenlock Christison, by his will, admitted to probate in 1708, emancipated several negroes, made provision for their support, by giving them land and means to build houses. In his will he says they had served him twenty years. There can be little doubt that these negroes whom Will Dixon felt called upon to set free at his death, were of that cargo of negroes sent out of Barbadoes by Wenlock Christison, for the recovery of the value of which suit was brought by Col. Diggs. Even so early then as the dates given there was evidently a repugnance upon the part of Friends to holding slaves. The subject of the growth of the sentiment of hostility to slavery among this people, is one of the most interesting that can engage the attention of the ethical philosopher, and its study may serve to elucidate, if not solve, that great problem that has bothered the brains of students of the human mind for thousands of years, the origin of our notions of right and wrong. Those who believe that there has been enthroned in every man's bosom a severe and incorruptible judge or arbiter who passes upon the moral quality of every action with infallible rectitude of decision, will hesitate and doubt when viewing this case of Wenlock Christison. Here was a man whose fundamental religious belief was the presence in his own bosom and in the bosom of all "Friends of Truth," of an inspired monitor that warned him of evil and prompted him to the good only; a man belonging to a society whose pure and lofty code of morals has been the admiration of the ages, but to the standard of which those ages have never yet attained; a man so firm and tenacious of what he deemed the right, that sooner than bate one jot or tittle, sooner than take off his hat in honor of man, or hold up his hand except in prayer, was prepared to go to the gallows, and who did actually receive many cruel and ignominious scourgings; a man who had manifested in his life a readiness to follow the Light which he verily believed was divinely enlightening him, even though the following it should lead him into the very jaws of death; a man whose loftiness of purpose and sanctity of life had been such that *par-importing* slaves. In 1762 the meeting condemns importing and buying, also selling without the consent of the meeting. In 1777 slaveholding was made the ground for "disownment."

tial friends had attributed to him the inspiration of the prophet and the miraculous power of the apostle, yet this man without compunction—with entire innocence, as we may be well assured,—could, and did, deliberately engage in a transaction, which, at this day, by the common consent of humanity and religion, of reason and sentiment, possesses every element of injustice and impiety. That Friends in the moral twilight of two hundred years ago, should have held the slaves they had inherited from their parents, acquired by marriage or even purchased from traders, before they had been “convinced”—before the “inner light” had dawned upon their minds, we were prepared to believe: but that a Friend should have been among the very first of whom we have any account in this county to participate in the slave trade, and this Friend should have been Wenlock Christison, is so incredible that it would be beyond belief if it were not so well attested. In our judgments of men so astounding a fact as this “must give us pause.”

THE LLOYDS OF WYE

EDWARD LLOYD (I)

THE PURITAN

It is proposed in this contribution to our local annals to give a brief account of conspicuous members of a family whose record is more intimately interwoven with the history of Talbot county, than is that of any other existing within its bounds—The Lloyds of Wye. Being among the very first to be planted here, becoming deeply rooted in our soil, and never spreading widely beyond our borders, it may, if any of European race can, be called autochthonous. Its possessory interests whether in land or slaves, those forms of property which here, until of late, great wealth assumed, have always been the largest within our limits, and its personal influence has not been incommensurate with its affluence. Here this family has ever been represented and most worthily represented by some member or members notable for private graces and public virtue. Through some member or members it has continuously, as it were, from the first settlement and organization of the county to the present, been participating actively and prominently in every important social movement, and by general consent it has always stood, for whatever is gentle in birth and breeding, for whatever is honorable in character and conduct, and in short, for whatever is of good report among the people of Talbot.

Tradition claims to confirm what the name of the family suggests, that the Maryland Lloyds are of Welsh origin; but all attempts to trace them to their original hearth-stone—to the very place in the Principality where they had their primitive home—have been vain, so common is this patronymic and so widely spread are those that bear it in the British islands.¹ It is by no means certain, though it is not improbable that the founder of the family in Maryland, Edward Lloyd (I), of whom it is now proposed to speak, was of Welsh nativity. Names of tracts of lands and rivers or creeks by which those tracts were bounded within this county and in Anne Arundel, popularly thought to owe their origin to him, seem to betray a memory of the land of his birth.² The date of his coming in has never been determined with precision, but it is said, upon uncertain authority, that this occurred in the year 1645. The first authentic knowledge we have of him is, that prior to 1650 he was one of that body of Puritans seated in Virginia upon the Nancemond and Elizabeth rivers, who were then undergoing from the people and authorities of that dominion a mild sort of persecution because of their religious non-conformity—a persecution, however, which in the end was sufficiently stringent to cause a desire to remove out of that jurisdiction.³ The long controversy that had been raging in the mother country between Parliament and King, between Puritan and Prelatist, between Liberty and Prerogative, between Independence and Conformity, extended to Virginia. There were no warmer adherents of the royal cause at home than existed in this province; but a few of the opposite

¹ Among papers at Wye House are letters that seem to identify the Lloyds of Maryland with the Lloyds of Wales. One hundred years ago Richard Bennett Lloyd brought from England a blazon of the arms of the Lloyds, under which he wrote, September 14, 1775, that they were the arms of the family that went from Wales to the province of Maryland. There is another heraldic evidence of the same point, which need not be recited.

² As for instance the tract of land in Talbot county called "Hyer Dier;" the Severn river in Anne Arundel; the Wye and Tred Avon (third Haven) creeks in Talbot.

³ There was an Edward Lloyd living at Elizabeth City, Virginia, as early as 1623. (Original lists, etc., by John Camden Hotten), Edward Lloyd was a Burgess in the Virginia Assembly, from Lower Norfolk county, Feb. 17, 1644-5. (Hening's statutes at Large), Vol. 1, page 289. A Cornelius Lloyd was a Burgess from the same county in 1642-3-4 and 1647 and (as Left. Coll. Cornelius Lloyd) in 1652 and 1653 (Hening). Whether the Edward Lloyd of 1623 was the same as the subject of this sketch is doubtful. But Edward Lloyd the Burgess was probably he who shortly after the date last mentioned came to Maryland and became the founder of the family here.

party made their appearance and propagated their tenets, religious and political. The former were decidedly in the majority and gave policy to the Dominion which favored the Stewarts and the Church of England. After the defeat of the cause by Cromwell, this party receiving many accessions from the Cavalier families became more embittered towards the few Puritans living in Virginia, and revived those laws which some years before had been passed against non-conformity, but which had not been rigidly enforced. These people opened negotiations with the Maryland authorities looking towards their removal to this province. After receiving such guarantees of their civil and religious liberties as they demanded, in or about the year 1649 they broke up their settlements upon the Nancemond and Elizabeth rivers, which of late had been growing in numbers and influence under the encouragement afforded by the success of their party at home, and removed to Maryland, settling at a place on the Severn to which they gave the name of Providence, near the site of the present city of Annapolis. Among those who sought refuge here was Mr. Edward Lloyd (I) a conspicuous actor in the important events which immediately followed, and doubtless, a prominent man among the people before their expulsion from Virginia.

In the records of Lower Norfolk County, Virginia, of 1649, is the following:

Whereas, Mr. Edward Lloyd and Mr. Thomas Meeres, Commissioners with Edward Selby, Richard Day, Richard Owens, Thomas Marsh, George Kemp and George Norwood were presented to ye board by the Sheriff for seditious sectuaries for not repairing to their church and for refusing to hear Common Prayer, liberty is granted till October next to inform their judgments and to conform themselves to the established law

Before that term of probation had expired all the above named were safely settled in the province of Maryland.

After their settlement at Providence, the Puritans refused to submit, at once, to the rule of the Proprietary, on the ground that they were required, before receiving patents for their land, contrary to previous stipulations upon the part of the Maryland authorities, as they alleged, to take certain oaths which they as republicans in politics and non-conformists in religion, could not do in conscience. Now that the King had lost his crown and his head, and that Parliament alone was the "keeper of the liberties of England," they thought such words as "absolute lord" and "royal jurisdiction" which were used on the form of oath "were far too high for a subject to exact and too much unsuitable

to the present liberty which God had given the English subjects from arbitrary and popish government, as the Lord Baltimore's government plainly appeared to be;" and further the "oath was exceedingly scrupled on another account, viz.: that they must swear to uphold the government and those officers who are sworn to countenance and uphold anti-Christ, in plain words, expressed in the officer's oath, and for these people to own such by an oath, when in their hearts they could by no means close with; what could it be accounted but collision." Evidently this was straining the meaning of words to the utmost. In fact the Puritans confidently believed that the authority of Lord Baltimore would be abrogated under the Parliamentary *régime* and that a new form of government would be instituted that should be in correspondence with the new order of things at home. Accordingly they proceeded to set up at Providence a government of their own similar to that which existed in New England. On the 29th of April in the following year, 1650, the district of country embracing Providence was erected into a county to which the name Anne Arundel was given, and of this Mr. Edward Lloyd was, by Governor Stone, made Commander, his commission bearing the date of July 30th of that year. The powers thus delegated to him were of a very comprehensive character, and difficult of exact definition. "He appears to have been somewhat in the nature of a deputy to the Governor of the province, and to have been invested by the tenor of his commission with all the Governor's military as well as civil powers, as to that particular county, though subordinate to the superior powers and appellate jurisdiction of the Governor and Council at St. Mary's.⁴ On the day previous to the issuance of the commission of Mr. Lloyd as Commander, Governor Stone issued to him another commission, which empowered him to grant patents for lands within the county of Anne Arundel according to the conditions of plantation as established by the Proprietary. The same was done for Captain Vaughan, of the isle of Kent. This extraordinary power was bestowed for the purpose of saving the trouble and expense of going to St. Mary's by those desiring to obtain warrants. But it was necessary that records of these warrants should be made by the Secretary of the Province at the seat of Government. We

⁴ Bozman's *His't of Md.*, Vol. II, page 407; where also may be found the essential parts of a commission to Mr. James Homewood, Mr. Thomas Mears, Mr. Thomas Marsh, Mr. George Puddington, Mr. Matthew Hawkins, Mr. James Merryman and Mr. Henry Catlyn, who with the Commander, Mr. Lloyd, were to act as Commissioners and Justices of the Peace of the county—that is to say as judges of the county court.

shall see in the sequel that the neglect of Mr. Lloyd and Captain Vaughan to forward information of such patents as were issued by them, caused the revocation of their commissions.

The erection of their settlements into a distinct county and the promise that they should have the appointment of officers, civil and military, of their own selection, seems to have pacified the Puritans at Providence, for the time at least; for two deputies or burgesses were sent by them to the General Assembly, who immediately took their seats and participated in legislation, one of them indeed being appointed Speaker. Yet there is no evidence that the oaths of office were essentially modified to suit their scruples. But when the Assembly again met in 1651, no delegates made their appearance from Anne Arundel; but a message was received from Mr. Lloyd, the purport and motive of which are not known except as far as they are revealed by a communication of Lord Baltimore addressed to the Governor and the two houses of Assembly, which says:

We cannot but much wonder at a message which we understood was lately sent by one Mr. Lloyd from some lately seated at Anne Arundel within our said province of Maryland to our General Assembly held at St. Mary's in March last, but are unwilling to impute either to the sender or deliverer thereof so malign a sense of ingratitude and other ill-affections as it may seem to bear, conceiving rather that it proceeded from some apprehensions in them at that time, grounded upon some reports in those parts of a dissolution or resignation here of our patent and right to that province, which might perhaps for the present make them doubtful what to do, till they had more certain intelligence thereof from hence.

From this it is very evident that there was incipient rebellion at Providence and that Mr. Lloyd with his people were in expectation of the disposition of the Lord Proprietary, and were not disposed to give support or countenance to his authority. It will presently be seen that this expectation was not without foundation. In September, 1651, instructions were given by the home Government for the reducing of Virginia and all the plantations within the Chesapeake bay to their due obedience to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England. The commissioners named for this work were Captain Thomas Stagge, with Mr. Richard Bennett and Captain William Claiborne—the two last well-known in Maryland history. The reduction was speedily accomplished, and Lord Baltimore deprived of all authority and power in the province. Governor Stone, however, was reappointed by the

commissioners, with a Council composed chiefly of Puritans and wholly of those disaffected to the royal and proprietary interests. While it is no where recorded that Mr. Lloyd retained his position as Commander, there is no doubt of his being in full sympathy with this political movement and of his participation in the active measures for its accomplishment, for as a part of the scheme for "reducing, settling and governing the plantations within the bay of Chesapeake," the commissioners crossed over to Kent Island and we find Mr. Lloyd, with Mr. Bennett and others, deposing Capt. Robert Vaughan, the Commander, and appointing in the name of the keepers of the liberty of England a board of commissioners for the Island,⁵ which at this day contained most of the settlers upon the Eastern Shore.

A little before this, namely on the 5th of July, 1652, we find him in connection with Mr. Bennett, William Fuller, Thos. Marsh and Leonard Strong, at the Severn negotiating a treaty with the Susquehannocks for the surrender of certain territory upon the Eastern and Western Shores of the bay.

In December of this same year, 1654, Governor Stone published an order rescinding the commissions that he had issued to Mr. Lloyd and Captain Vaughan, authorizing them to issue patents for land in their respective counties. The reason assigned for this step was that these officers had failed to have entered upon the records of the Secretary's office, such land warrants as they had granted. This extraordinary neglect of so important a matter must have had strong motive. It is unnecessary in this biographical sketch to discuss the influences which controlled the conduct of Mr. Lloyd and Captain Vaughan. They were doubtless of a political nature, and had their source in a belief that Lord Baltimore would soon be dispossessed of his proprietary rights, as indeed he was, as already mentioned. It is curious to note that this neglect of Mr. Lloyd to record patents gave rise many years afterwards to much and costly litigation respecting titles.

Lord Baltimore having been deprived of his proprietary rights by the existing government, which he notwithstanding was politic enough to acknowledge, presented remonstrances. But these, though they were not entirely unheard, did not receive that consideration which he conceived they merited and demanded—such was the pressure of public

⁵ The names of these commissioners were Mr. Phillip Conner, Mr. Thomas Ringgold, Mr. Thomas Bradnox, Mr. Henry Morgan, Mr. Nic Browne, Mr. Thomas Hynson, Mr. Joseph Wickes, Mr. John Phillips and Mr. John Russell. Old Kent, page 28.

affairs at home. However, he prevailed upon Gov. Stone, who had been retained in his place by the Commissioners of settlement under a promise made by him to them that in all things, especially in the issue of patents for lands, he would act as under the authority of the "Keepers of the liberty of England," to follow the line of policy dictated by himself. "The next year," to quote the words of another, "under directions of Lord Baltimore, Stone violated the compact and began to issue writs in the Lord Proprietary's name, to admit to the Council only those appointed by Lord Baltimore, and to require the inhabitants to take an oath of fidelity, which if refused by any colonist after three months, his lands were to be confiscated for the use of the Proprietary."⁶ This created great indignation among Puritan settlers, and as a consequence on the 3d of Jan. 1854 a petition was addressed to the Parliament's Commissioners, from the Commissioners at Severn, that was subscribed by Mr. Edward Lloyd and seventy-seven others, in which they complained that having been invited and encouraged by Capt. Stone, Lord Baltimore's Governor of Maryland, to remove themselves into the province, with a promise of enjoying the liberty of their consciences in matters of religion and other privileges of English subjects; and having with great cost, labor and danger, so removed themselves, and having been at great charges in building and clearing:

now the Lord Baltimore imposeth an oath upon us to make us swear an absolute subjection to a government where the ministers of State are bound by oath to countenance and defend the Roman Popish religion, which if we do not take within three months, after publications all our lands are to be seized for His Lorships's use.⁷

Upon the receipt of this petition from the Puritans of Maryland, of whom Ed. Lloyd appears in the light of a leader, to the Commissioners of settlement who were then in Virginia, Mr. Bennett and Col. Claiborne returned to Providence, and on the 20th July, 1854, they

⁶ E. D. Neill's *Founders of Maryland*, page 125.

⁷ *Biographical Cyclopaedia*, for Md. and Dist. Col. article Edward Lloyd. Neill in his *Terra Mariae*, page 119, says after stating that in 1853 Gov. Stone ordered oaths of fidelity to the Proprietary to be taken by the Puritans before he would issue them patents for lands. "This created great excitement among the settlers, who had come from Nancemond, Va., and their friends—men who had done more than any other to build up and give character to the colony; and Edward Lloyd and seventy-seven other persons of the house-keepers and freemen of Severn river, and Richard Preston and sixty others of Patuxent river, petitioned the commissioners for the commonwealth of England for relief."

compelled Gov. Stone, under a threat of using arms for the enforcement of their commands, to lay down his office and to submit "to such government as shall be selected by the Commissioners in the name and under the authority of his highness, the Lord Proprietor." They then, on the 23rd of the same month in the name of Oliver Cromwell, the Lord Protector, appointed a board of Commissioners to administer the government, and of this board Mr. Edward Lloyd was a member.⁸ Again in 1655 Gov. Stone, by direction of Lord Baltimore, whose temerity is inexplicable, attempted by force of arms to re-establish the government of the Proprietary, and was defeated in a battle with the Puritans fought near Providence. Mr. Lloyd's name does not appear in any extant records of this affair. Capt. Fuller was in command of the Providence forces and probably held the official position formerly occupied by Mr Lloyd. Again in 1656 Mr. Josias Fendall was appointed Governor by Lord Baltimore, who, when he attempted to exercise jurisdiction, was arrested by the Puritans and carried before the Provincial Court composed of the Commissioners of Parliament, namely Capt. William Fuller, Mr. Edward Lloyd, Mr. Richard Wells, Capt. Richard Ewen, Mr. Thomas Marsh, and Mr. Thomas Meares, where he was charged with actions dangerous to the public peace. But in this year, the matter in dispute between the Lord Proprietary and the inhabitants at Providence, having been deferred to the Commissioners of Trade, was decided in Lord Baltimore's favor. On the 20th of March, 1658, Capt. William Fuller, Richard Preston, Edward Lloyd, Thomas Meares, Philip Thomas and Samuel Withers, as envoys of the government at Providence, yielded submission to Governor Fendall, and his councillors, the representatives of the Lord Proprietary; and so this contest ended.⁹

But it would seem that this opposition to Lord Baltimore did not prevent his appointment to a place in the Council of Gov. Fendall.¹⁰

⁸ This board of Commissioners was composed of these gentlemen, most of whom were Puritans and all of them, presumably, were commonwealth men or Cromwellians: Capt. William Fuller, Richard Preston, William Durand, Edward Lloyd, Capt. John Smith, Leonard Strong, John Lawson, John Hatch, Richard Wells, and Richard Ewen.

⁹ It will be perceived that no attempt has been made to give a full account of the Puritan dominance in Maryland. This has been left to the general history of the province; but the remark is ventured that the story of this period has been very imperfectly told, and is worthy of a more thorough and impartial study than has yet been bestowed upon it.

¹⁰ The appointment was made May 6th, 1658.

This introduction into a most important department of the provincial government of a person who had for many years been conspicuously hostile to the Proprietary, and had acted as one of the court for the trial of the very man who was at the head of the government, is intelligible if we presume that it was made for the purpose of conciliating the Puritans of Providence, who were a strong if not the strongest party in Maryland; and that Mr. Lloyd's character and abilities were required to impart strength to an administration needing all support to give it permanence and success. We are at liberty to suppose, too, that he was a man of moderation, or as we say in modern party parlance, a conservative, who while tenacious enough of his own and his people's rights, was not unmindful of the rights of others. He may even have felt a breath of that reactionary spirit which was abroad in the old country, and may not have approved of much that had been done under the rule of the Commissioners of the Commonwealth. But conjectures are perhaps futile and the important fact is the one which has been noted, that immediately upon the submission he was appointed a member of the Provincial Council, or Upper House of Assembly. As such we find him as strenuous a supporter of the rights of the Lord Proprietary as any of his former partizans, for in Aug. 1659, he was one of the council that ordered Col. Nathaniel Utie

to repair to the pretended governor of a people seated in Delaware bay, within his Lordship's province without notice given to his Lordship's lieutenant here, and to require them to depart the province.

This was the beginning of the controversy with the Dutch of South (otherwise Delaware) river, respecting boundaries and the rights to territory that now constitutes Delaware State, in which Lord Baltimore was defeated when the dispute was taken up by the "oily" Mr. Penn.

Governor Fendall soon after this, began to betray a faithfulness to the interests of Lord Baltimore which at this day is inexplicable, except upon the assumption that he had become possessed by the spirit of republicanism which was passing out of the Puritans. In 1659 he instigated a revolution in the organic system of the provincial government by the abolition of the Upper House of Assembly; and for a short time his scheme was in actual operation, for he and several of his councillors took their seats in the Lower House.

and the people were commanded, by proclamation, to acknowledge no authority, except that which came immediately from the Assembly or from the King, who had now been restored to the throne of England.

It is tolerably certain, though no record exists of the fact, that in this revolutionary movement Gov. Fendall had not the coöperation of Mr. Lloyd. The secretary of the council, Mr. Philip Calvert, and one other member, Mr. Baker Brooke, indignantly left the room when a joint meeting of the two Houses was in session, and it is probable, if Mr. Lloyd did not accompany them, he approved of their course, for we find that after Fendall was displaced and the Upper House restored, he was one of those whom Gov. Philip Calvert, who had been secretary, called to be one of the new Council. Although he had received many marks of the favor and confidence of the Lord Proprietary, we find that he was not subservient, differing from and opposing him whenever he was transcending his privileges. This was shown notably in Mr. Lloyd's opposition to his scheme for coining money, first proposed in 1659 and renewed in 1661. When this bill, entitled "An Act concerning the setting up of a Mint within this Province of Maryland" came up for a third reading, Mr. Lloyd and Mr. Brooke desired that there should be entered upon the journal this memorandum, that the dissenters to the voted dissented upon this ground, that they were not certainly informed that the County Palatine of Durham had liberty to Coin. The scheme, notwithstanding this objection of the "strict constructionists" of the Council was carried into effect and Maryland money was actually stricken; for which infringement upon the prerogative of the supreme authority of the realm Lord Baltimore was apprehended in England; but he either had interest with the court, or his offence was forgotten amidst the tumult and lax administration of justice following the restoration of royalty. Thus the correctness of Mr. Lloyd's opinion was vindicated.

It would be useless to follow, if it were possible from our imperfect records, his course while he had a seat in the provincial Council. It is fair to say that it was that of an independent and judicious legislator. He continued a member of this body until 1666, when his name disappears from the list of its members.

It is proper to mention here that after the coming in of the Puritans and their settlement at Providence, Mr. Lloyd acted as a land surveyor. In the absence of all knowledge of the character of his education this fact may be taken as evidence that he was possessed of considerable acquaintance with at least one branch of science, and its application to a useful art. The employment of this knowledge in practice gave him opportunities which he did not neglect, we may be very sure, for the selection of choice lands in eligible situations, and the discovery of valuable tracts that had escaped being patented.

During the whole, or the most of the time now passed over, Mr. Lloyd was a resident of Providence or Anne Arundel, but at or about the time of the organization of Talbot as a new county, say 1661, he removed to the Eastern Shore where his largest landed interests lay. The court records of this county indicate that the seventh court held within its limits was held June 30th (or 3rd) 1663, at his house. His name does not appear in the list of justices in attendance until the 15th of November of the same year. His position of councillor made him a member of the highest court of the Province, and also entitled him, whenever present, to a seat upon the bench in any of the county courts.¹¹ He continued to act as a Justice of the Peace of Talbot county until 1668, when he left the county.

While thus engaged in reducing the province of Maryland to submission to the Keepers of the liberty of England and combating royal and proprietary claims to jurisdiction within the province; while performing the duties of Councillor, which were those, at once, of cabinet officer, senator and judge, under Governor Fendall and Lord Baltimore; while executing the office of a Justice of the Peace in his adopted county, an officer whose functions were much more extended and diversified than at present, he was not negligent of his own private interests. He was laying the foundations of that great fortune which, increased from time to time, has given permanence, dignity, and influence to the family of which he was the founder and progenitor in Maryland. He was planter, Indian trader, merchant, emigrant agent and land-speculator, using the locution of the present without any intention of attaching to these designations any thing opprobrious. He became the possessor of lands which he cultivated with laborers introduced from the old country, and possibly with African slaves. He shipped the products of his own plantations, and those of his poorer neighbors, bringing back in return those articles of necessity and comfort which were to be had only from abroad. With these he sent the peltries which he collected from the natives and other trappers in exchange for such articles as their fancy, their wants or their appetites demanded; he brought over indentured servants who paid for their passage by terms of service to himself, or he sold them to others; he availed himself of the "conditions of plantation" established by the Lord Proprietary, and obtained patents for land in consideration of his having brought in servants and laborers; he brought up the

¹¹ These gentlemen were his associates of the county court: Lieut. Richard Woolman, Mr. Seth Foster, Mr. James Ringgold, Mr. William Coursey, Mr. Thomas Powell, Mr. Symon Carpenter and perhaps others.

grants of land which had been issued to original patentees, and sold them, as well as other lands, to those demanding smaller tracts.¹² He early became the possessor of large tracts upon Wye river, upon one of which since known as "Wye House" he made his home, and that is still the home of the family. It is believed that Mr. Lloyd had 'stores' upon his estates, from which his planters were supplied with foreign goods, and from which his poorer neighbors were furnished. Thus was laid the foundation of that mercantile business, which he pursued more extensively after his removal from Maryland to England.

This event took place in 1668, and it is altogether probable he was moved to take this step by a conviction that his acquaintance with the planters and with their wants, would enable him to prosecute a profitable trade with the province. He settled in London, and from that city he made his commercial adventures. It is reasonable to believe these were conducted with success. Whether he ever returned to America is not known, but leaving behind him a son and large estate, it is hardly likely that in the long time which elapsed before his death he did not again and again cross the ocean. Of his life in London we know little—nothing in fact but of his engagement in trade, of his third marriage, and of his death. His will, made March 11th, 1695, speaks of

¹² An extract from the patent issued to him for a well-known tract of land may prove interesting, as it is illustrative of business methods at the date of its issue. "To all persons to whom these presents shall come greeting in our Lord God Everlasting: Know ye that We for and in consideration that William Davies, Overseer of the orphans of Walter Cooper, deceased, hath assigned to our trusty and well beloved Councillor, Edward Lloyd, Esquire, all the right to land to the said Walter Cooper for transporting himself, Ann his wife, Elizabeth, Dorothy, Susan and Catherine Cooper, William Haynes, Thomas Green, Mary Gray, Jerry Brown, John Alinge, Catherine Hunt, Abraham Hope, George Rapin, John Fenworth, Will. A. Cooper, Solomon Alinge, Alex'r Francis, and William Weikes, and for that the said Francis and William Weikes, and for that the said Edward Lloyd hath transported Philemon Lloyd, William Scott, Edward Trowell, Samuel Hawkins, Henry Hawkins, John Flemming, Hannah Gould, and Alice Paine, into this province, here to inhabit, and upon such conditions and terms as are expressed in our conditions of plantation, of our said Province of Maryland, &c." The patent then describes with metes and bounds the celebrated tract of Hyer-Dyer Lloyd, containing 3050 acres of land in what is now and for long has been called Oxford Neck, which it conveys to Mr. Lloyd, in consideration of the annual payment of 3*£*. 1*s*. sterling, or 2 shillings for each hundred acres. This patent from Cecilius, Lord Baltimore, is dated Jan. 10th, 1659 and signed by Jonas Fendall, "our Lieut. of our said Province." This tract now divided into many farms contained some of the best land of the county.

himself as "Edward Lloyd of the Parish of St. Mary, White Chappel, in the county of Middlesex, merchant and late planter in Maryland." The date of his death has not been recovered, but it probably occurred soon after the execution of this will, by which he devised the Wye House to his grandson, bearing his own name, the son of Philemon Lloyd, of both of whom more will hereafter be said. Mr. Lloyd was thrice married: first to Frances, the widow of John Watkins, who came up from Virginia in the Puritan colony headed by Edward Lloyd; second to Alice Crouch, widow of Hawkins, and third to another widow, Mrs. Grace Parker of London, whose maiden name was Buckerfield. He had but one child, the son of his second wife Alice, Philemon, who subsequently became a very prominent personage in the province, and continued the family. There are family memoranda that indicate there was another son of Alice Crouch, named Edward, who lived at "White House," but it is probable he died early, and without issue.

Any attempt to form an estimate of the character of a man of whom we know so little as we do of Mr. Lloyd, might be considered vain. History has related nothing more of him than a few of his acts of a public nature. Court records and musty parchments make mention of some of his large private business transactions. Family registers, commonly kept with care within if not as a part of the sacred volume, have not perpetuated even the dates of those trivial or common incidents, such as birth, marriage, death. Even tradition, always garrulous, in general fabling where credit may be derived by descendants from ancestral virtues (and sometimes vices) has strangely never invented a legend of his life. But interpreting character by conduct we may believe him to have been a man of strong and sincere religious convictions, ready to suffer for conscience or opinion's sake. His abandoning his Virginia home rather than submit to enforced conformity with the church of England, may be taken as evidence of this. As he was of the Assembly (Oct. 1654) which passed the "act concerning religion" which provided that liberty in the exercise of religion should not be "extended to popery nor prelacy," we discover that he had not entirely freed himself from that spirit of intolerance he had severely condemned when exercised towards himself. But religion and politics were at the time inextricably mingled, and this Act may have been aimed at arbitrary, royal and priestly power, as much as at what was deemed false belief, and corrupt practices in the church. Mr. Lloyd was a republican in his politics, adhering to the Parliament rather than to the King, and then to the Protector as the guardian of the rights of the people. If he opposed the Lord

Proprietary, it was not from a wish to deprive him of his property in the province he had founded, but of his regalia—those powers and privileges which he claimed as a count palatine under the charter granted by the deposed king. He was unwilling to take an oath of allegiance which seemed to acknowledge or savor of royalty, even when the oath had been modified to suit the political scruples of him and his coadjutors; so uncompromising was he in his adherence to the principles of popular government. It has, however, been already mentioned that his political repugnances were very much softened, for he consented to accept office under Lord Baltimore, and subsequently he returned to live in London when England was indulging in the very saturnalia of royalty. But Mr. Lloyd's life was not spent in the indulgence of religious sentiment, nor in the defence or propagation of political theories. He was no mere enthusiast in what related to the Church and dreamer in what related to the State. This is evinced by his success in affairs purely practical—affairs strictly personal to himself. It would not do to say that he was not interested in discussions upon polemics or upon government, ecclesiastical or civil; but he was more interested in pushing his fortunes. He may even have taken some delight in harrying a priest, Romanist or Anglican, or witnessing the whipping of a Quaker by the constable of his hundred.¹² He no doubt did take a kind of malicious pleasure in the discomfiture of the royalists of the province and in the triumph of the parliamentary forces at Horns Point on Severn river. But his more abiding gratifications were derived from the perusal of patents for broad acres, or the deeds for lands purchased of other patentees; from a contemplation of his fields broadening under cultivation and the corresponding increase of his crops; from the scanning of his lengthening roll of his servants, indentured and enslaved, introduced through his own agency, or purchased from the ships arriving in Patuxent and Severn and Wye; from numbering and marking his flocks of cattle, sheep, hogs and horses, that ran wild in his woods; from counting the double profits of his shipments of tobacco to England, and their proceeds returned in cargoes for Maryland consumers; and later when he became merchant in London, from the success of his commercial adventures; from the favorable reports of the trading of his factors or agents in America, and the letters

¹² Whether any Quaker was ever whipped in Maryland is a matter of dispute, but Edward Lloyd, the Puritan, was a member of the council in 1659 that "issued an order 'to seize and whip them (Quakers) from constable to constable' until they be sent out of the province."—Neill's *Founders of Maryland*, p. 131.

of his son Philemon of the increasing value of his estates in Maryland. We are justified in believing Mr. Lloyd was in his business transactions diligent, laborious and judicious; there is no reason to doubt, if we may accept the doctrines of heredity, and judge him by his descendants, that he was direct, trusty and honorable. We know for the evidence remains to the present, that in the selection of his lands, for patent or purchase, he displayed most excellent judgment, for to this day they are among the best in this county. We also know that his planting was on a large scale, for it laid the foundation of a considerable fortune. We can only conjecture that his adventures in trade, discreetly planned and ably executed, were correspondingly great and profitable, for he transmitted to his son, Philemon, an estate, which largely increased by a provident (and not the less happy because provident), marriage made him one of the wealthiest men of the province and gave a social distinction to the family which it has maintained, and worthily maintained, to the present.

PHILEMON LLOYD (I)

(INDIAN COMMISSIONER)

1646-1685

In the year 1659, when Edward Lloyd (I) the Puritan, took out a warrant for 3,050 acres of land extending from Oxford to Dickinson's Bay, to which he gave the name "Hier Dier" (variously spelled), he claimed, under the Lord Proprietor's conditions of plantation, an allowance of acres for Philemon Lloyd, whom, with others, he had "transported into this Province, here to inhabit." It is not absolutely certain, but it is highly probable, that the person named in the patent was his own son; if so, this son must have been a mere child, for Philemon Lloyd (I), the son of Edward Lloyd (I), the immigrant from Virginia, was born in the year 1647, but two years before the expulsion of the Puritans from Virginia and their settlement at Providence now Annapolis. Assuming that Philemon Lloyd, for whom the Puritan Councillor under Gov. Fendall received 100 acres, part of his tract as mentioned, was the son of the patentee of "Hier Dier Lloyd," it is proposed to give such account of him as very scanty records will allow.

He was born in Virginia upon the Nansemond or Elizabeth river, where the Puritans were settled, and where his father was resident. Upon the expulsion of these people from the Dominion, he accompanied his parents to Maryland and grew up in Anne Arundel county, but at an early age made his home in Talbot on Wye River. Of his edu-

cation we know absolutely nothing, but that it was not neglected, we may be sure, from the facts that his youth was spent among a people who have always and everywhere valued learning, the Puritans, and that at a very early age we find him chosen for civil positions, for the proper discharge of the duties of which more than ordinary literateness was required, if not professional training and acquirements. But he had obtained under his father the best of all kinds of education, for one of his environments, that is to say, experience and self reliance in the administration of affairs. In 1668, when he was but twenty-one years of age, his father, going to England, gave him full power of attorney for the management of his great estate in Maryland, and for the conduct of the commercial business which already had been established in this province. How well this paternal confidence was bestowed is shown by the success which attended all the adventures, whether in land speculations, planting or trading. Before this date, he had become a resident of Talbot county, and after the departure of his father he made his home at Wye House, which has ever been regarded as *incunabula majorum*—the very cradle of the family. In 1668 the land records of the county indicate that he had purchased of Stephen Whetstone the "great island in Wye river," which at first having no special name has been variously called, according as it has been owned wholly or in part by different persons, "Lloyd's Insula," Chew's, Boardley's or Paca's Island. It is now commonly designated as Wye Island. In 1669 we find Mr. Lloyd named in the provincial records as living in this county and holding a commission as Captain of the Militia. Later he became Colonel, and this title has become, as it were, hereditary, for it has been borne by the head of the family from the time of Col. Philemon Lloyd to the present, whether he has been performing military service or not. These and the like titles, which have long lost their significance, are now given in mere courtesy and often borne without authority, at one time in Maryland had a meaning indicative of military command and yet more, of social eminence, if not precedence. They now hardly distinguish those who, however legitimately and worthily, bear them and not infrequently they provoke ridicule for their inappropriateness.

At or about this time, 1669, the precise date not having been preserved, Mr. Philemon Lloyd (I) contracted a most advantageous marriage and as it proved most happy, with Madam¹⁴ Henrietta Maria

¹⁴ This appellation was evidently used by the early Marylanders as a title of honor and dignity, and was almost the equivalent of "Lady" in England, for it was bestowed only upon those enjoying social distinction. As the Lord Proprie-

Bennett, the widow of Mr. Richard Bennett, the son of that Richard Bennett who, at one time Governor of Virginia, was the Commissioner of Parliament for settling the government of Maryland. Mr. Richard Bennett, Junior, was drowned in early manhood, leaving children amply provided for and a widow with a large dowry. Mr. Edward Lloyd (I) the Puritan, had been intimately associated politically and socially, with Gov. Bennett, and the marriage of his son with this gentleman's daughter-in-law, young, attractive and rich, was a very natural result of this association. The memory of this lady is held in great affection and veneration by her numerous descendants, and her name is perpetuated in many families which claim her as a progenetrix. She was the daughter of Capt. James Neal, who before coming to Maryland, according to his petition to the General Assembly for the naturalization of his four children, presented April 19th, 1666, had "lived diverse yeares in Spain and Portugall, following the trade of merchandize, and likewise was there employed by his Majesty of Great Britain [Charles II] and his Royal Highness the Duke of Yorke in several emergent affairs, as by the Commissions herewith presented may appeare."¹⁶ While living in Spain and Portugal four children were born to him, of whom Henrietta Maria was one, who was named in honor of the Queen of Charles I. There is a tradition in the families tracing descent to this estimable lady, whether well or ill founded matters little to those who are ready to believe what flatters their pride, that her mother, born in Maryland, was a maid of honor to, or at least was in the service of Queen Henrietta Maria; and that when her daughter was baptized that royal personage was graciously pleased to act as god-mother, presumably by proxy.

tary by the terms of his charter was forbidden to establish orders of nobility such as those existing at home, certain familiar titles were adopted which soon acquired a conventional significance and importance and were therefore sought after and claimed as indicative of rank. Some of these were 'Honorable,' still retained, and in many cases most signally inappropriate, if meant to express personal character as well as official station: 'Worshipful,' which has entirely disappeared, under the restricted meaning of its root; military titles from "Major General" to "Lieutenant," which still survive with much diminished lustre since the war of the Rebellion. The titles applied to women were "Madam" as indicating the highest provincial grade, and "Mistress," one step lower in the social scale. Those of no distinction from wealth or official station were spoken of with their simple name. The term 'Dame,' now used colloquially only, and with levity—almost with reproach—has nowhere been discovered in the county records or in private letters or memoranda. If ever used by our people it quickly disappeared.

¹⁶ Maryland Archives, Vol. ii, page 90.

All this may be a legend founded upon a name, probably suggested to worthy Capt. Neal and his wife Anna Gynne by their intense loyalty to their king, who at the date of the birth of their child was probably in the hands of his enemies, and by their sympathy for his suffering wife, a refugee in France. However Henrietta Maria acquired her name—whether it was bestowed by royalty or prompted by loyalty—she was thought to be fortunate when she married young Mr. Bennett, the presumptive heir of a great fortune; though there were some who believed this alliance ill asserted, she the daughter of a royalist and a Romanist, he the son of a republican and a Puritan. There is no reason to believe this marriage was any otherwise than happy, until Mr. Bennett was suddenly cut off, leaving a son and daughter, the former of whom became, it is said, the richest man of his day in America. His widow, as has been noted, married Philemon Lloyd, and brought him a large fortune, chiefly derived from her former husband. Mrs. or as was the custom of the day, Madam Lloyd was a devout Catholic, having been born of Maryland Catholic parents, and in a foreign Catholic country. It is said of her

that she threw over the Roman Catholic priests the protection of her long social standing in Maryland, on both shores and that no Archbishop * * * could have been more a of stay and prop to American Catholicism than this estimable woman.

It was through her instrumentality and probably at her sole expense, with the approval of her Protestant husband, that the Romish chapel at Doncaster or Wyetown, was built—the first place of worship for the people of this obedience ever erected in this county, and long the only one. In 1693 we find that she—then a widow for the second time—was appointed executrix of John Londey, a Jesuit priest, probably in charge of this chapel, who bequeathed to her one-half his estate, and the other half

unto the proper use and behoof and the upholding and benefit of ye Roman Catholic Chappell, built at ye mouth of Wye River.

This chapel long since disappeared, and for years its very existence was forgotten; but the memory of the fair and gentle lady, its founder and patroness, is still fresh and fragrant as the flowers that bloom upon the site of this early shrine. The town itself has perished and the plow share, as it turns a richer soil within the fertile fields of Wyetown farm, reveals the only signs of the former existence there of a mart and place

where men did congregate to hail the last arrival from the great world beyond the seas, or to speed the departing ship that carried their fortunes in her swelling sides. Mrs. Lloyd long survived her husband, but dying she was buried at Wye House, where over her remains was erected by Richard Bennett, her son, a tomb, now much shattered, which bears or bore this inscription beneath the arms of the Lloyds, quartered with those of the Neals:

HENRIETTA
MARIA LLOYD,
Shee who now takes her rest within this tomb,
Had Rachells face and Leas fruitful womb,
Abigails wisdom, Lydeas faithful heart,
With Marthas care and Marys better part.
Who died the 21st day of May [Anno]
Dom. 1697 aged 50 years —
months 23 days
To whose memory Richard Bennett dedicates this tomb.

Below the inscription is a shield embracing mortuary emblems. This lady must have possessed personal charms and mental qualities of unusual excellence to justify such eulogium, even though inscribed by the partiality of filial affection. Maternity is the glory of woman. Who, standing by the tomb of Henrietta Maria Lloyd, will say the poorest praise this epitaph bestows is that she was a fruitful mother? Who that knows how fondly and proudly a numerous progeny in several generations have loved to link her name with theirs, in repetitive instances, and call her mother, but must believe she was endowed with peculiarly strong or amiable traits of character to have so impressed her descendants, and to have caused her memory to be so greatly honored above that of most women in purely private station.

On the 17th day of Dec. 1670 a commission was issued by Governor Charles Calvert, to these gentlemen as Justices of the Peace for Talbot county viz.: Richard Woolman, William Coursey, Philemon Lloyd, Thomas South, Seth Foster, Thomas Hynson, Philip Stevenson, James Ringold, William Hambleton, Jonathan Sybery, Richard Gorsuch, Edward Roe and John Wells. The four persons first named were to be Justices of the Quorum, without one of whom no court could be held.¹⁶ This honorable and responsible office he held until his death, the last

¹⁶ The form of the Commission may be found in the clerk's office of this county, in Liber B. B., No. 2. Pagination irregular.

court at which he made his appearance having been that of Feb. 17th, 1684-5.

In the year 1670 commissions were issued for a general election throughout the Province. Proclamation having been made by the sheriff, the election was accordingly held on the 17th of January, 1670-1, when four Burgesses or Delegates were chosen to represent the freemen of this county in the General Assembly, the Justices of the Court acting as Judges of election. These gentlemen were returned: Richard Woolman, Philemon Lloyd, Joseph Wicks and William Hambleton. Mr. Lloyd continued to be returned at each succeeding election until his death. In 1681 he was honored by being made the Speaker of the Lower House.

But the most notable if not the most useful service rendered by Col. Philemon Lloyd to the province of Maryland was the negotiation of a treaty of peace with the Iroquois or Five Nations, inhabiting what is now the State of New York. These tribes had made frequent irruptions into Maryland and Virginia, weakening or destroying the tribes of Indians intervening, and inflicting great suffering upon the whites seated in out-lying and exposed situations. In 1678 Col. William Coursey, in this county, which at this date embraced the territory of Queen Anne's had been sent by the Lord Proprietary to Albany for the purpose of negotiating a treaty of amity with the Five Nations, and he also acted for the neighboring province of Virginia. The treaty then formed had been disregarded, and bands of Iroquois continued to infest the northern and western settlements, committing murders and barbarities upon the friendly Indians, "Christians," and carrying off or destroying much property. It was determined by the Maryland authorities again to send an embassy to these northern tribes to seek redress for the injuries already inflicted, and secure a more binding or effectual treaty of peace. Accordingly the Governor and Council of Maryland appointed Col. Henry Coursey and Col. Philemon Lloyd, Commissioners for the Proprietary to treat with the confederate Iroquois, at Albany, in New York, in behalf of the people of both Maryland and Virginia. It would appear that these gentlemen made three fruitless journeys to the appointed place of meeting and it was not until Aug. 1682, that they were successful in securing the attendance of the chiefs of the tribes. Negotiations were held at the Court House, commencing on the 3d of the month and continuing to the 13th. They were opened with the presentation of certain "propositions" by Cols. Coursey and Lloyd to the chiefs of the Senecas, who returned their answer denying that the wrongs had

been committed by any of their tribe. Similar propositions were made on the following day to the Mohawks, Onondagas, the Oneidas and the Cayugas, and in reply the Mohawks acknowledged that wrongs had been committed by some of their tribe,

for our Indians have been drunk in their capacity, void of understanding and out of their senses when they committed the evil in your country.

The Mohawks answered also for the Onondagas. The Oneidas and Cayugas answered: "the evils done by our young Indians in your country by killing and plundering we do not allow of; it is against our will and are sorry." The Indians then presented belts of peak as a pledge of their fidelity, and as an evidence of their desire for peace and amity. On the day following, the 5th, further preparations were made by the Commissioners, that compensation to the extent of 500 beaver skins should be given for the depredations committed, and that the chief of the band that had perpetrated the murders, known to be of the tribe of the Onondagas, be surrendered to the authorities of Maryland. To these propositions it was answered by the Onondagas that the chiefs committing the murders had been killed, and by all the tribes, except the Senecas, that were willing to contribute their proportionable parts of the beaver skins in the summer following; and as a token of their willingness they each delivered at once a few pelts. Agents were appointed by the Commissioners to receive the "beavers" which were to be paid in the following year at the governor's house in Albany. The Commissioners then said

will for this time throw a cover over the blood that has been spilt, to hide it from our eyes upon the condition that for the future you keep your Indians out of our country for doing the like evil to us or any of our neighboring Indians,

and any violation of this condition to be followed by an uncovering of "the blood that had been spilt" and the commencement of war; that the tribes

should recall all their parties which are gone into Virginia and Maryland against the Christians and the Piscataway Indians, or any other of our neighboring Indians; and that they reveal the name of the Christian who had stirred them up to make war on the Piscataway Indians and promised to deliver them up to you.

The answers of the Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidas and Mohawks were substantially the same, and they agreed to all that was demanded,

giving, but with reluctance, the name "Jacob Young," as that of the man who instigated them to make war on the Piscataways. Presents were given and received frequently during the conference, which was concluded, apparently to the satisfaction of each of the contracting parties.¹⁷

After twelve or fifteen years had passed since the restoration of royal authority in England, and the Proprietary rule in Maryland, there was a revival here similar to that which had taken place there, of a jealousy, hatred and fear of the Roman Catholics. Lord Baltimore was suspected of entertaining a purpose of effecting in his Palatinate what the King and his brother were suspected of planning for the realm at large, the suppression of Protestantism and the institution of Romanism. These malicious and ill-founded suspicions were instigated by a reprobate Anglican clergyman named Coode, and it is probable they would have secured lodgment in the minds of none but for alarming reports received from the mother country. Of the panic which was set up in England by the alleged "Popish Plot" and its attendant circumstances, there were those in this distant land, who professed to feel the tremors, and to apprehend the horrors. There may even have been those who were willing to see visited upon their fellow colonists some of those penalties for differing from them in religious opinion which were suffered by suspected Romanists at home. But Col. Philemon Lloyd, though the son of a Puritan father, and a member of the church of England, entertained no such sentiments in regard to the Lord Proprietary and his co-religionists, for we find him in May, 1682, uniting with many others of the same religious persuasion, or, as they call themselves, Protestants, in a declaration as to their perfect freedom in the enjoyment and practice of their religion, as to the impartiality of the Lord Proprietary in the distribution of offices, without any respect or regard to the religion of those appointed, and as to the falsehood of those scandalous and malicious aspersions which inveterate malignant turbulent spirits have cast upon his Lordship and his government. This act of Col. Lloyd indicates that religious and political prejudices—at this time they were one—had not obtunded his fine sense of honor, or his obligations of justice and gratitude to the Lord Proprietary.¹⁸

But if we were not informed by this "remonstrance declaration,"

¹⁷ For a more particular account of this treaty, which has received little attention from Maryland historians, see "Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York," Vol. III. pages 321-328.

¹⁸ Scharf's Hist. Md., Vol. 1, page 289.

as it is called, of the religious belief and practice of Col. Lloyd, his will written in the very same month and year, May 1682, with its codicil written just before his death, May 1685, would furnish even fuller attestation. After directing that his children should be educated according to their condition in life he said:

I will that my children be brought up in ye Protestant religion and carried to such and such church or churches where it is preached and to no other, during their minority and until such years of discretion as may render them best capable to judge what is most consonant to ye good will of Almighty God, unto which, pray God of his mercy to direct them.

As if exceedingly solicitous for the religious welfare of his children he adds in a codicil written three years after his will:

Whereas by my said last will I left it in charge of my overseers [executors] those innamed, to cause my children to be brought up in ye Protestant religion, in which religion I would still have them continue, yet least my meaning and intent therein should be mistaken and disorders will [arise] not foreseen between my wife and overseers af'd. that I make it my only request to her by obligations of a loving husband to see my will therein performed and yat ye said overseers put her in mind thereof, and so God's will be done.¹⁹

It is very evident from the will and especially from the codicil, that the education of his children in the Protestant faith was a matter of solicitude. It is also evident that he was not without apprehension, notwithstanding his affection for his wife, that her devotion to her own church, and the influences of her spiritual directors, would prompt her to a disregard of his injunctions in this particular; and so, while he charged her to be remembering her obligations to obey, he also enjoined upon his executors to remind her of her duty should she seem oblivious to its requirements. There is reason to believe his wishes were faithfully observed, for no Lloyd of Wye, has ever been an adherent of the church of Rome.²⁰

¹⁹ It may well enough to note that one of the witnesses to the will was the Rev. James Clayland, one of the first ministers of the church of England that came to this county.

²⁰ It would be surprising if a mother of such amiable traits and deep piety as Madam Lloyd's, should not have impressed some of her children with her religious opinions, in spite of the stated preachings of Parson Clayland, or Parson Lillingston; so there is a tradition, which at least has the support of plausibility, that the second Philemon Lloyd had inclinations towards the Roman Catholic Church.

The political opinions of Col. Philemon Lloyd are inferable from his religious convictions, for with him as with others of his day, the two were correlative, if not coincident. His mind being dominated by the latter, from them the former took their direction. He lived long enough to feel the first breathings of that storm which shaking the very foundations of the English constitution, drove the Steuarts from the throne, and wafted in William of Orange; but he did not live to see the "glorious revolution" as it was called, of 1688, which would have gladdened his heart. He was a friend of the Proprietary, and though Baltimore was a Romanist he defended his rights and prerogatives; but there is substantial reason for believing he was a Whig in politics as he was a Protestant in religion; on the contrary, his widow, in after years, was suspected of being a Jacobite, for in 1689 a band of "Associators in arms for the defense of the Protestant religion," headed by one Sweatnam, a neighbor, visited her plantation on Wye and removed the arms that were in her possession²¹ under a pretext that they were to be used for defense against the Indians.

Col. Philemon Lloyd's life was a very brief one, but he lived long enough to serve his country usefully, and to become the father of a large number of children, who intermarrying with prominent and influential families of Maryland and the adjoining provinces, have now representatives in almost every part of this country, who trace with becoming pride their descent from the earnest churchman, the upright judge, the wise legislator and the skillful Indian diplomatist, Col. Philemon Lloyd (I), of Wye. He was buried at Wye House, where a tomb was erected to his memory bearing this inscription.

Here Lies
Interred the body of
COL. PHILEMON LLOYD,
the son of E. Lloyd and Alice his
wife, who died the 22nd of June 1685,
in the 39th year of his age leav-
ing three sons and seven
daughters all by his be-
loved wife Henrietta
Maria.
"No more than this the father says,
But leaves his life to speak his praise."²²

²¹ Scharf's Hist. Md. Vol. 1, page 323.

²² Genealogical notes of the Chamberlaines family, page 34.

EDWARD LLOYD (II)

THE PRESIDENT

1670-1718

When Edward Lloyd (I), the Puritan, died in the city of London, in the year 1695, at an advanced age, he devised the plantation that was his home when in Maryland, but then in the occupancy of his widowed daughter-in-law Henrietta Maria (Neal, Bennett) Lloyd, relict of his son Philemon (I) to his eldest grand-son Edward (II). It is of this Edward Lloyd, the second of the name, that it is now proposed to recite the life-story as far as very imperfect records and doubtful tradition have preserved the incidents. He was born Feb. 7th, 1670, and probably at Wye House, the residence of his father Philemon (I) the Indian Commissioner. He was but fifteen years of age at the death of his father, and therefore his early education devolved upon his mother, that lady upon whose tomb-stone, filial affection has inscribed, with questionable propriety, that she had "Abigail's wisdom." His first lesson in "good letters" may have been received from one of those teachers who were often brought from the transport ships, as indentured servants; but as it was the custom of the day for people of condition to send their sons to the old country for their education, and as his grandfather was a wealthy merchant of London, it is greatly probable Edward Lloyd (II) received his academic and perhaps a professional training in the schools and inns of court of the metropolis. He may have taken his seat upon a form at Eton or Harrow, and even matriculated at one of the great universities. It is very certain his education was such, however and wherever acquired, as to qualify him for the highest stations in the province.

The first authentic information we have of Ed. Lloyd (II), after he had attained his majority is of his having been commissioned, Jan. 16th, 1697, by Governor Francis Nicholson one of the Worshipful Commissioners and Justices of the Peace. He is spoken of as Colonel, so that he had received the accolade of provincial knighthood before he had been invested with the judicial ermine. He was also named in the Commission as one of the Quorum, a fact that seems to indicate that he was versed in the law. He continued to hold his seat upon the bench until Aug. 19th, 1701.²³ Soon after, in 1702, he was made one of the Govern-

²³ The names of his associates upon the bench at the first court he attended, held Aug. 17th, 1697, were Capt. James Murphy, Mr. Richard Tilghman, Mr.

or's Council, and as such he was still qualified to act as a County Justice and preside in court when present; but he does not seem to have exercised this right.

In the year 1697 the General Assembly was dissolved by proclamation of the Governor, and writs were issued, Jan. 11th, 1698, for a new election of Delegates, at which Col. Lloyd was chosen to be one to represent the freemen of Talbot, the Upper House or Council being composed of the appointees of the Governor. His associate delegates were Col. Thomas Smithson (who was made Speaker of the House), Mr. Richard Tilghman and Mr. Will. Hemsley. The last named gentleman died in 1699, and a brother of Mr. Lloyd, Philemon (II) was chosen in his place. During the time of Mr. Lloyd's service in the Lower House the most important measure that occupied its attention was the establishing of the Church of England as the church of the province. In 1692 Maryland had been made a Royal province, and Baltimore deprived of his Palatinate rights. The bill for the establishment of the English church, first passed in 1694, had met with more than one mishap, and was not finally approved by royal assent, until 1702. It encountered most stringent opposition from two classes of citizens, the Roman Catholics and the Quakers, the last of whom were numerous and influential in this county. Whether this bill had Col. Lloyd's approval is doubtful, for he could not have been unmindful of the people of his excellent mother's faith,²⁴ and the Friends were too strong to have their protests disregarded by a politic statesman.

On the 16th of March, 1702, about the date of the accession to the throne of "good Queen Anne," Mr. Lloyd was called from the Lower House of Assembly to a seat in the Council, which constituted the Upper

William Hemsley, Mr. Hugh Sherwood, Mr. Thomas Robins, Jr., Mr. Richard Carter, Mr. John Coppedge, Mr. John Needles, Mr. Robt. Macklin, Mr. Matthew Smith, and Mr. Edward James. The three first named, with Col. Lloyd, were of the Quorum, without one of whom present no court could be held.

²⁴ Mr. John Bosman Kerr, upon what ground or authority it is not known, except the doubtful one he suggests, says of Col. Lloyd: "He was at heart a Roman Catholic. Had he acknowledged it openly, it would have done him injury, no doubt, politically, at this time. I judge from the perfect confidence between his good mother and himself." This is almost certainly erroneous, for Col. Lloyd could not, as an honorable man, have held office, when it was forbidden by law for a Catholic to do so. Mr. Kerr does injustice to him by an implied impeachment of his sincerity or frankness. It is probable he was Puritan as Paptist, for his father had enjoined, by his will, that he should be educated a Protestant, and that may have meant educated in disregard of both Popery and Prelacy.

House,²⁵ by Governor Blackiston. In 1708 he was raised to the military rank of Major General of the Maryland Militia. Governor Seymour, who in 1704 succeeded Blackiston, dying in 1709, General Lloyd, at this date President of the Council, became, as such *de facto* Governor of the Province; and this honorable position was held by him until the appointment by King George I, of Mr. Hart, in 1714. The fact that five years elapsed between the death of Gov. Seymour and the appointment of Gov. Hart, during which interim Gen. Lloyd was acting by virtue of his election as President of the Council, may justly be taken as evidence that his official duties were discharged with satisfaction to both the authorities in England and the people of the Province. The period of his occupancy of the executive chair of the commonwealth was one of peace, if it was not one of great prosperity. Maryland now being under royal protection, as it had been since 1692, the old contests between the Proprietary and the people were unknown, and even the acerbity of religious controversy had greatly subsided by reason of the hopelessness of any effort to overthrow the established order. The legislation effected under President Lloyd indicates that there was little political interest and activity, either because there was a lack of evils to be redressed or from an unconsciousness of their existence. The truth is, the conversion of Maryland into a royal province had given peace but it had produced stagnation; and this had reacted upon the prosperity of the colony, which had sensibly declined. The period of the administration of President Lloyd is marked by no important events; but it may be esteemed happy, according to the dictum of the philosopher, because it has no history. President Lloyd's authority as chief executive, terminated with the arrival of Gov. Hart, May 29th, 1714. Soon after the government of his province, his private rights never having been infringed, was restored to the Lord Proprietary, Benedict Leonard Calvert, who almost immediately dying, his title and rights devolved upon his infant son Charles Calvert. Governor Hart was re-commissioned, and Genl. Lloyd retained his position in the Council—a position which he continued to hold until his death in 1718-19.²⁶

²⁵ McMahon in Hist. of Md., Vol. i, p. 267, says that after Gov. Blackiston returned to England, in consequence of feeble health, the "Government devolved upon Col. Edward Lloyd, the President of the Council, in whose hands it remained, until the arrival of Governor Seymour in the spring of 1704." This is probably erroneous. See Scharf, Vol. i, p. 367, and McSherry, p. 389, also Bacon's Laws.

²⁶ In a record of the meeting of a council in 1716, Mr. Ed. Lloyd's name did not appear.

Of President Lloyd's personal character nothing whatever is known, and as little of his habits and pursuits. His elevation to some of the highest positions in the provincial government must be taken as evidence of ability and of honest repute. He was a man of affairs as well as politician, and added to the fortune inherited from his grandfather and father. His home was at Wye House, but his public duties required his frequent and long attendance at Annapolis. On the first of February, 1703, he married Miss Sarah Covington, of Somerset county, Md. Family tradition has preserved or invented an interesting story of his courtship and marriage. It was the custom of the Friends or Quakers to hold their yearly or half yearly meetings at the "Great Meeting House at Third Haven"—that is at the meeting house still standing but unused near the town of Easton, a celebration of the bicentennial of the erection of which was made in the past year. To these meetings not only Friends from every portion of the Eastern and Western Shores resorted, but many persons of other communions and many more who acknowledged no religious connection. Nor were all who assembled moved by pious motives. Booths were erected for the sale of trumpery of one kind or another and especially for the sale of liquors. Horse racing and other rough country sports were indulged in by the ungodly; and of course where there was an assemblage of young people of both sexes there was much coquetry and serious courting. It is related that among the "visiting friends" from Somerset (of whom it may be said incidentally that they belonged to one of the very earliest of the Quaker societies formed in America) was a beautiful Quakeress, Sarah Covington, who came to the meeting from her distant home, seated on a pillion behind her father, and dressed in the simple garb of her people, which rendered her charms more pleasing by contrast with its plainness. The two young Lloyds, Philemon (II) and Edward (II) had ridden over from Wye House, to meet their acquaintances, participate in any sport that was passing and to witness whatever might be done by the Quakers in their exercises, or by the worldly people assembled for amusement, as if at a fair or merry making. They were both attracted by the great beauty of the young woman from Somerset, and each resolved to pay his addresses; but each concealed his purposes from the other.

The meeting being over, Philemon quietly took horse and made his way to the fair maiden's home on Somerset county. On reaching Miss Covington's door, to his distress and dismay he saw the well known 'turn out' of his brother Edward with accoutrements for special gala days. The two brothers, thus rivals and far from home, had to

adjust the difficulty as best they could. * * Philemon proposed that whoever saw her first should be the first to offer his heart and hand;

and by comparison of their accounts it was found that Edward had seen the young lady upon the road, before her arrival at the meeting house, where Philemon had first seen her. He said:

my purpose was then fixed to make her my wife, if her mind and character were like her face. Philemon yielded the prize and Sarah Covington became Mrs. Edward Lloyd, the mistress of Wye House.²⁷

A portrait of this lady is in the possession of descendants. She was the mother of several children, among them Edward (III) the Secretary, but her husband dying she married Mr. James Hollyday, and became the mother of the very distinguished lawyer and statesman of the same name. She died in London in 1755 at an advanced age, at the home of her daughter Mrs. Anderson, the wife of a merchant long engaged in trade with Maryland, surviving her second husband.

Gen. Edward Lloyd (II), the President, died March 20th, 1718, and was buried at Wye House, where a monument is erected to his memory, with this inscription:

Here lieth ye body
of ye Honorable Coll.
Edward Lloyd, son of
Philemon Lloyd and Henrietta Maria his
wife.
Was born ye 7th of Feb. 1670 and
died March ye 20th 1718.
He had by his wife Sarah 5 sons and one
daughter, all living except one son. He
served his country
in several honorable stations
both civil and military and was
one of ye Council many
years.

²⁷ Genealogical Notes of the Chamberlaine family.

PHILEMON LLOYD (II)

THE SECRETARY

1672-1732

The second son of Philemon (I) and Henrietta Maria (Neale, Bennett) Lloyd was Philemon (II) who may be distinguished from his father, the Indian Commissioner by the agnomen, the Secretary, for the reason that for many years he held the office of Secretary or Deputy Secretary of the Province of Maryland. He is thought to have been born at Wye House in the year 1672, the precise date being unrecorded. What was said of his elder brother Edward must be said of this more distinguished personage, with reference to his early education and those surrounding influences which tend to mould the character namely, that he had for a mother a woman of strong as well as amiable qualities, and that the large wealth of his parents was such as justified the belief that he enjoyed the best tuition from competent masters. Like his brother he was probably sent to England, where under the care of his grandfather, Edward Lloyd (I) the Puritan, he was trained in the best schools of letters and law. It need not be said that this statement is based upon pure conjecture, for no record exists nor family tradition of his academic or professional education; yet his many positions of civil trust is sufficient to indicate that he enjoyed advantages of instruction superior to those possessed by a majority of young men growing up in a wild, uncultivated country, such as Maryland was during his youth.

In the absence of honors which only the favor of royalty could bestow, employments in the public service of the province were those which were sought by the ambitious of distinction; nor were the emoluments that accompanied these honors despised, as insignificant as they seemed when measured by the standards accepted in the old country, or even by the standards now established in our own. A seat in the General Assembly was then sought after with as much eagerness as a seat in the Commons of England or in the Congress of America is now; while the commission of a Councillor was regarded as a sort of patent to nobility. It may be mentioned incidentally that many of these provincial honors acquired a kind of hereditability; for certain it is that succeeding generations enjoyed many of them, as we find in the case of the family whose history is now reviewed. The first authentic information we possess of Philemon Lloyd, the second of the name, after his arrival at manhood, is of his having been elected, June 29th, 1699, one of the Burgesses or

Delegates from Talbot county to the General Assembly, in the place of Mr. William Hemsley, who had then recently died. His colleagues from Talbot in the Lower House at this period were Major Thomas Smithson, who was Speaker, a gentleman then of much prominence, but subsequently much distinguished in Maryland history; Col. Edward Lloyd his brother, and Mr. Richard Tilghman, of the Hermitage. We see in this how nearly at this date in Maryland, honors and political control were hereditary. Major Smithson was not of the provincial patriciate, but was elevated by his conspicuous ability and high personal character. Mr. Lloyd continued to hold his seat until 1702, at least, and probably longer. It is to be noted that the period of his service in the Legislature was that of the final settlement of the controversy respecting the church establishment,—a controversy of much warmth and not a little bitter feeling, in which the Quakers, who were numerous in the county, and Roman Catholics, united against the adherents of the Church of England. The parties to this dispute were not ranged upon political lines, for the Friends were probably all Whigs, the Romanists were mainly, if not wholly, Jacobites.

At a Court held at the town of York, Nov. 13th, 1701, Mr. Vincent Hemsley, the High Sheriff, read a "new commission for the Peace," dated Nov. 7th, which constituted these gentlemen the Justices for Talbot County: Mr. Robert Goldsborough, Mr. William Coursey, Mr. Richard Tilghman, Mr. Philemon Lloyd, Mr. Thomas Robins, Mr. John Coppidge, Mr. Robert Ungle, Mr. Thomas Emerson, Mr. Philemon Hemsley, Mr. Robert Grundy, Mr. Matthew Tilghman Ward, Mr. John Needles. The seven first named were of the Quorum without the presence of one of whom no court could be held. It may be well to note here that the county records state that these gentlemen were required to subscribe oaths of the most rigid character, called the "Test" and the "Association"—such was the jealousy of Jacobitism and Roman Catholicism, which were thought to be politically synonymous. In Aug. 1705, a Court of Oyer and Terminer was held in the county of which Mr. Lloyd was one of the Justices designated for this purpose. He seems to have kept his seat upon the bench until the year 1707. The causes for the changes in the constitution of the Court are not evident from any record.

In the year 1709 as has been related in the sketch of his life, Gen. Edward Lloyd (II) became by virtue of his position as President of the Council the acting Governor of Maryland, Gov. Seymour having just died. He soon after appointed his brother, Mr. Philemon Lloyd.

Secretary of the Province. This office he held during the continuance of the royal rule, yielding it up when Gov. Hart was appointed and the Proprietary restored to the Government of his Palatinate in 1714; yet in 1715 we find him mentioned in the records as being Deputy Secretary, he performing the duties of the office while another enjoyed the chief emoluments. In 1717 he was appointed to the office of Judge of the Land Court. In 1721 we find that he was elevated to a seat in the Governor's Council. How long he continued in this position the means of determining are not at hand, but probably for the remainder of his life. In 1728 his name appears in the records as the Secretary of the Province, in 1731 as Deputy Secretary, and in 1732 as again Secretary, thus holding this office at the date of his death.²⁸

The regret that has often been expressed and more frequently felt, that so little pains have been taken to preserve the memories of conspicuous citizens of Maryland during the colonial period may again be repeated, as it is again experienced when an attempt is made to recover the incidents of the life and the traits of character of Mr. Philemon Lloyd—a person who held many of the most eminent stations in the province, in which there is, at least, no reason to doubt he bore himself with a befitting dignity and of which he conducted the affairs with honor and ability. Those lines of his mental portrait which are discoverable, through the dust and smoke of years, are so faint that we receive from them no clear impression of his character. An attempt to fill in those lines with the lights and shades that are necessary to give a true representation of the subject, would probably result in a picture largely illusory and deceptive. At least the artist could give but a family likeness in which the traits of the Lloyds of the past and present should be portrayed; but some of these traits are among the best of those that dignify men.

Mr. Secretary Lloyd married a Mrs. Freeman of Annapolis, and though he was not so fortunate as to have a son, one daughter, Henrietta Maria, was born to him, who marrying Samuel Chew has transmitted his blood, though not his name to some of the most prominent families of Maryland, such as the Dorseys, the Bordleys, the Tilghmans, the Pacas and the Dulaney, with members of which her children intermarried. Dying in 1732 he was buried at Wye House where a stone is erected to his memory bearing this inscription:

²⁸ An examination of the records of the council now in the possession of Md. Hist. Society, discovers his name among the members as late as 1729 at least.

Here lieth
interred the
body of Philemon Lloyd
son of Col. Philemon Lloyd.
and Henrietta his wife who de-
parted this life 19th March 1732
in the 60th year of his age.
He was one of the coun-
cil and Secretary
of this pro-
vince.

EDWARD LLOYD (III)

THE COUNCILLOR

1711-1770

The third son of Edward Lloyd (II) the President, and of Sarah Covington the Quakeress, was Edward Lloyd (III) who may be distinguished by the agnomen, the Councillor, because of his having held a seat in the Governor's Council for a great number of years. He was born May 8th, 1711, probably at Wye House, the plantation of his father. Of his education, academic and professional, nothing whatever is known. He may have been a pupil at King William's School at Annapolis, in flourishing condition during his minority, and then sent to England, in conformity with the custom of wealthy planters, for the completion of his studies. As his father died when he was in early youth, and as his mother soon married Mr. James Hollyday, an accomplished gentleman and distinguished lawyer, his education was doubtless directed by him; and it is very probable, under the same capable man, he acquired that knowledge of the law which qualified him for the efficient discharge of those duties to which he was called at an early period of his life and in which he was engaged almost to the day of his death.

Upon reaching his majority and coming into possession of his estate he engaged actively in planting, and from a letter of Henry Callister, still extant, dated Aug. 5th, 1747, it is probable he made ventures in trade or commerce,²⁹ as was not unusual with large proprietors. It is to be

²⁹ Callister, who at this date was sub-factor under Robt. Morris, the chief-factor of the Cunliffes of Liverpool has a store at the Head-of-Wye. He says "Bennett will have a store at Wye-town, another at home, R. Lloyd and Ed. Lloyd have only goods for their own families." In a letter of a much later date, Nov. 28th, 1764, addressed to Col. Lloyd, recommending his nephew, just from

inferred that as the wealth of the family continued to augment that the agricultural as well as the commercial enterprises of Colonel Lloyd, for he too was the recipient of such provincial titles as the Proprietary was justified in bestowing, and such as he might claim by a kind of hereditary privilege, were prosecuted with success. From whatsoever source derived his pecuniary means were such as enabled him to maintain a style of living suitable to the dignified position which he held in the colony, for the maintenance of which his official compensation was inadequate.

At an election held Dec. 15th, 1737, Mr. Edward Lloyd (III) was chosen one of the Delegates from Talbot County to the General Assembly having as his coadjutors elected at the same time, Mr. Nicholas Goldsborough, Mr. William Thomas, Jr. and Mr. Robert Lloyd.²⁰ He held his seat in the Lower House until 1740, when he was called by Governor

the Isle of Man, as a person fitted to perform the duties of a second mate on ship-board, he refers to the fact of Col. Lloyd's having ships, engaged in commerce with England and the West India islands. From the records of the Court of Queen Anne's county, it is known that in 1756, if not earlier, Mr. Lloyd was one of a house of London transacting a commercial business under the style of Richard Lloyd & Company, of which Richard Lloyd, Edward Lloyd and William Anderson were partners.

²⁰ Mr. Robert Lloyd was the son of James Lloyd, of "Hope," who was the son of Philemon Lloyd (I) the Indian Commissioner.

Though hardly relevant, the following extract from the records of Talbot County Court may be interesting as showing the manner of conducting elections. "At a Court of the Right Honorable Charles, Absolute Lord Proprietary of the Provinces of Maryland, and Avalon, Lord Baron of Baltimore, &c., held for Talbot County at the Court House, near Pitts his Bridge in the county aforesaid the first day of December, Anno Domini, one thousand seven hundred and thirty-seven, by the virtue of a writ of the same Lord Proprietary, to John Goldsborough, Esquire, High Sheriff Talbot County aforesaid, to elect four Deputies and Delegates to serve for the said county at a General Assembly of this Province, before the same Lord Proprietary his Justices of the Peace for the county aforesaid, of whom were present

The Worshipful

{ Mr. Thomas Bosman,
Mr. Perry Benson and
Mr. William Thomas, Jr.
Thomas Bullen, Clerk.

Thereupon the same sheriff maketh public proclamation, thereby giving notice to all freemen of the said county, who have within the same county a freehold of fifty acres of land, or who are residents and have a visible estate of forty pounds sterling, at the least, thereby requiring them to appear at the said County Court House the 15th day of this instant December to elect and choose four Deputies and Delegates to serve for the said county in the General Assembly of this Province.

Samuel Ogle to be one of the Honorable Council of Maryland, of which body Col. Matthew Tilghman Ward was President and Hon. Samuel Chamberlaine was a member, both of Talbot county and kinsman of Mr. Lloyd. Mr. James Hollyday, the husband of Mr. Lloyd's mother, and formerly of the same county, was also a member. This statement will serve to show how nearly certain families monopolized the offices and gave to the government of the Province something of the character of an oligarchy. Mr. Lloyd, who now was made Colonel, held his seat at the Council Board for a great number of years, resigning on account of ill health Nov. 16th, 1769, to be succeeded by Col. William Fitzhugh, of Calvert county. To recite the part taken by Colonel and Honorable (for thus it is written) Lloyd, in the public affairs of the colony from the time when he entered the House of Delegates until his resignation of his seat as Councillor would be to relate the history of Maryland for thirty-two years. This period may be characterized as one of peaceful growth and prosperity, notwithstanding the Spanish war in progress when Col. Edward Lloyd (III), surnamed the Councillor, went into office, the French and Indian War which was begun and completed during his incumbency, and the premonitory thunders of the war of the Revolution which were heard before his resignation; and notwithstanding, too, the distractions which were the result of the continued conflicts of the Governor and his Council, as representatives of the Lord Proprietary with the Lower House of Assembly as representatives of the people. It is not to be presumed that this peace was that of torpor and this prosperity that of mere material development; for con-

Whereupon the Court adjourns to the same fifteenth day of December, at which said fifteenth day of December, the Justices of Talbot County, to wit:

The Worshipful

Mr. Thomas Bosman
Mr. Risdon Bosman
Mr. Perry Benson
Mr. John Robins
Mr. John Leeds

Thomas Bullen, Clerk.

Again here come, and as a Court for the cause assigned sit; and the Freeholders and Residents of the said county do elect and choose Nicholas Goldsborough, Wm. Thomas Jr., Edward Lloyd and Robert Lloyd of Talbot county, gentlemen, to serve as Deputies and Delegates for the county aforesaid at the said General Assembly, according to Act of Assembly, in such case, made and provided." The voting was *viva voce* and at a single place. Under this system, slightly modified after the War of the Revolution, the elections were held until the year 1801, when for the first time Judges of Election were appointed for each of the election districts into which the county had just been divided.

sidering the limited field, and the unimportant objects, there was much political activity; and the principals of civil liberty were receiving intelligent investigation by the best of all means, practical experience, and were acquiring increased influence and stability in the minds of the people. It is not believed that Col. Lloyd was in antagonism to these principles, though it is to be presumed that holding a commission as councillor from the Lord Proprietary, and as it were representing him he defended his rights and prerogatives, which as they were not clearly defined were constantly subject to dispute and contention, and his interests which not being identical with those of his colonists, were frequently assailed. He probably shared in the just indignation of Governor Sharpe that so much reluctance and hesitancy should be shown by the House of Delegates to vote supplies of men and money for the defence of the frontiers against the French and their Indian allies, even when the people were anxious and willing to bear the burdens, personal and pecuniary, of such supplies. When the violent political excitement was aroused by the imposition by the British ministry of the Stamp tax upon all legal documents and newspapers, it was necessary for the Governor and his council to exercise the most prudent reserve lest they should jeopard the interest of the Proprietary, by bringing the Provincial in conflict with the Imperial government, but from the well-known fact that the Governor, personally condemned the action of the British cabinet, we may presume that Col. Lloyd was in sentiment accordant with the people at large, though he was not so open in his hostility to the offensive measure.²¹ He was probably not one of the crowd that hung in effigy Zachariah Hood, the stamp officer before the Court House door in Talbot county; but he was probably in sympathy with the sentiment this act of some of our citizens in a very rude manner symbolized. When, later, duties upon the importations into the colonies were imposed by the British

²¹ It would be out of place to enter here into an examination of the causes of the dissidence of the Governor and the House of Delegates. It may suffice to say they had their origin in the old Proprietary and popular antagonism—not in a lack of patriotic devotion. In a letter of Robt. Lloyd, Esq., to the Hon. Jos. Hollyday, in London, under date of Oct. 20th, 1755, he says: "The French and Indians are nibbling at our frontiers and no one seems to have resolution enough to set the dogs at them. * * * Your assistance will be wanting for the relief of a distressed country, the good of which you know we have, all, much at heart, would our grand lords and masters permit us to furnish the necessary means for our defence. We have offered to give and they have refused, till now they won't ask or even give us a public opportunity of either giving or refusing."

ministry, and the circular letter of the General Court of Massachusetts issued to the sister colonies, advising that petitions should be addressed to the King for the rescinding the obnoxious tax, was presented to the General Assembly of Maryland, notwithstanding the protest of Governor Sharpe against such measures as being "dangerous and factious," the Lower House drafted a petition which was presented by Robt. Lloyd, Esq., of this county, speaker, followed by all the members in procession, whereupon the General Assembly was prorogued by the Governor. This is not evidence that Col. Lloyd, as member of the Council, approved or disapproved of the course of Governor Sharpe, but if he did, he contravened the opinions and desire of the great body of the people of this county, he separated himself politically from many of his own kinsmen, and he violated the traditions of his family which had constantly run in the direction of popular freedom and in opposition to arbitrary authority. Though not living to share in that heated controversy, to which the clergy of the Province added intensity, originating in the attempt of Governor Eden to establish fees by proclamation. Col. Lloyd, as councillor, participated in the framing of the comprehensive act of 1763, the expiration of which in 1770 was the occasion of the impolitic course of the Governor that was so acceptable to the ministers, but so offensive to the people, and that of the debates it provoked, was so influential in preparing the minds of Marylanders for the great Revolution that soon followed.²²

From the year 1681 there had been a controversy between the Proprietaries of Maryland and of Pennsylvania respecting the boundaries of the two provinces. This vexatious, and at times exasperating conflict of title had been prolonged by negotiations, conferences, futile settlements, appeals to royal councils and to judicial tribunals. Finally on the 4th of July, 1760, an agreement was signed between Lord Baltimore and the joint Proprietaries of Pennsylvania, Thomas and Richard Penn, according to which the bounds of their respective provinces were to be those defined in a previous agreement made in 1732 and affirmed by a decree of the High Court of Chancery, in England, of the year 1750. In conformity with this agreement Commissioners were appointed by the Council of Maryland, to meet Commissioners of Pennsylvania to carry into effect its provisions. This commission on the part of Lord

²² Strictly speaking there were two controversies, namely, that relating to the "Proclamation" and that relating to the "Vestry Act." But they had the same origin. The reader is referred to books of general State history, for elucidation of these interesting subjects of ante-revolutionary history.

Baltimore consisted of his Excellency, Horatio Sharpe, Benjamin Tasker, Jr., Edward Lloyd, Robert Jenkins Henry, Daniel Dulaney, Stephen Bordly, Esqs., and the Rev. Alexander Malcom. As the work of the commission was tedious and protracted, several of the original commissioners resigned and others were appointed in their stead. Among these were the Rev. John Barclay, at one time Rector of St. Peter's Parish, Talbot county, and John Leeds, Esq., at one period Clerk of Talbot county court.²² Both of these gentlemen were men of most respectable attainments in geodesy, and upon the last Gov. Sharpe relied upon more than upon any other person for protection of the interests of Lord Baltimore. Messrs. Mason and Dixon were subsequently employed (1763) as surveyors, and from them, as is well known the line between Pennsylvania and Maryland, which has acquired a political significance, derived its name. The final report of the commissioners was made Nov. 9th, 1768, of which it has been said that "it is worthy of preservation as a model of accuracy and fidelity in the record of public transactions." Thus it came to pass that Talbot was participant actively and prominently, through two of her most conspicuous sons, born and bred upon her soil, and a third adopted son, in tracing that famous line, in theory imaginary, but in fact intensely real, being felt and seen in the differing social institutions and in the antagonistic opinions that prevailed on either side in years that followed its original projection.

Citizens of this county, among whom was the subject of this biographical sketch, was connected with that most interesting episode in colonial history, the expulsion of the Acadians, or French Neutrals, from Nova Scotia. Over this, adopted as the theme of song and story, sentiment

²² McMahon's Hist. of Md., Vol. I, p. 45. Mr. George Johnson, of Cecil county, who has published a full account of Mason & Dixon's line, thus refers in a private letter, dated Nov. 30th, 1878, to the compiler of this memoir, of the part taken by Col. Lloyd in the supervision of the work of the surveyors: "You will find by reference to the first chapter of my article on the History of that line that after the surveyors had traced it, the due north one, for a few miles north from the middle point in the peninsula line, they found by observations that they made as directed, that they failed to trace a true meridian, and that they returned copies of their journal or field notes to the Governors of the respective provinces, and afterwards received instructions to retrace the line. The names of the commissioners on the part of Maryland who revised their work and who detected some errors in it which had led to the deflection from the true meridian were Horatio Sharpe, J. Ridout, Richard Peters, Lynford Landner, Edward Lloyd, John Leeds, and Rives Holt, of whom Mr. Lloyd and Mr. Leeds were of Talbot county."

has dropped the sympathetic tear and humanity uttered its indignant groans. Even sober narrative has not been able to escape falling into romance when attempting to tell the tale, until these recent days, when broader and brighter light has dispelled so many historic illusions.³⁴ After many ineffectual attempts to secure the faithful obedience of the French of Acadia to English authority and rule, the Government resolved to remove this disaffected and really dangerous people from their homes, and to scatter them through the British provinces where they could do no harm. It is well known that five ship loads of them were sent to Maryland, and of these one discharged its living cargo at Oxford, in this county, Dec. 8th, 1755, consigned to Mr. Henry Callister, the factor or agent of the Messrs. Cunliffe of Liverpool. There was great reluctance on the part of the people of this county to receive these people, who were utterly destitute and dependent upon public and private charity. Nor was there entire willingness upon the part of the provincial authorities to admit them, Col. Lloyd, one of the council protesting, as will appear from his letter presently to be quoted. It would be out of place to give here an account of the "Acadians" brought to Talbot, but is sufficient to say Mr. Callister and the Rev. Thomas Bacon, Rector of St. Peter's Parish, particularly interested themselves in their behalf, though they met much opposition from the people at large.³⁵ It would seem that a large share of the burden of their support fell upon Col. Lloyd, and that he complained of and protested against the imposition, and that he encountered the reprobation of Mr. Callister, who in a letter to Gov. Sharpe of Jan. 17th, 1756, said: "Your Excellency's sensibility of the sufferings of the wretched exiles among us, emboldens your petitioner, on behalf of them and myself to make a direct application to the fountain head, having met with great obstacles, though I have not spared pains to touch the souls of those whose immediate care it ought to be (especially in your Excellency's absence) at least to have assisted me. I have been shocked in a particular manner by the opposition of the Honorable Col. Lloyd. I shall stop here, lest I should say anything that might be disagreeable to you or seem injurious to him."³⁶ As indicative of the grounds of the opposition of Col. Edward Lloyd may be

³⁴ See the account of Parkman in his "Montcalm & Wolf."

³⁵ The address of the electors and freeholders of Talbot county to their Delegates in Assembly, praying "to have the pest removed" was painted in the Easton Star, of Dec. 2nd, 1879, as part of the paper upon the "Poor House" of Talbot county.

³⁶ Callister letters as quoted by Scharf in Hist. Md. Vol. 1, p. 476.

quoted his letter written soon after the arrival of these involuntary immigrants at Oxford, to his half-brother, Mr. James Hollyday, then pursuing his legal studies in England. It will be recollected this was after the defeat of Braddock, when there was great alarm in the Provinces, out of which grew the conference of the Governors which was then attended by Gov. Sharpe of Maryland. The letter, all of it except what was of a purely private character, was as follows:

We are in a most unhappy situation here, being often alarmed and under apprehension that the French and Indians will penetrate far into our country. The horid cruelties that they have acted on some of ours as well as the Virginia and Pennsylvania black inhabitants, is most shocking and arousing. They impale men and women and even children, and set them ypon high by way of scare-crows, and mangle the bodies in a most frightful manner as a terror to others. The act of scalping has introduced this. 'Tis amazing that any civilized nation should countenance this practice. It ought to be held as against the laws of the nations.³⁷ Our armies are all gone into winter quarters, although within this month we have been threatened with an attack on our army at Lake George. The report was that 9,000 French and Canadians were on their march to attack Gov. Johnson; but this gasconade or boast presently went off in a mere puff. From Nova Scotia Gov. Lawrence has sent home into Maryland 903 of the people, who call themselves neutral French. A copy of his letter I here enclose you. They have been here this month.

The Governor being in New York, Mr. Tasker called a Council. The resolution, if it may be called a resolution or advice, you have also here enclosed. As no doubt much will be talked in London of this transaction, you'll from that and the knowledge you have of the law of nations, form an adequate judgment of the fitness of the measures taken not only by us, but the Council of Nova Scotia. These inhabitants before the treaty of Utrecht were said to be the subjects of the King. As such, no allegiance or obedience could be required of them by the King of England; therefore as soon as this place was ceded to the Crown of England, rather than distress or deprive them of the property they had gained on that part of the Continent, his Majesty was most graciously pleased to offer them the most advantageous terms that could be, consistent with the British Constitution, i.e., that they should remain in possession of all they had on condition that they would become subjects of the Crown of Great Britain, and manifest their allegiance and willingness to the said King, by taking the oath or oaths prescribed to that end.

³⁷ And yet at the very next meeting of the General Assembly a provision was made for the payment of ten pounds for every scalp of "Indian enemies, or for every Indian prisoner brought in." See Bacon's Laws, Act of Assembly of Feb. 1756, Chap. v. Query: Was there not a like provision in some previous Act, and did not Col. Lloyd refer to this?

These were the terms by which these people were to be distinguished as subjects of the King of England. This, however, it is said and well-known to be true, they would not condescend or subscribe to. Then in the first place, it may well enough be made a question whether that act which they are charged with, as being in arms in the French fort at Bodusejour,³⁸ when it surrendered amounts to rebellion, it being said that they never had consented to become subjects of the King of England. If the conclusion may be that they cannot be deemed rebels, then they are taken and held as prisoners of war; and this to me seems the proper state to set them in, for it seems that the subjects of the King of England, and I suppose by his command, for breach of treaty committed by these French, invaded and overcame with armed power and took them as prisoners of war, and retaining them sent them as such into this province to the care of the government. This government received them in that state from the Captain that brought them here, and afterwards sent them in several counties not under the restraint or confinement of any person, but let them at large and to their own liberty. It may be here made a question whether this conduct be prudent or consistent with good policy, for as enemies they came here and as such they must certainly remain, because they are all rigid Roman Catholics and so attached to the French King, that sooner than deny his power over them, they have quitted all that they had in the world. Now then, if it should be asked of us how came these enemies to go at large, what can be said in our justification? I fear our, or rather I should say, the President's (Tasker) conduct in this will not bear a legal scrutiny. I was against this, I assure you. However, I shall be obliged if you'll give me your opinion candidly and as explicitly as your time will permit; and if you should be able to collect Mr. Calvert's opinion of this transaction, pray favor me with it, which you may easily do by means of Mr. Anderson or Mr. Hanbury. He sometimes dines at each of their houses where I say you may see him. That they were taken and sent here as prisoners of war, there can be no doubt I think, as we cannot devise any other honorable way of depriving those people, who are all free born, of their liberty. Now it has been made a question whether they could be justly deemed prisoners of war, as no declaratin of war has been made since the last treaty of peace.³⁹ To this mayn't it well be said that as the people have violated the treaties entered into with the crown of England, either by committing open hostilities or assisting and abetting those that did, I say that they did thereby put themselves against the King, whence the King of England was impliedly acquitted from performing his part of the treaty with them and might renew the

³⁸ This was fort Beausejour, situated upon an arm of the Bay of Fundy, captured by General Moncton in 1755, in which were a number of refugee Acadians. It was by Moncton that the first announcement was made of the purpose of the British Government to remove these people.

³⁹ The anomalous condition existed of war between the English and French colonies, while the parent governments were nominally at peace.

war without any proclamation, since by that acquaintance he became in the same state to them as he was in before the treaty was concluded. If this be the case, then they were brought here as prisoners of war and are liable to be called for on a cartel. What will our government say or do, having released them from that just duress or imprisonment which the government of Novia Scotia put upon them? They are restored or are again in a state of freedom. Query then: can this or any other Government restrain them after such liberty granted, or without some new violation or breach of the laws as to put them under confinement, or can they oblige them into servitude? I say my opinion on the President's question was, that these people should be suffered to land but should be restrained of their liberty. This advice I think consistent and most proper, and the measure that ought to have been pursued, for it may well be apprehensive of them as enemies, as they at Halifax had. But suppose this was not the case, they ought not to have been released or suffered to be at large by us, as they were the King's prisoners, and he alone is to order their releasement.

The resolution of Mr. Tasker, it is said, has taken, is I think, impolitic. He has ordered two of the four vessels to this shore, one at Oxford with 200, the other to Wicomico with, they tell me, 260 additional, another at Patuxent and the 4th stays at Annapolis,⁴⁰ without any commitment to the sheriff, so that they were at large for some time till Callister got many of them on board some vessels, one of which with sixty odd, was ordered by him into this river, Wye, and the Captain instructed to land them on my plantation for me to do what I pleased with them, and this not only against my consent, but in manifest opposition to me, although I had in order to prevent their starving or being too heavy a burden on the town of Oxford, ordered my store-keeper to pay Mr. Callister five pounds a week for their subsistence at Oxford, where I expected they all would be kept under some rule. But he is so far from grateful for this benefaction, that he has sent the above said number, all to 8 or 9 that were left with Matthew Tilghman and Phil. Hambleton, and ordered them to be quartered on me, which will subject me to the expense of at least £12 a week, besides making liable to a great deal of danger by their corrupting mine and other negro slaves on this river, of which there is at least the number of 300 that may be called Roman Catholics, who being by some very late practices and declarations dangerous in themselves, become much more so by the addition of these people. I say dangerous, because some of my slaves have lately said they expected that the French would soon set them free, and Nic. Griffin, that was Fitshugh's overseer, was taken up the other day on information and affidavits that he had said the negros would soon be all free men.

If you think my sentiments just in respect to the conduct of our great man, then the greatest, and that these French, from the intention of Gov. Lawrence, in sending them here, ought not to have been suffered at large, be pleased to do me justice, and set me in a true light by saying

⁴⁰ A fifth was sent to Baltimore county.

that I was against this procedure. For this end it is that I have said so much on this head and you may also say that through necessity and to save them from starving for the weather is very sharp and the sloop froze up in the river, I pay £5 per week towards the maintenance of 30 odd at Oxford, and expect every hour to be put to an additional expense of £12 a week for the support of them that are here and can't get away, should the river be all froze up, which is likely. The Governor, had he been here when they were brought, would have prevented all this uneasiness and expense to private individuals. He, I dare say, would have had them, the men at least, committed or taken into safe custody, but he was at New York, attending a grand meeting or Congress of the Governors and is but just come home. With great good will and sincere regard your affectionate brother,

EDWARD LLOYD.

I am to attend the Gov. as soon as weather permits.⁴¹

The fact that this long letter, so out of proportion with the brevity of this memoir of the writer, is almost the only paper in existence from his hand, would excuse its insertion here; but the interesting character of its contents would afford ample apology, if every other was wanting. It reviews with the eye of a statesman the action of the British authorities, it discusses intelligently the status of the deported Acadians, it throws light upon an obscure subject in Maryland history, and gives unexpected insight into the religious, political and social condition of the people of this county,⁴² but what is of importance in this connection, it vindicates Col. Lloyd from the imputations, dangerous to his memory, from their very obscurity, thrown upon him by Mr. Callister in his letter already quoted. It shows that his objections to the introduction of the Acadians were not of a selfish character, but based upon apprehensions of danger to the commonwealth at large; for while he was protesting against their introduction he was rendering liberal assistance to these exiles, and affording some of them protection from suffering and starvation.

Col. Lloyd was far from disdaining offices of emolument, though ambitious of provincial honors and blessed with ample fortune. He had been appointed Receiver General of the Province for the Lord Proprie-

⁴¹ For this letter the writer is indebted to Mr. George Tilghman Hollyday, of Baltimore, a descendant of the gentleman to whom it was addressed. It has also been printed in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, for Dec. 1883.

⁴² The reference in this letter to the apprehended influence of these Neutral French upon the negro slaves of the county, is a curious illustration of the susceptibility of the minds of our people of fears of servile insurrection, which commencing thus early, and perhaps earlier, continued down to most recent times.

tor, which office, the fees of which were very considerable, he resigned in March or April, 1768, to be succeeded by the Rev'd Bennett Allen, somewhat notorious as the "fighting parson."⁴³ Col. Lloyd held his seat in the Council until some time in the year 1769, when, apparently on account of impaired health, he resigned to be succeeded in his place by Col. William Fitzhugh, of Calvert county, who was sworn in on the 16th of November of that year. It may be well enough to note that the Hon. Samuel Chamberlaine, the first of the name, of this county, long his associate in the government of the Province, and his kinsman, resigned his seat at the Board at or about the same date.

The Lloyds of Wye, after Edward (I) the Puritan, seem to have taken little interest in religion, with the exception of the subject of this memoir, and his interest seems to have been slight. Since his time they have had no part in the administration of the church temporalities, and religion with them has been a matter of purely personal concern.⁴⁴ Perhaps this is attributable to the survival of an ancestral prejudice against popery and prelacy, of which they themselves are hardly conscious. We know that Col. Lloyd (III) was not well affected towards Roman Catholics, but this feeling, if it had not a political origin, was strengthened by a suspicion of disloyalty in the people of this faith. However this may be, no Lloyd of Wye was vestryman, or other church officer, no Lloyd of Wye contributed for church building or other uses, aside from the legal assessment, until the year 1734, when for the first time the name of Edward Lloyd (III) appears in the list of vestrymen of St. Michaels parish, where it remained during the two following years. Then for thirty years no mention is made of him in the church records either as church officer or even as contributor to church funds; but in 1766 he was again elected vestryman and was continued in this office the following year. It is not meant to be intimated that the Lloyds of Wye have been irreligious or illiberal men. In truth they have been neither. They have never been dreamy, sentimental and imaginative, qualities one or the other of which is necessary to make devotees. On the contrary they have been eminently practical, but never so much as to make their religion a device for their personal advancement, here or hereafter, without the labor of right living.

Col. Lloyd (III) married, March 26th, 1739, Miss Ann Rousby, of Patuxent, by whom he had these children: Elizabeth, who became the

⁴³ Maryland Gazette, April 7th, 1768.

⁴⁴ Some branches of the family have furnished exceptions.

wife of General Cadwallader, of Philadelphia; Henrietta Maria, who merely perpetuated the name of that excellent lady, her grandmother, and died unmarried; Edward, (III) who became master of Wye House, and married Miss Elizabeth Tayloe, of Virginia, the mother of Edward Lloyd, the Revolutionary patriot; and Richard Bennett, who, going to England became a Captain in the Coldstream Guards, and married a celebrated beauty, Joanna Leigh of North Court, Isle of Wight, England. A full length portrait of Capt. Richard Bennett Lloyd by Charles Willson Peale, painted 1775, hangs in the drawing room at Wye House.

Col. Lloyd died Jan. 27th, 1770, and was interred at Wye House, where a tomb is erected to his memory bearing this inscription:

Here lie interred
the remains of the Hon. Col.
Edward Lloyd, who departed this life
the 27th of January 1770⁴⁴
aged 59 years.

EDWARD LLOYD (IV)

THE PATRIOT

1744-1796

The eldest son of Edward (III) and Ann (Rousby) Lloyd was Edward the fourth of the name in the family succession. He might be distinguished from those who preceded and succeeded him similarly called, by ascribing to him the significant agnomen of the Revolutionist, because of his most eminent public services rendered to the state previous to and during the war of independence, but as something of dispute attaches to this term, he may be designated as the Patriot, although it must be confessed this is not unequivocal in its significance. He was born Dec. 15th, 1744, at Wye House, which he lived to see destroyed, and which it is believed he rebuilt pretty much as it now stands. As has been said of several of his ancestors, nothing whatever is known of his education. The conjecture that it was received from private tutors from the preceptors of King William's school at Annapolis, and finally from instructors in England is plausible and altogether conjectural. Either his education was of a liberal character and much superior to that

⁴⁴ Another record of his death, apparently authentic, gives the date of his demise as Feb. 8th, 1770. The change from the old to the new style may account for this discrepancy of eleven days.

of country gentlemen of his class in America, or he was endowed by nature with a love of intellectual pleasures; for he collected for his own delight and not for ostentation a library of more than a thousand volumes, still remaining at Wye House which displays a bibliopholist's taste and fondness for beautiful and luxurious editions and the discrimination of a judicious reader of what is most valuable in English and French literature. The heir to a great fortune, great for the time, he probably soon after the completion of his studies, academic and professional—if indeed, he received professional training in the law, undertook the management of his vast landed estates, but, as was customary with gentlemen of fortune he soon embarked in politics, which, from the time of the French and Indian war, and particularly from the date of the Stamp Act, when he had just come of age, were assuming a breadth and scope they did not possess when they were confined to a consideration of mere provincial interests. In 1770 the General Assembly had been dissolved by Gov. Eden, Dec. 20th, and a new election was ordered, the writs to be returned Feb. 4th, 1771. This election was held under the excitement caused by the Proclamation of the Governor, establishing the fees of certain civil officers by executive act after the refusal of the Legislature to renew the Act of Assembly made for that purpose, which had just expired. Connected with this was the revival of the old Vestry Act of 1702.⁴⁶ As opponents of the action of the Governor these gentlemen were chosen delegates from Talbot: Mr. Matthew Tilghman, Mr. James Lloyd Chamberlaine, Mr. Nicholas Thomas and Mr. Edward Lloyd—men known for either their large pecuniary interests or their acknowledged abilities. When the Assembly met, the "Proclamation" was the subject which first engaged its attention, and a remonstrance was sent to Gov. Eden. In the passing of this protest against the usurpation of a right belonging to the Legislature, the delegates from Talbot participated. Mr. Lloyd held his seat in the Assembly until 1773, when a new election was held. He was again chosen by the people, and had for his coadjutors the same gentlemen that had already served with him in 1771. This was the last election ever held under the Proprietary Government, and the Assembly then chosen, was by frequent prorogations continued down to the time of the meeting of the Provincial Convention in June, 1776,⁴⁷ when

⁴⁶ For an account of this celebrated controversy, respecting the Proclamation Vestry Act, the reader is referred to books of Maryland History.

⁴⁷ On the 13th of June, 1776, Gov. Eden, by his proclamation dissolved the General Assembly and ordered writs for the election of a new House to be issued,

it expired by proclamation of the Governor and the act of the people in convention assembled. Mr. Lloyd's position in the Vestry Act controversy, is not of record, but that he united with other moderate men in the passage of the Act of Assembly restoring the stipends of the clergy as they had existed before the expiration in 1770 of the late law of 1763, and not as they were established by the law of 1702, thus settling the controversy to the satisfaction of the clergy, if not the people at large, is to be presumed, for the objections to the operancy of the law of 1702 seem to have been technical, frivolous or factious, having their foundation, however, in a great grievance, the excessive compensation of the ministers through the large increase of population in the several parishes. At a meeting of the Assembly in Oct. 1773, the question of the legality of the tax upon tea coming up and communications from the Assemblies of other provinces being laid before the Legislature, a committee of correspondence was appointed "to obtain the most early and authentic intelligence of all such Acts and Resolutions of the British Parliament or Proceedings of Administration as may relate to, or affect the British Colonies in America and keep up and maintain a correspondence with our sister colonies." Of this committee Col. Lloyd was a member, and upon it were two other gentlemen from Talbot, Mr. Matthew Tilghman and Mr. James Lloyd Chamberlaine. The passage of what was known as the Boston Port Bill caused the assemblage of the people in the several counties for the purpose of expressing their disapprobation of the bill and their sympathy with the people of the city of Boston. At this meeting held at Talbot Court House, May 24th, 1774, a committee of correspondence was appointed to attend a meeting of similar committees of other counties of the Province at Annapolis to be held June 22d, of which Mr. Lloyd was a member, having for his associates Mr. Matthew Tilghman, Mr. Nicholas Thomas, and Mr. Robert Goldsborough 4th. The proceedings of this meeting of the committees—the first of the Revolutionary conventions—and of the subsequent meetings of the same, are matters of published record.⁴⁸ One or two measures may be referred to, in as much as Col. Lloyd was connected

returnable on the 25th of July following, but on the 25th of June, "The Provincial Convention being informed that writs of election have been issued in the name of the Proprietary for election of Delegates in Assembly. Resolved that the said writs be not obeyed, and that no election be made in consequence thereof."—Proceedings of Convention.

⁴⁸ See proceedings of Conventions held in 1774, 1775 and 1776, printed by authority of the State of Maryland.

with them. This Convention placed the Province in armed antagonism to the British Government, and framed articles of "Association of the Freemen of Maryland," to be signed by members of the Convention and all patriotic citizens, in which resistance by force is justified. To these articles we find the name of Col. Edward Lloyd affixed, in company with those of a number of his neighbors of Talbot. At the meeting held from July 28th to Aug. 14th, 1775, sixteen discreet and reputable persons, eight from each shore, were chosen by ballot to be the "Council of Safety of Maryland." Of this most responsible body, which in the intervals of the sessions of the Convention was to have entire executive control in the commonwealth, Col. Lloyd was elected a member. At the same meeting of the Committees an election was authorized to be held in the several counties of Deputies to a Convention to assemble at Annapolis, Dec. 7th, 1775, which should possess supreme authority. To this Convention he was not originally returned, owing, it is said, to a distrust of his fidelity to the patriot cause which was engendered in the minds of some who were persuaded to believe that a desire to protect his large estate would cause him to be less decided in the advocacy of colonial independence than men whose stake was smaller. But soon after the meeting of the Convention the person who has been accused of fomenting this distrust—one Francis Baker—was deprived of his seat on account of information lodged by the committee of observation for Talbot county, that he had violated the conditions of the Association of Freemen, which he had signed; and a new election was ordered, whereby Col. Lloyd was chosen in his place.⁴⁸ The associates of Col. Lloyd in this convention were the Hon. Matthew Tilghman, the President, Nicholas Thomas, Pollard Edmondson and James Lloyd Chamberlaine, Esqs. Among other important business transacted was the providing for the election of delegates to a Convention "to form a new government by the authority of the people only." Col. Lloyd was not a member of this the first Constitutional Convention ever held in Maryland; but at the first election under the Constitution for Delegates to the Lower

⁴⁸ This Francis Baker acknowledges his fault, and petitioned to be re-instated in certain civil rights of which he was deprived by the Convention. This incident is thus referred to by the Hon. John Bozman Kerr in an unpublished memoir of Daniel Carroll, Esq., of Rock Creek. "To the Convention of 1776 he (Col. Lloyd) was not originally returned, but soon took his place in a few weeks, as among the leading men on the Whig side, after the expulsion of a blatant demagogue full of wise saws and idle doubts about trusting rich landed proprietors." What authority Mr. Kerr had for thus speaking of Francis Baker, is not apparent.

House of Assembly held Dec. 18th, 1776, Col. Lloyd, with Mr. John Gibson, Mr. James Benson and Mr. Henry Banning were returned. The Assembly was called together by the Council of Safety on the 5th of Feb., 1777, when Thomas Johnson, Esq., was chosen Governor, and on the 14th of the same month the two Houses of Assembly by joint ballot elected a Council of five members of whom Col. Edward Lloyd was one. He held his seat by successive election during the years 1777, 1778 and 1779, was thus a member of the first three Executive Councils under the Constitution of the State of Maryland. After Gov. Thomas Johnson had served the full term as allowed by the Constitution on the 8th of Nov. 1779 another election was held by the two Houses of Assembly when there appeared two candidates for the gubernatorial honors and labors, Thomas Sim Lee, Esq. and Col. Edward Lloyd, both of whom were recommended by their abilities and services in the patriotic cause. Mr. Lee received a majority of the votes, and was proclaimed Governor of the State.⁵⁰ In 1780 he was elected a Delegate to the Lower House of Assembly from Talbot county, and in 1781 he was chosen by the electoral college a State Senator for the Eastern Shore. Serving the time prescribed by the Constitution of five years he was again chosen Senator in 1786, and again in 1791. He was still in this office at the date of his death. He was chosen one of the Delegates of the State of Maryland to the Congress of the United States, under the Article of Confederation during the years 1783 and 1784. We know nothing but by implication, of his opinions or conduct while a member of this august body, but he must have been a participator in the framing of those important measures which were demanded by exigencies almost as pressing and dangerous to the welfare of the Confederate States, as those which existed during the continuance of the conflict from which they had emerged exhausted by the depletion of war, and feeble from the inherent defects of the organization of the Federal government. It was his good fortune to be able to validify by his vote the definitive treaty of peace between England and America, and afterwards to witness at Annapolis, as both State Senator and member of Congress, that spectacle which possesses more of the morally sublime than any event in our history or perhaps in the history of any country, the resignation by Gen. Washington of his commission as commander in chief of the American armies. The General Assembly at its session in Nov. 1787 ordered the election of four delegates to attend a convention for the ratification or rejection

⁵⁰ McSherry's Hist. Md., p. 258.

of the Constitution of the United States to assemble April 21st in the following year. The result of this election in Talbot was the choosing Mr. Robert Goldsborough, Jr., Col. Edward Lloyd, John Stevens, Esq. and Capt. Jeremiah Banning.

Although the ratification of this great charter was warmly opposed in this State, and by none more earnestly than by such men as the Hon. Luther Martin and the Hon. Will. Pinkney and the Hon. Samuel Chase, it was adopted by a large majority of the Convention, including all the delegates from Talbot.

From this recital of the public services of Col. Edward Lloyd (IIII), it will be perceived that he was connected in one way or another with each of the Governments, Provincial, State and Federal during a large part of the revolutionary period, commencing with the controversy over the Proclamation and Vestry Act, which was really in Maryland as preparative for the great protest as the controversy over the imports and stamp duties in other colonies, and terminating with the adoption of the Federal Constitution, which was the completion of the revolutionary movement. In this recital too, will be found the justification of that title, the Patriot, by which he has been distinguished in this paper from others bearing his name. They who bore this name before him, doubtless loved their country; but that love was narrow, restricted to the province which they called their country; it was not broad and comprehensive such as Edward Lloyd, the Patriot, felt for the whole sisterhood of States. Besides their patriotism was not tested as his. It was a quiet sentiment without alarm, danger or injury. When it is remembered that Col. Lloyd was the possessor of one of the greatest fortunes in America at the time,⁵¹ that his property was exposed not only to confiscation, in the event of the failure of the revolutionary movement, and to the depredation and destruction of the forces of the enemy occupying or to occupy the bay or by the disaffected of the lower part of the Peninsula; that from the easily accessible location

⁵¹ In the year 1783 Col. Lloyd was assessed in Talbot county upon 260 negro slaves; 147 of the horse kind; 799 sheep; 578 hogs; 571 horned cattle; 215,000 pounds of tobacco, one schooner boat of 60 tons burden; 30 barrels of pork; 500 ounces of silver plate, and 72 tracts of land containing 11,884½ acres. He was assessed in Anne Arundel county upon 229 acres of land. He besides his plantations on Tuckeyhoe, Walsey, Worrell and Island Hundreds, of Queen Anne's county, but the extent of his acreage is unknown. His tobacco tax alone in that county in 1780 was 900 pounds Maryland currency. There were few fortunes of equal magnitude in America at that date, however insignificant it may appear in comparison with those of the present.

at his lower plantation, upon navigable water, even his own person was liable to capture, we may estimate the depth of a feeling which obliterated from the mental tablet the calculations of personal interest, and substituted therefor the anticipations of great public benefit, in which he should have but a common share. We may believe too that in as much as he was selected by the people of his county to ratify or reject that great charter which was intended to effect a "more perfect union" of the states, his patriotism was not only unselfish and comprehensive, but enlightened, and that it had visions of the greatness of this whole country which the future has so amply realized. As a matter of fact his patriotism did cost him dearly, for "a predatory band in the guise of a quasi military expedition, from down the bay burned Wye House,"⁴² and a party of British on the night of March 13, 1781 from their fleet, plundered his plantation, carrying off among many other articles of value, 336 ounces of plate, 8 negroes, jewelry and watches, 800£ in cash, gold and silver, 181£ new state money and much personal clothing. The building of a mansion to replace that which had been destroyed, is said to have been begun upon the Wyetown plantation at the mouth of the river; but this project was abandoned on account of its exposed situation, when a foreign enemy occupied the bay, as was the case at the time. So the structure now standing, ample, imposing and beautiful was erected, near the site of the original Wye House part of which still remains. The precise date of its erection has not been discovered, but it is confidently believed to have been completed during the life of Edward Lloyd (IV), the Patriot. It consists of a central building, with which two wings are connected by corridors. The principal structure of two lofty stories contains a hall, drawing room, parlor and dining room of fine proportions and finish, with chambers above. The wings, of one story, furnish the library on the one side, and the domestic offices upon the other. The whole presents a pleasing facade of nearly two hundred feet, looking out upon an extensive lawn, protected by a sunken fence, and down a wide avenue of trees. From the porch Wye river and the Eastern Bay are visible in the distance. In the rear of the

⁴² With references of the burning of Wye House no records have been preserved which give the date and circumstances. What is said in the text is from the inedited biography of Daniel Carroll, by the Hon. John Bosman Kerr. It is proper to say that the family at Wye House discredit the story of the burning of the mansion by either the British or the Tories. The statement of the losses of personal property has been taken from memoranda preserved by the family. Col. Lloyd claimed abatement of taxes for the property named.

mansion is the garden, with its shrubbery and flower beds with intersecting walks, which is terminated by a large conservatory, behind which is the family grave yard containing the remains of several generations of the Lloyds and their connections, with many tombs, some of monumental size and design, among them that of him whose memory this paper is an attempt to recover or perpetuate.

But besides Wye House Col. Lloyd (IV), whose public duties and perhaps private pleasures, called frequently to Annapolis built a large mansion in that ancient city, which is still standing and one of the most notable as well as the most conspicuous buildings within its limits. Annapolis, as is well known, at the date referred to, say in the years preceding the Revolution, and some years later was not only the political but the social centre of the province. Thither resorted, at least in the winter season, the wealth, the intelligence and the fashion of Maryland. In the possession of one of the most prominent families, this mansion was the resort of those most distinguished in official and polite circles, and the scene whatever of elegance the province could boast, and of gaiety that it could produce; and such it continued to be when it passed into the hands of the son of its builder, Edward Lloyd, the Governor.

Col. Edward Lloyd (IV) was married Nov. 19th, 1767, to Miss Elizabeth Tayloe, of "Mount Airey," Virginia, and had by her seven children, six daughters and one son. One of the daughters, Mary Tayloe, became the wife of Francis Scott Key, and the others intermarried with gentlemen of distinction in civil life or of social prominence in the State. The son was Edward Lloyd (V), the Governor, of whom much will be said in another paper. Col. Ed. Lloyd (IV) died July 8th, 1796, and was buried in the family cemetery at Wye House, where a monumental tomb was erected to his memory bearing this simple inscription:

Here lieth interred
the remains of Colonel
Edward Lloyd, who was born the 15th
of November 1744
and departed this life 8th July 1796.

EDWARD LLOYD (V)

THE GOVERNOR

1779-1834

On the 22nd of July 1779, amidst the "storm and stress" of the revolutionary period was born Edward Lloyd, the fifth of his name, the future Governor of the yet infant State of Maryland, and the future senator of the yet embryonic Nation. Who shall say that science has contradicted the popular belief that character may be stamped by ante-natal influences? Who shall say that the time and circumstances of his birth, apart from hereditary bias, did not determine the original bent of the mind of Edward Lloyd (V) to politics, which inclination, intensified by his early environments, made him the statesman he afterwards became? He was the only son, in a family of seven children, of Edward Lloyd (IV) the Patriot, and Elizabeth Tayloe of Virginia. Of his early years and education little, or it may more properly be said, nothing is known. As his father was a member of the Executive Council of the State from 1777 to 1779, and for many years succeeding was holding other civil stations which required his very frequent if not his constant attendance at the seat of the State Government and as he with his family had his city house at the capital, then the centre of fashion and intelligence as well as political control or influence, it is possible that Edward Lloyd (V) was born at Annapolis, and was there educated. This is, however, merely conjectural. Wye House was always regarded as the home of the Lloyds wherever they may have been temporarily resident, and around it or within it cluster all the associations that are most tender and inspiring. It is believed that young Lloyd did not enjoy the advantages of a liberal education, but instruction in letters was received from private tutors. The death of his father, a man of culture, and appreciative of literature and learning, when he was but barely sixteen years of age, deprived him the corrective which paternal discipline would have given of the influences of a fond mother's indulgence and of a large fortune's enervation. But although having neither the incentives of parental commands, nor the spurs of necessity to urge him to the labors of scholarship, he was possessed of a natural strength of understanding and an inborn grace of mind which stood in good stead of academic training; so that in subsequent life he betrayed no deficiency of intelligence upon all subjects claiming his atten-



GOVERNOR EDWARD LLOYD



tion, and he even cultivated belles-lettres as a source of enjoyment, when the ruder pleasures of the country gentleman of the day palled. His State papers while Governor and his speeches while Senator betray not only no deficiency in comprehensive intelligence, but no lack of literary ability. No tradition nor record informs us whether he was trained for either of the so-called learned professions. His career in life seems to have been predetermined by his circumstances; but he may have "read law," as many young men of fortune did either as a pastime, for accomplishment or, if we attribute to him a more serious purpose, for a preparation for the management of his estates to which he fell heir upon the death of his father in 1796. To no class of lay citizens was an acquaintance with legal principles more necessary than to the great planter such as Edward Lloyd (V), who, upon his domain and in the midst of his dependents, was required to act in the relation of legislator to frame laws for the government of his people, of judge to interpret those laws, and to determine as to their infraction, and of executive officer to enforce their obedience—all under the sovereignty of the State.

But young Lloyd was subjected to another form of education which suggested if it did not determine his career, and which prepared him for its pursuit when adopted—the career of the statesman. This was the education of his environments. Born amidst the commotion of the revolution, he first breathed an atmosphere laden with political vapors. His first mental pabulum may be said to have been the principles of the rights and liberties of the American colonies. As he grew older, when seated at his father's table, the resort of the most enlightened civilians of Maryland and Virginia, he heard discussed the fundamental doctrines of popular and constitutional government. During his frequent and protracted visits to the capital of the State he listened, at first with curiosity then with understanding, to the debates in the General Assembly, composed of capable men, upon matters of practical legislation necessary for the forming of the yet incomplete political organism. In the enthusiasm of youth he indulged in those visions of greatness and glory which the Federal constitution, whose adoption his father was active in promoting, evoked at the time and which have been more than realized in the present. He joined in the general exultation, though scarcely knowing why, attending the inauguration of the new national government. Ambition was stirred within his breast when he saw how that honors and distinction were conferred upon those participating in the councils of the State and Nation to emulate their services. As he

grew older and his mind matured he began to appreciate the meaning of those controversies, perhaps to participate in them, when occasion offered, which arose as to the construction or meaning of the constitution and as to the expediences of different measures of public policy, and which resulted in the definition of those parties which have been maintained down to the present. In addition to those influences of a domestic character, so to speak, in educating him for the career of the statesman, ought to be mentioned those which were from a foreign source, the teaching of the French philosophers which was coloring political thought and the example of French revolutionists which was inspiring political action in America. Subjected to these impulses and incentives, gifted with a mind of conscious vigor demanding a worthy field for its exercise, and possessed of an ample fortune that relieved him from the labors and solitudes of personal provision, it is not surprising that he should have adopted a career that then, if not now, a gentleman might follow without compromise of dignity or character, the contests of which would bring pleasurable stimulus and success in which he might win coveted honors.

As initiative of this career, zealously and irreproachably pursued until declining health rendered it necessary that it should be abandoned, we find Mr. Lloyd, in 1800, when he had barely reached his majority, chosen to be one of the delegates from Talbot county to the General Assembly of Maryland, having for his associates in the same capacity Messrs. John Edmondson, Thomas Skinner Denny and William Rose. To the same position he was elected in each succeeding year until and including 1805, after which he was called to higher duties as a national legislator. During his term of service in the Assembly he had for his coadjutors, besides the gentlemen mentioned, Messrs. Nicholas Martin, James Nabb, William Meluy, Perry Spencer, and Robert Henry Goldsborough. Of these Mr. John Edmondson and Mr. Robert H. Goldsborough were pronounced Federalists. The fact of their election indicates that the parties, the lines which had been clearly defined by the time Mr. Lloyd had entered public life, were pretty evenly balanced in Talbot county. He had espoused the side of the republicans with a youthful enthusiasm, as the Democrats of the day were called, although his wealth and social status were such that a more natural alliance would have been with the Federalists. But democracy was in his blood, derived from his ancestor, the founder of the family, who was a puritan and therefore favorable to popular government. This inherited leaven has not yet lost its potency, and the Lloyd of today adheres to the

Democratic party, which claims to be, how little soever it may deserve the right to be so considered, the party of the people. In 1801, by the election of Mr. Jefferson, the Federal party lost its control of the general government—a control which it never regained—though it long remained an active and intelligent opposition. During Mr. Lloyd's terms of service in the Legislature the measure which most deeply engaged the minds of the people of Maryland was one which was essentially democratic, namely, that of the removal of the limitations to the exercise of the suffrage. From the year 1797, at every succeeding session attempts were made to remove the constitutional restriction imposed by the thirty pounds electoral qualification; but although these measures had been begun and advanced by Federalists of the Assembly and opposed by Democrats, yet in as much as they had been defeated by the action of the Senate then composed chiefly if not wholly of members of the first named party, this party at last incurred the odium of being hostile to the extension of the franchise to the poor. In fact the weight of the opposition to this measure came from the Federalists, who being mostly of the wealthy and educated class fancied danger to property and stability to government in the endowment of the poor and ignorant with the privilege of voting. The ammunition used by the Republicans or Democrats in the battle of the parties during these years, and indeed long after, was largely compounded of jealousy of the rich and hatred of those whose culture and refinement withdrew them from familiar association with the rude and vulgar and who were therefore reproachfully called aristocrats. Such mostly belonged to the opposite party. It was therefore a happy stroke of policy upon the part of the Republicans, when this question of universal suffrage was warmly discussed in this county, to nominate in 1800 a ticket upon which was placed one of the wealthiest men of Talbot, or of the State, Mr. Edward Lloyd, to whom an ochlocracy in government was as dangerous as plebeianism was repugnant in society. He became the most earnest of the champions of free suffrage in the House, and the other delegates, or their successors followed deferentially or according to their nature and convictions. In 1802 the friends of this great measure, after being frequently foiled in their purposes, succeeded in securing its passage; and Mr. Lloyd is represented as having been selected as the most proper person, because of his large wealth and aristocratic associations and standing to present the resolution confirmatory of the act of 1801, which after its acceptance by the Senate, ratified and completed the adoption of the amendment to the constitution of Maryland that removed all restric-

tions upon the suffrage, except such as were imposed by race or condition of servitude. The active and prominent part taken by Col. Lloyd in securing this important modification of the fundamental law of the State gave him a popularity with the common people of his county such as had been enjoyed by no one previously and has been by none since, and rendered him almost invincible in any political contest. It is proper to say that there was still a property restriction upon the eligibility of persons elected to hold office, and that this restriction was removed in 1810, when Col. Edward Lloyd (V) was Governor, with his approbation of course.⁵³ It may be well to note that the constitutional amendment which conferred the right of suffrage upon all white citizens of proper age, also placed the ballot in their hands, voting previously having been *viva voce*. Among other measures of great public utility introduced to the Legislature during the time Mr. Lloyd held a seat in this body was that of a reform of the judicial system of the State. This measure was not a strictly party one, but in general it was advocated by the Democrats, while the opposition was drawn from among the Federalists chiefly. It is not known that Mr. Lloyd took any conspicuous part in the discussion of the policy of abolishing the General Court, and the division of the State into judicial districts; but he is believed to have voted for the Act of Assembly of 1804 which accomplished their results, and established that system which virtually exists to the present day.

In June 1804 at a meeting of a Convention of the delegates of the Democratic-Republican party at Denton in Caroline county, from the several counties, composing the 8th electoral district, Mr. Lloyd was placed in nomination for Elector of the President of the United States, but failed to secure a majority of the votes. Col. Perry Spencer of

⁵³ The following extract from an article contained in the *Republican Star* of June 21st, 1803, written after the nomination of Messrs. Lloyd, Denny, Meluy and Rose for the House of Delegates. "While we have it in our power to lay before our readers this morning the result of the Democratic meeting in Talbot county, in the nomination of four persons as candidates for the next General Assembly, we cannot omit reminding them that the next election will be by ballot and that the 30 pounds qualification will not be necessary; so that those citizens whose virtues may entitle them to a free suffrage and who have hitherto been deprived of their vote by those who call themselves Federalists, can now vote for men who not only brought forward and procured a free suffrage but who will continue to support the law—and be it known that the law would not have been enacted had there been a majority of Federalists in the Legislature of the State of Maryland."

Talbot, was chosen and subsequently elected, Nov. 12th, 1804, but Mr. Lloyd had previously been again chosen as Delegate to the General Assembly, an honor which was again conferred for the last time in 1805.

Mr. Joseph H. Nicholson of Queen Anne's having been appointed a judge of the Court of Appeals of the State, under new arrangement, resigned his position in the House of Representatives of the United States and on the 27th Sept., 1806 an election was held of a person to take his place and fill out his unexpired term. This election resulted in the choosing of Mr. Lloyd, his competitor being Mr. James Brown of Queen Anne's county, who is represented to have been the nominee of a certain faction or party known by the name of *Tertium Quids*, or simply Quids. The result of this special election was ratified and confirmed at the regular election held Oct. 6th of the same year, when again Mr. Brown offered a very weak opposition, receiving in the county only 62 votes in a total poll of 1198. On the 3d of Dec. 1806, Mr. Lloyd appeared in the House and qualified. He was appointed a member of one of the Committees upon the President's (Jefferson) message, namely: that which should consider and report upon the question of the disposition of the surplus revenue of the Government. His first speech was made upon a resolution which had been offered, asking the President information respecting the so-called conspiracy of Aaron Burr, a matter which was arousing the greatest concern in the minds of the timid and credulous, and which was used by partisans for their own purposes. In this speech Mr. Lloyd expressed his incredulity of the alleged conspiracy. In this he displayed for so young a man, excellent political judgment, as well as political honesty, for seeing the futility of the charges of treason, and the crafty purposes of those who promoted the accusation, he dared to separate himself from those with whom he was accustomed to act, and to assume an attitude of independence of his party. But he did not display equally good judgment when he was called upon to consider and act upon a yet more important subject, one which in most recent times convulsed the whole country and threatened its dissolution. In 1807 when a bill came before Congress, the purpose of which was to forbid the continuance of the African Slave trade, he was sufficiently perspicacious to discern in it the first step towards the abolition of slavery throughout the Union. His judgment being overborne either by his own personal interests or warped by the prevalent opinions of his own section, on the 26th of February in this year he cast his vote against the passage of this Act, thus placing himself in hostility to a most humane as well as wise measure.

During the time of his service in Congress that subject which finally led to a war between the United States and Great Britain was receiving attention, the impressment of seamen and the privilege of search. Mr. Lloyd gave his support to those measures of the Government which were designed to assert the rights of neutrals and to resist the incroachments upon the commerce of this nation. The feelings of irritation which had been aroused against the English by previous acts of aggression were intensified by the affair of the Chesapeake and the Leopard; and in this county there was a violent outbreak of indignation. At a public meeting held at Easton July 21st, 1807, of the most respectable people, irrespective of party, Mr. Lloyd was one of a committee appointed to prepare resolutions expressive of the sense of indignity and wrong which had been inflicted, in this case and others, and approval of the steps that had been taken by the public authorities. The resolutions presented by this committee were of the most pronounced, if not violent character, and though they may have embodied the sentiments of Mr. Lloyd they were hardly expressed in the measured language of statesmanship, which he would have employed. Military companies were organized throughout the county, in expectation of immediate war, of one of which, the "Talbot Patriot Troop" he was chosen the Captain. The cloud which was threatening blew over, but a few years later rose again to discharge itself in a storm of war. Capt. Lloyd on the 12th of Feb., 1812 was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel of the 9th Regiment of Maryland Militia, and as such performed his part in the defence of the county from the forces of the enemy who were in possession of the bay, and making incursions along its shores.

At the expiration of his term in Congress, March 3d, 1808, Mr. Lloyd, having other aspirations declined re-election. At a Convention of the Democratic party of the 7th Congressional District, at this date, composed of Queen Anne's, Talbot and Caroline counties, Mr. John Brown of Nathan, a citizen of Queen Anne's, was nominated, and by a Convention of the Federal party Mr. Robert Henry Goldsborough of Talbot, was nominated, to be voted for as Congressman. The canvass which followed was very spirited, in which the retiring member took a very active part, addressing the people at public meetings, and otherwise throwing the weight of his great popularity and wealth in favor of Mr. Brown, but it is not believed that he gave countenance much less participated in the scurrility with which Mr. Goldsborough was assailed in the public prints during the campaign, and which was continued in pamphlets during the presidential campaign which followed. Mr.

Brown was elected Oct. 3d in the District, though the county gave a small majority for Mr. Goldsborough. Mr. Lloyd also participated earnestly and actively in the contest for the Presidency in 1808, favoring Mr. Madison for that office, and was largely influential in securing the choice of Col. Perry Spencer of this county, as elector of the 8th electoral district over Mr. Robt. H. Goldsborough.

Governor Robert Wright having resigned, Mr. Edward Lloyd was at a special session of the Legislature, on the 5th of June, 1809 elected to fill out his unexpired term, with an expressed or implied promise that he would have the support of his party at the succeeding regular election. The political campaign in Talbot county, in the fall of this year was most hotly contested, and the Governor did not disdain to take a most active and conspicuous part in its conduct. He addressed the people at many places with that effective oratory which rendered him one of the most accomplished speakers upon the hustings the county has produced, and condescending, as he knew how, with seeming so to do, to familiar association with the electors at the public meetings, he won their hearts as much by his gracious manners as by his impressive words.⁴⁴ The result of the election held Oct. 2d was a triumphant success of the Democrats. At the regular meeting of the Legislature in November, he was on the 13th of that month chosen Governor,⁴⁵ and he was the recipient of the same honor on the 19th of November, 1810.⁴⁶ No questions of State policy that need to be mentioned here,

⁴⁴ For this fraternizing with the people of his own party at a meeting held at Easton, Oct. 3d, in celebration of the success of the election, he was scurrilously assailed by the Federal press of the State, in language too coarse for quotations.

⁴⁵ At this election Mr. Lloyd received 57; Mr. Charles Carroll of Carrollton 16; Mr. Levin Winder 5; Mr. Benjamin Stoddart 2 votes, and Mr. J. E. Howard 1 vote.

⁴⁶ The following taken from the *Republican Star* of Nov. 27th, 1810, may be more than curious and amusing, as illustrating the social manners and political sentiment of the time: "Yesterday Gov. Lloyd took the oaths of office in the Senate Chamber both Houses attending. It was with sincere gratification we observed his Excellency, clothed in the manufactures of the State. It was a beautiful suit of green, in fineness, softness and texture equal to imported cloths. The wool was grown upon his own farm and was produced from merino blood, with which he has lately enriched the State. It is by these means alone that domestic manufacturers can be encouraged. The heads of departments by wearing those manufactures lend more than anything else to encourage them. Many persons with a foolish pride will not wear them because they are not exactly equal to foreign manufactures; but in this instance a specimen is exhibited in Maryland, equal to any from the other side of the Atlantic, which at once meets the objection

occupied the attention of the executive and the legislative branches of the Government of Maryland during the gubernatorial incumbency of Gov. Lloyd. In fact, State politics were absorbed in national. The questions that were engaging the attention of both the governed and the governing were those connected with the foreign relations of the United States. These, during the Napoleonic wars had become exceedingly complicated through the action of the authorities of Great Britain and of France. It would be wholly out of place to go into any discussion of these questions, or to give even a recital of the events which gave origin to them. Readers are referred to books of national history for all that relates to the "Orders in Council," the "Berlin decree," the "rights of neutrals," the "Embargo," the "impressment of seamen," &c., which finally led to the declaration of war in 1812. These great national questions were under discussion during Mr. Lloyd's terms of service as Governor, but he ranged himself upon the side of those who advocated armed resistance to the aggressions of England upon the rights of the American States. The rupture did not occur until he had ceased to occupy the gubernatorial chair, but he lent the weight of his personal and official influence to the party militant as opposed to the party of peaceful measures for the settlement of the matters in dispute. He was succeeded by Robert Bowie, Esq., who was elected Nov. 11th, 1811.

Before the expiration of Gov. Lloyd's term he was, on the 16th of Sept., 1811, chosen by the electoral college to be one of the State Senators for the Eastern Shore, receiving 22 votes as against 18 for Federal competitor and neighbor, Mr. Robt. H. Goldsborough. There is good ground for believing that his decided opinions in favor of appealing to the arbitrament of war had much to do with determining this result. At least they did not injure him with his constituents.⁵⁷ On the 19th of October, the Legislature assembled, and Governor Lloyd soon after taking his seat introduced into the Senate the following resolutions which were adopted:

originating from pride and vanity. With pleasure we state that this truly patriotic Governor to be a Republican, and before he obtained the wool of this superior quality, he had clothed himself (during the last session) in inferior manufacture, which evinced his patriotism and desire to encourage America to shake off entirely her dependence upon foreign countries."

"These gentlemen of Talbot, all "War Democrats," were elected to the Legislature Oct. 2d, 1811: James Dorris, Samuel Tennant, James Wainwright and Samuel Stevens, Jr.

WHEREAS, It is highly important at this eventful crisis in our foreign relations that the opinions and feelings of every section of the Union should be fairly expressed. Therefore we, the Legislature of Maryland do

Resolve, That in the opinion of this Legislature the measures of the administration with respect to Great Britain, have been honorable, impartial and just; that in their negotiations they have evinced every disposition to terminate our differences, on terms not incompatible with our national honor, and that they deserve the confidence and support of the nation.

Resolved, That the measures of Great Britain have been and still are distinctive of our best and dearest rights, and being inconsistent with justice, with reason and with law can be supported only by force. Therefore, if persisted in by force should be resisted.

Resolved, That the measures of the administration with respect to France we highly approve. They have been fully authorized by the law and by the fact.

Resolved, That the acts of injustice and violence, committed on our neutral rights by France, have excited all that indignation which a lawless exercise of power could not fail to do; but having now ceased to violate our neutral rights, we trust that the period is not far distant when by the acts of ample justice, all cause of complaint will be removed.

Resolved, That the President's message, moderate, impartial and decisive deserves *all our praise*. It points out the best course to an honorable independence.

Resolved, That the independence established by the aid and valor of our fathers will not tamely be yielded by their sons. The same spirit which led the Maryland regulars to battle, still exists in the State and waits for its country's call.⁴⁸

We may readily believe that the action of the Maryland Legislature prompted by a person of such weight of character and influence as Gov. Lloyd, had its effect in the national councils, in overcoming that reluctance to engage in hostilities which sober people and the government had shown. The Federalists in Congress aided by many "peace" Democrats, who also had the countenance of the Executive, had been able for several years to avert war, for which many were clamorous; but when at last the time for a new presidential election approached, the exigencies of party, and the personal ambition of the President to be elected for a second term, demanded that diplomacy should end and militancy begin. War was accordingly, on the 18th of June, 1812, declared to exist between the United States and Great Britain. The number of those who condemned this war as useless has not diminished with time; but of this number Gov. Lloyd was not one. It had his

⁴⁸ Quoted from Scharf's Hist. Md., Vol. II, p. 62.

hearty approbation, and we may readily believe that one whose property was so much exposed to destruction, was governed by no unworthy motive in his advocacy of warlike measures. During the continuance of his services, through a term of five years in the State Senate he gave a loyal support to the General Government in its efforts to maintain the rights and the honor of the country, and to the State authorities who were seeking to defend the borders of Maryland from destructive incursions of the enemy. Nor did he evade military duty, having been made a Colonel of Militia, by promotion from the Captaincy of a troop of horse, as before mentioned, and taking his part in guarding and defending his county during the presence of the enemy in the Chesapeake. It is proper to note here, that he was, while Senator from Talbot, elected President of the body of which he was so distinguished a member; but it is not necessary to say with what dignity and ability the functions of this position were discharged by one so highly endowed by nature with these qualities as he. In the year 1812, Col. Lloyd, though defeated in his own county by Mr. Alembry Jump, was chosen to be one of the presidential electors, and cast his vote for Mr. Madison. In January, 1815, for what reason it is not apparent, he resigned his seat in the Senate of Maryland, and Mr. James Nabb, of Talbot county, was appointed in his stead; but in October of the same year he was chosen by the people of his county to be their delegate in the Lower House of Assembly, having for his associates Messrs. Solomon Dickinson, Daniel Martin and Joseph Kemp. In the following year he was a candidate for the same position, but was defeated, the Federalists electing Messrs. Edward N. Hambleton, John Seth, Robert Banning and Alexander Hands.

For several years Col. Lloyd seems to have held no political office, but during this time he was not an indifferent observer of political affairs nor inactive member of his party, which he was aiding by a participation in its councils, and by active efforts in its contests. Having filled every elective position of honor for which he was qualified and which he was willing to accept but one, it now became his worthy ambition to be chosen Senator of the United States, and towards that object his energies were directed. This ambition was gratified by his election, Dec. 18th, 1819, to a seat in the national senate, to succeed the Hon. Robert Henry Goldsborough, his personal friend but political rival, whose term of office had expired on the 4th of March preceding. He had for his competitors the same gentleman and Mr. Charles Carroll of Carrollton. Congress was then in session, and on the 27th of the

month he presented his credentials of election, and was duly qualified as Senator for Maryland, to serve until the 3rd of March, 1825. He had for his coadjutor the Hon. William Pinkney, who had been chosen at the same time with himself to fill out the unexpired term of the Hon. Alexander C. Hanson, deceased. Maryland was never more ably represented in the Senate than at this period. Whatever gives dignity and character to this august body was illustrated by those gentlemen of this State, who after having most honorably and efficiently filled other high and responsible positions of public trust, now appeared in its chamber. On the 30th Dec. he rose for the first time from his seat to present a petition of the manufacturers of cotton and woolen fabrics praying for protection from congress to these industries. If he favored the object of this petition, he subsequently changed his opinion upon this debatable question, for a few years later he opposed Mr. Clay's American system. Col. Lloyd was made, Jan. 4th, 1820, one of the standing committee for the District of Columbia. The subject then intently absorbing the attention not only of Congress, but of the whole country—one in its essentials forming the basis of the division of parties for more than a generation following—was that of the admission into the Union of the territories of Maine and Missouri, as States of the Confederacy. The subject was presented in the form of a question whether both should be admitted by one bill, or whether they should be admitted by separate bills. It had been before the previous Congress, and might have been settled offhand at the last session, for the preparedness and competency of these territories for assuming the relation of States within the Union, were not questioned, and whether they should be admitted by one bill or by two bills was a matter of no importance in itself; but as it had become imbrangled with the momentous question of maintaining the balance of political power between the slave and the free States, and with the perpetuation and extension of the peculiarly southern institution of slavery, the discussion had been protracted and was becoming most violent and acrimonious. It was upon this subject he, on the 20th Feb. made his maiden speech in the Senate in reply to Mr. Rufus King, of New York, in which he advocated the admission of the two new States at the same time, and opposed the admission of one without the other. He spoke not only with the deliberateness of political conviction, and a sense of the importance of the measure in its remote consequences, but with the zeal of a partizanship and the earnestness of personal interest. A few days after this he recorded his vote against an amendment to the bill which provided for the exclu-

sion of slavery from the territories lying north of 36 degrees 30 minutes. He thus ranged himself on a line with the southern senators, who saw danger to their property and their party. We must not judge him with too great severity, because as one of the chosen crew of the ship of State, he was beguiled by the siren of slavery which drew so many upon the fatal rocks by her blandishments, and which came so near effecting our shipwreck. But on the final passage of that bill, which has acquired an historic celebrity, known as the Missouri Compromise, his name does not appear on record as having voted for or against it, though there is reasonable ground for the belief that notwithstanding his previous antagonism to some of its provisions he so far yielded to the spirit of compromise, which was prevalent, as to unite with his distinguished compatriot Pinkney in advocating or consenting to its passage. Col. Lloyd spoke, during the same session, in opposition to the passage of a general bankrupt law, expressing a doubt of its expediency if made applicable to all insolvent debtors; but declaring a willingness to vote for such a measure if it was confined in its scope to merchants and traders, and if it excluded the planters and farmers. He offered an amendment embodying his views, but it was not adopted. During the remainder of the 16th Congress he seems not to have taken an active part in the debates. In the 17th Congress he was again upon the Committee of the District. It devolved upon him formally to make known to the Senate the death of the Hon. William Pinkney, which was done on the 26th of February, 1822, in these few simple words, which contrast remarkably with the elaborate eulogiums which it is customary in these days to pronounce in Congress over dead mediocrity or insignificance.

Mr. President: It has become my painful duty to announce to the Senate the melancholy fact that my much esteemed and distinguished colleague is no more. An attempt to excite the sympathies of the Senate for a loss so great and so afflicting would betray a suspicion of their sensibility and would do injustice to the memory of him whose loss we must all sensibly deplore. This chamber, Sir, has been one of the fields of his fame. You have seen him in his strength. You have seen him the admiration of the Senate; the pride of his native State; the ornament of his country. *He is no more.* But for his friends and relatives there is consolation beyond the grave. I humbly and firmly trust that he now reposes in the bosom of his God.⁵⁹

On the 10th of January he had introduced to the attention of the Senate a series of resolutions favoring the appropriation of public

⁵⁹ Annals of Congress.

lands, for the purpose of education to those States that had not previously received such an appropriation; and on the 28th of February and the 1st of March he addressed the Senate, sitting in Committee of the Whole, in advocacy of those resolutions. His speech was an extended effort, for upon the first day he spoke one hour and a half and upon the second day one hour. In the year 1824 we find, by the records of proceedings, that he took active part in opposition to the new tariff bill, the essential and distinctive feature of which was the protection of the manufacturing industries of the country from foreign competition by imposts upon imported goods. This bill embodied what is known as Mr. Clay's "American System," and its leading principle is yet in dispute among statesmen though Mr. Lloyd's position is ably defended now by the leading political economists of the world. He participated in the debates to which this bill gave origin, and voted against its adoption on its passage, believing, with all the southern senators, that it was sectional, unconstitutional and unjust. It passed however, but by very small majorities in each house.⁶⁰ During the years 1823 and 1824, with the exception just noted, Mr. Lloyd appears to have taken little part in the debates, and in fact his name appears but infrequently in the reports of proceedings. It is probable he was much absent from his seat, owing to a painful malady with which he was afflicted and which soon after rendered his resignation obligatory.

It is in place here to refer to an episode of this period of his life, in which none of the passions which are engendered by political strife were aroused, but the most generous feelings of patriotism were awakened in his as in every bosom. In 1824 Gen. Lafayette being upon a visit to the United States, Gov. Sam'l Stevens, a native citizen of Talbot county, appointed Colonels Lloyd and Dickinson, also of this county, his aids in showing to the distinguished visitor the courtesies of the State of Maryland. Previous to the arrival of Lafayette in Maryland a public meeting of the citizens of Talbot had been held in Easton, at which a committee was appointed to draft resolutions of "respectful and becoming salutation," of which committee Gov. Lloyd was one. This committee discharged this duty, and the meeting appointed a deputation of Gen'l Perry Benson, the Hon. Ed. Lloyd and Robert H. Goldsborough, Esq., to wait on Gen'l Lafayette to present the address and resolutions and the congratulations of the freemen of Talbot. On the arrival of the State's distinguished guest at French Town, Gov. Lloyd as representative of the Governor was the first person to

⁶⁰ Benton's Thirty Years in the U. S. Senate, Vol. I, p. 34.

be presented to him, and to welcome him to Maryland. He then accompanied Lafayette to Fort McHenry, to present him to the Governor, who was awaiting his arrival. We may be sure, if the worthy Governor was at all deficient in his acquaintance with those forms of politeness—he was never deficient in those feelings which are the basis of a true courtesy—which the distinguished Frenchman was familiar with from his residence at the capital of the most polished people of Europe, Governor Lloyd was able to make all due compensation.

On the 25th of January, 1825, he was elected a second time Senator of the United States, receiving 54 votes while his competitor, the Hon. Ezekiel F. Chambers, received 34 votes. But he held his seat but a short time longer, for his malady continued and increased in violence, incapacitating him for the proper discharge of his duties as Senator. He therefore determined to resign, and this purpose was announced in the following letter of January, 1826:

To the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Delegates of Maryland:

Gentlemen: I have been prevented by severe and protracted indisposition from taking my seat in the Senate during the present session; and as I cannot now calculate on doing it for some weeks, and believing that in the *interim* questions may come before it important particularly to this State, I cannot reconcile it with my sense of duty, longer to retain the appointment. I must, therefore, request the Legislature to accept this my letter of resignation as Senator of the United States. Permit me to present to you, gentlemen, and through you to the Legislature the assurance of my high respect.

ED. LLOYD.

The Hon. Ezekiel F. Chambers was elected to fill his place, receiving 49 votes in the Legislature, while 34 votes were cast for Gen'l Philip Reed. The malady which frequently interrupted Col. Lloyd in the discharge of his duties while in the Senate and which finally enforced his resignation of his seat in that body, was the gout, attacks of which, painful and protracted, he had suffered from time to time. Notwithstanding his own active and temperate habits of life, paroxysms of the disease became so frequent and intense that he was ever afterwards prevented from participating actively in politics, and from assuming any public function. But having been honored with the possession of every office of honor within the gift of the people of his State, he may well have been content to retire to the seclusion of his home, and to the management of his fine estate, followed as he was by the respect of his

fellow citizens for the purity of his character and by their gratitude for his services as a statesman incorruptible and capable.

Upon a survey of the career of Col. Edward Lloyd (V) the Governor and Senator, it becomes evident that he was a strict partizan, rarely or never separating himself from those with whom he early allied himself, the Republican-Democrats. In saying this there is no impeachment of the sincerity of his convictions and rectitude of his conduct, though he may recognize the danger to both of these, as well as the correctness of judgment upon political questions, of a too rigid fealty to party. In adopting the principles of Jefferson, as opposed to those of Hamilton, while following his hereditary impulses as the descendant of Edward Lloyd (I) the Puritan Republican, he was disregarding the instigations of caste or class, as a member of a well defined if not a legitimated aristocracy of birth and wealth. This implies honesty of conviction. But in condemning partizanship, it must not be forgotten that what is called "independence" has its dangers and its evils as well. The "independent" may be as abject in his devotion to protest against, as the most devoted worshipper of conformity to party rule. What is more, the calcitrating may be, often are, as corrupt in their motives as the most obedient to the party bit, or sensitive to the party whip. Governor Lloyd was a consistent Democrat, and if he made errors, they were those of the party, and these may be condoned by the good he and it had done and was doing for our political development down, at least, to the time when he ceased active coöperation with it in its purposes and policy. His life as a politician had ended before the days of Jacksonism, when the moral degradation of his party may be said to have begun. As the chieftain of this party—in the county—a very different character then from the vulgar "boss" of the present—participating in all its contests as well as directing its conduct, he was always regarded by his enemies as a dangerous, but never as a faithless opponent, and by his followers as a wise but not a wily leader. Being without, as he was above the affectations of a spurious chivalry, he was nevertheless chivalrous, doing nothing unworthy of that character either in the coolness of council or in the ardor of battle. As evidence of this, it may be stated that his antagonists always spoke of him, amidst their most violent denunciations of others, with reserve, and treated him with a respectful deference shown to no other person of the hostile party. Nor was this owing to his wealth and social station alone; but it was a spontaneous homage to his true nobility of charac-

ter.⁴¹ In the broader field of national politics he was not an inconspicuous figure. He was not forward to assume a leadership, yet he cannot be said to have been a servile follower of his party chieftains. To be sure he was a strict partizan, and though generally fighting in line, he was capable of independent action upon occasions. In the House and in the Senate he was not frequently heard upon the floor, but when he spoke, a credible tradition says, he was listened to with an attention which, not wholly due to the courtesy of those assemblies nor to their respect for his personal character, must have been secured by the weight of his arguments and his art in presenting them. It must be remembered too, that he spoke to men who were accustomed to listen to statesmen and orators having a world-wide celebrity, and therefore little patient of mediocrity. His speeches, as far as they have been preserved, show an absence of rhetorical fustian, so prevalent in his day, and the presence of a logical sobriety. If they may not be models of legislative oratory, they are certainly not examples of legislative bombast or triviality. But Governor Lloyd was most happy in his oratorical efforts upon the hustings, or, to use the American locution, "upon the stump." Here he is represented by those who remember to have heard him, to have been most effective. The habitual dignity of his bearing was so natural that it captivated rather than offended the "commonalty," as the plainer people were called at that day; and if he condescended he won all hearts, by his unaffected grace. His language without a tinge of vulgarity or coarseness was simple and temperate, but impressive and never diverted the mind from the thought to the medium by which it was conveyed. He spoke with readiness and fluency, but without vehemence. His statements were clear and direct; his illustrations apt and original; his arguments ingenious and forcible, and all most easily comprehensible by ordinary capacities. Such being the characteristics of his oratory, he was always a welcome speaker at popular assemblies.

Traditions of the respectability attaching to the possession of official station, transmitted from times anterior to the Revolution, had not been entirely effaced by the appearance in those stations of persons

⁴¹ This is exemplified by the manner in which he was spoken of in that coarse but curious, dramatic lampoon, called 'The Grand Caucus,' written by Dr. Ennalls Martin and printed in the old *Maryland Herald* of 1802. In this piece of broad humor and rough wit, all the notable Democrats of the county were unmercifully ridiculed, but nothing more gross was said of Col. Lloyd than to call him 'Lord Cock-de-doodle-do' and to represent him as being fond of game cocks and race horses—an impeachment to which he would most probably have plead guilty.

whom it was impossible to respect; so that gentlemen of social standing and personal worth were in the early part of this century still covetous of decorations which though then growing pale yet shone with sufficient lustre to attract their gaze. The professional politician as he is now seen and known—one of the most noxious and offensive of the products of our democratic system—was hardly recognized during the period covered by the public life of Gov. Lloyd. Politics were rather the amusement than the serious business of gentlemen of the generation to which he belonged. Not that men of his class were without political convictions which they were earnest enough to have realized in political practice; but their convictions were always coupled with a wish for the distinction conferred by official station and the gratifications attending party victory always uncertain enough to give zest to pursuit and men achieved without so much effort as flatters the victor into the belief that by his own strength he was winner. And these feelings, which a real solicitude for the public welfare may have concealed, even from the possessor, were controlling in drawing men of wealth, character and position from the ease and comfort of private life into the distractions and conflicts of politics. Politics, as before mentioned, was rather a diversion than a business, with men of wealth and leisure, so Gov. Lloyd amused himself with the pursuit of political honors, regardless of the emoluments of office which were never equal to his expenditures while in possession, but his more serious and absorbing avocations were those connected with his private interests—attention to the management of his large estate of land and negroes, and the promotion of speculative enterprises promising pecuniary returns—avocations that might be followed in connection with a proper discharge of public duties. In these employments he found occupation quite as congenial as the political honors; for he was but following inherited inclinations, the family having been as much characterized by business thrift as by ambitious aspirations. His forefathers had been planters and traders, and he derived from them an aptitude for the conduct of affairs. His agricultural operations were carried on upon a grand scale not wholly nor principally under a system of tenantry but by his own personal supervision and direction, through the intervention of overseers or farm managers. It was his custom when at home, however numerous may have been the company of visitors at Wye House, to give the whole morning of each day to the personal inspection of his many farms, to giving general, and not seldom specific direction as to the management of the crops and live stock, and to examine into the

condition and conduct of his numerous slaves. In his day the culture of grain had entirely superseded the planting of tobacco, a product that only survived in the patches of the negroes. He became the greatest as well as the most successful wheat grower in Maryland. At a period when there was no government agency for the procuring of improved grains and the testing the adaptability of the different varieties to soils and climates; and when foreign as well as domestic inter-communication was not so frequent and direct as now, he as the wealthiest man of his county and neighborhood, and an enthusiastic farmer besides, interested himself and used his means to secure the best varieties of wheat and other cereals, and submitted them to trials under his immediate supervision, taking risks of failure that others could not prudently do. He was also deeply interested in the introduction of improved breeds of horses, horned cattle and sheep. It was through his instrumentality, in large measure, but not wholly, that some of the best blood of the English stables was infused into the country bred horses, giving origin to that hardy breed which distinguishes the county to the present day. In this he was seeking the gratification of one of his chief pleasures, that of racing, while he was looking also to pecuniary profit. He was also instrumental in introducing fine horned cattle, particularly the Durham stock, in or about the year 1823, thus anticipating a bucolic fashion by some years. Earlier than this, through his agency were brought in the breeds of fine woolled sheep, particularly the Merino—a breed which was for a long time highly approved of in this county, but has entirely disappeared, for what reason it is not known. Living before the days of that wonderful improvement in farm machinery of which we are now witnesses and beneficiaries he nevertheless adapted all such implements of farm industry as mechanical ingenuity had then devised, often to his great loss. Gov. Lloyd was not one of those stationary or retrogressive farmers who saw in the negro a machine capable of performing all that was demanded in farm operations—not one who took as little note of the sensibilities of his slaves as if they were things of springs and wheels, cogs and levers. On the contrary he was enlightened and progressive, allowing no improvement in the construction of farm implements—no new invention of farm machinery to pass unnoticed and untried; and though probably no sentimentalist he was not loath, from purely selfish motives, if from no other, to relieve his slaves from a portion of their burthens by throwing it upon insensate matter. He was one of the original members of the Maryland Agricultural Society, at its formation in 1813; and after its

organization he was elected in June of the same year one of the Vice-Presidents of the General Society.⁶² As such he was *ex officio* President of the Eastern Shore branch of this Society, which still survives as a club of respectable gentlemen, known now as at first as the "Trustees of the Maryland Agricultural Society of the Eastern Shore." Gov. Lloyd was an occasional contributor to John S. Skinner's "American Farmer" of articles upon agriculture and the cognate arts.

As enthusiastic and diligent a farmer as was Gov. Lloyd, he was not so absorbed in agricultural pursuits as to be oblivious to the employment of capital and energy in other lines of industrial enterprise. He became in 1804 one of the original corporators in the Union Bank of Maryland, an institution still in existence, and in 1805, being a member of the Legislature, he introduced the bill for the incorporation of the Farmers' Bank of Maryland, of which institution the Bank at Easton, now known as the Easton National Bank, was at one time a branch. He became one of the largest subscribers to the capital stock of this branch bank, and was a member of the first Board of Directors, elected Aug. 5th, 1806. He continued to act as Director until 1808 when his duties, public and private, required him to decline further election. Being a public spirited citizen he took part in other enterprises for the advancement of the State and county and for his own emolument. He easily saw the great value of the coal lands of Western Maryland and became a purchaser of a large tract, what is now beginning to show the foresight of the original owner. It does not appear that he ever engaged in trade, as most of his ancestors had done, but it is to be noted that after the Revolutionary war, commerce was essentially changed in character, and planters could no longer be merchants and bankers. Gov. Lloyd's affairs seem to have been conducted with good judgment and prudence, and though exceedingly liberal in expenditure his fortune accumulated, so that he became the wealthiest of the "Lloyds of Wye," transmitting to his numerous children abundant means not only for the comforts but for the elegancies of life and for the due maintenance of the social position that had been so long enjoyed by the family.

His participation in politics and his consequent long sojourning in the State and National Capitals; his business engagements which frequently called him to the large commercial cities; his very pleasures

⁶² It is probable he was connected with that other Agricultural Society, the first ever organized in this county, if not in the State, which was formed in the year 1805. But of this Society there is no extant record.

and pastimes which were of such nature as drew him from home into the company of strangers, enlarged an acquaintance, which his family connections and associations already had made very extensive, with the wealthy, the intelligent, the refined and fashionable in all the seaboard States; and the courtesies and kindness which he was sure to receive wherever he went, were returned so abundantly as to show not only his appreciation of them but his hospitable disposition. Wye House, when the family was present was almost constantly filled with company who were entertained with an ease and an elegance to be met with in few houses in Maryland. Here were to be met at all times people belonging to the first circles of polite society and occasionally personages of the first distinction in public life, State and National.⁶⁸ The morning as before mentioned, he was accustomed to devote to the inspection of his farms, riding or driving, accompanied by his servant, or to other business engagements. He returned at midday, and usually took a siesta, after which dinner was served and the remainder of the day was given up to his family and his guests. His table was always bountifully and even luxuriously spread, with the products mostly from his own estates, and its appointments were in a style of richness and elegance known to but few houses in Maryland, at that day. One of the forms of ostentation and a favorite one, which the wealth of our ancestors took was that of silver plate, and his board was garnished by massive services, transmitted by his predecessors to which additions were made by himself, that still adorn the table at Wye House, on occasion. With many old and trained domestic servants, his slaves, attendance was ready without the gaucheries of inexperience so common in country houses, and withal respectful and willing. Gov. Lloyd was eminently companionable, cheerful in disposition, free in communication, equable in temper, and elevated by a natural nobility as well as social station, he was free from the control of the mean or malignant passions. He was dignified in his bearing so as to repel familiarity, but eminently courteous and devoid of offensive hauteur. Though

⁶⁸ Among others was the celebrated John Randolph of Roanoke, between whom and Mr. Lloyd as great an intimacy existed as the eccentricities of this famous man permitted any one to enjoy with him. Gov. Lloyd happened to be in Baltimore when his unhappy and invalid friend came to that city driven in his coach and four, and there they met for the last time. When Mr. Randolph arrived in Philadelphia for the purpose of embarking for Europe, hearing of the presence in that city of Mr. Edward Lloyd, Jr., (VI) he sent for him, but before Mr. Lloyd could reach the house this great genius had ceased to exist.

no outlaw to the ceremonial code of polite life—though not so unobservant of the etiquette of the day as to appear singular or agrestic in his manners, he was nevertheless inclined to disregard those forms and fashions which had not the sanction of good sense and of that true politeness which has its foundation in a sensibility to the pleasures of others and a desire to promote them. It was the rule of his household, never to be broken by any, to offend no one of the humbler walks by a show of supercilious superiority or exclusiveness, and he always insisted that his poorer and plainer neighbors, his tenants and people in his employ should receive such respectful treatment as should place them at ease and inflict no humiliation. His pleasures were those of the first gentlemen of his day, and though some of them, if indulged in now, would receive the condemnation of strict moralists, as, indeed, they did of the purists and humanitarians of his time, they were thought, nevertheless, to be at least pardonable in persons of his sphere. In early life he was fond of following the hounds, and we may suppose he may have indulged in the pleasure then rare, of deer stalking, as a deer park had been established by his father upon the Wye town farm, which he himself maintained for some years but at last abandoned on account of the difficulty of keeping the deer within their proper inclosure, and the consequent injury to the grain crops. He kept hounds and hunters, and was not unambitious of the honors of the chase. He was also in early life an enthusiastic cock-fighter, and as such interested in procuring the finest breeds of game fowls; and though a cocking main was a great delight, the pit was soon abandoned more on account, perhaps of the objectionable company which assembled around it than from compunctions as to the barbarity of the sport. One of his favorite pastimes, when at home in winter, was fowling, opportunities for the indulgence of which was afforded by the Wye and Chester rivers and the Eastern Bay, then more frequented by flocks of wild ducks, geese and swan than at present. Fishing to which the adjacent waters invited—the employment of the idle and the recreation of the “contemplative man” as it has been called—did not suit his active temperament and habits, but occasionally for the diversion of his guests piscatorial excursions were made down the bay in his vessels. Some of these pleasures were abandoned as years advanced but the gratifications derived from horse-racing were indulged in as long as life and health permitted. His stables for a long time held some of the fleetest animals, and these were entered at the races held in various parts of the country. He was a member of Jockey Clubs, and won and lost his money with as much

equanimity as comported with a proper interest of the contests of the turf. It is not believed that gaming was practised by him except as an occasional pastime when at Annapolis or Washington, and then only in deference to custom. In his house it was unknown. Gov. Lloyd was emphatically a man of the world, and pretended not to enjoy indulgence in the religious sentiment, a purely subjective pleasure; yet he would not allow that he had discarded the bonds of religious obligation and observation. He was not devout, but also he was not irreverent. His partialities were for the Protestant Episcopal Church, and to this communion he was nominally attached. He lived without being affected by it through that religious calenture which was set up in the minds of the people of Talbot by Methodism, a new form of the Puritanism, the first Lloyd of Wye professed. He was neither polemist nor enthusiast. Of politics as his greatest and most abiding pleasure, if as such it may be ranked, sufficient has been said already. Of the pleasures of the table he partook with the relish of a man of active habits and full vitality, demanding generous food and drink until warned by affliction to practice abstinence; but he was no epicure much less gourmand. His rich table was spread and his cellars emptied rather for others than himself. The gout with which he was long afflicted and which really shortened his life, after years of much suffering, was rather the vicarious punishment of the sins of his fathers than the natural retribution for his own offences against dietetic moderation.

By those who remember him, Gov. Lloyd is spoken of, with unanimity, as a remarkably handsome man, of fine figure and pleasing countenance. He was above the medium height and well developed. His carriage was dignified without a trace of pomposity and graceful without the affectation of the fine manners which were the vogue of the day among people of fashion who took the effusive and demonstrative Frenchman as their model of behavior. His complexion was fair and ruddy, his hair in youth was light but became prematurely grey. His eyes were of deep blue and full of vivacity. His expression of countenance was that of intelligence and frankness—a true index of his character. His voice, pitched in a low tone, a true mark of breeding, was full and sonorous, and was sometimes, upon convivial occasions attuned in song. His enunciation was clear and distinct. There exists of him a miniature taken in his early life. Besides this there is a small portrait in oil by Boardley, painted from recollection, which is said to be very like him in the maturity of his powers. Of this there are several replicas in the possession of members of the family.

In his domestic relations of husband and father Gov. Lloyd was most happy, as he was most exemplary. Marrying the 30th of Nov. 1797, before he had come of age, Sally Scott, the daughter of Dr. James Murray of Annapolis, his infant son, Edward Lloyd (VI) was enabled to participate in celebrating his arrival at his majority by a show of drinking to his health. From this marriage came many children, some of whom still survive who cherish his memory as that of a most affectionate and indulgent father, while numerous descendants, in several generations, still bearing the impress of his strong personality, are proud and justly proud of an ancestor so eminent as he was for his talents and services and so admirable for the possession of those traits that best adorn human nature. Mrs. Lloyd long survived him, dying in 1854.⁶⁴

There must be no omission here of reference to that other domestic relation that subsisted between Gov. Lloyd and his dependents or slaves, of whom he was owner of a great number—more in fact than he had personal knowledge of. Those of them who were of his immediate household, or living upon the Wye House plantation, and therefore in daily contact with him and his family were most devotedly attached to him by reason of their experiencing nothing but kindness at his hands. One of the most touching scenes was witnessed when he took his departure from home upon his last journey in pursuit of health. His servants standing upon the banks of Wye, when he embarked bade him good-bye with sobs and groans more expressive than words, and watched with tearful eyes the receding vessel as it bore him away to return no more. His rule over them was mild and considerate, though necessarily rigid for the sake of discipline. His care of them was kindly almost to affectionateness, though ceaselessly watchful as was requisite. Their labors were not excessive. They were comfortably housed, fed and clad. They enjoyed as much freedom of action as comported with the state of servitude in which they lived. In short, slavery of this class of his servants was of the mildest and least objectionable character. Those of his slaves who were remote from his home upon distant plantations, under the care and control of over-

⁶⁴ The children of Gov. Lloyd were (1) Edward Lloyd sixth of the name. (2) Elizabeth Taylor Lloyd, who married Edward S. Winder, (3) James Murray Lloyd, (4) Sally Scott Lloyd, who married Com. Charles Lowndes of the U. S. Navy, (5) Ann Catherine Lloyd who married Admiral Franklin Buchanan of U. S. Navy, (6) Daniel Lloyd, the father of the present (1885) Governor of Maryland, and (7) Mary Ellen Lloyd, who married William Tilghman Goldsborough, late of Dorchester county.

seers, often men of rude natures with whom cruelty and discipline were almost synonymous, may have suffered hardships and ill-treatment—doubtless they did in many instances. This was incident to their condition and circumstances, and hence the condemnation which must be placed upon the institution or system that made this possible or even irremediable. But from the known character of their owner there is reason to believe these hardships and this ill-treatment were without his sanction. They were deplorable but inevitable consequences of their condition, and may not be justly laid to the charge of a man whose compassionate feelings were even stronger than those of selfishness, and to whom cruelty was as revolting as it was profitless. There was once at Wye House a slave, but not of its master, who has since acquired great notoriety, if it may not be said celebrity. He was the property of Capt. Anthony, the steward or bailiff of Gov. Lloyd, of doubtful parentage, but he afterwards assumed the name of Frederick Douglass. Escaping from bondage, years after, in 1845, he wrote or it was written for him, from materials furnished by himself, a book entitled "Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an African Slave," which has done much to originate and perpetuate a belief that barbarities were practised upon the Lloyd estates. He exonerates Gov. Lloyd from complicity in these barbarities and placed them at the doors of his overseers. In his subsequent publications he speaks of him in terms of great admiration bordering upon veneration.⁶⁶

After years of much acute suffering which the best medical art and the most tender care of an affectionate family could but partially assuage Governor Lloyd finally succumbed during a paroxysm of his disease on the 2nd of June, 1834, at the house of his mother-in-law, Mrs. Murray, in the city of Annapolis, whither he had repaired to place himself under the care of a physician of celebrity, with the ultimate purpose of going to some of the Virginia springs for the benefit of the waters. The announcement of his death at the early age of 54 years, when he should have been most capable of usefulness to his State and

⁶⁶ This subject of the relation of the Lloyds of Wye, who were representative of the class of slave-holders in Talbot county, to the "peculiar institution" will be treated of more fully in connection with the life of that Edward Lloyd who witnessed the overthrow of slavery, who was the greatest sufferer, pecuniarily, of any man in Maryland by the act of emancipation, and who has borne his losses with so great a fortitude and equanimity that they might, if anything could, command our admiration for a system that has bred such virtues in a vindicator or to speak more properly in a victim of its faults.

Country, was received with unequivocal regret by every citizen of Maryland and with profound sorrow by his family and friends. His body was brought across the bay and interred in the family burial ground at Wye House, where a stone is erected to his memory bearing this simple inscription:

Here lieth interred the
remains of
Col. Edward Lloyd
who was born the 22nd of July
1779
and departed this life
the 2nd of June
1834.

After the death of Governor Lloyd the journals of the State gave voice to the general sentiment of regret for his early death, as well as to the general admiration of his private character and public services. The language of high eulogium which was employed by the press was thought to be justly merited, more especially as his best and warmest commendation came from those who differed from him in politics. From such journals the following extracts are taken. The *Easton Gazette* of June 7th, 1834, said:

Died at Annapolis on Monday last, June 2nd, at the house of his brother-in-law, Henry H. Harwood, Esq.,⁶⁶ the Hon. Edward Lloyd, of Wye House, in the 55th year of his age. He was an accomplished gentleman who had been called to fill several high stations both under the State and Federal government and was one of the most successful practical agriculturists of his time. The social world will extensively and deeply lament the loss of so distinguished a patron, whose elegant hospitality was so generally and liberally diffused; whilst the generous heart will mingle in condolence with the griefs of a charming family who are sorrowing under the awful bereavement. The remains were conveyed across the bay on the 3rd and were deposited on the 4th in the family sepulchral ground at Wye.

The *Baltimore Republican*, of the 4th of June, quoting from the *Baltimore Patriot*, said:

The deceased was a favorite son of his native State—he was elected when very young to the House of Delegates, and successively to all the highest stations under its government. He bore a conspicuous part on all political occasions of extraordinary interest, and was as remarkable

⁶⁶ This is erroneous. The place of his death is correctly stated above.

for the munificence of his private hospitality as for his public spirit. There are few whose death will be heard of with more regret by the public and none could be more deeply lamented by those who knew his fine social qualities and personal accomplishments.

The *Baltimore American* said:

Died at Annapolis on Monday morning in the 55th year of his age the Hon. Edward Lloyd. The various important responsible situations to which the deceased has from time to time been called by his fellow citizens, and which from an early age till within a short period he has filled with distinguished ability, has made his name familiar with his countrymen, and every one sensible of the estimation in which he was held as a public man. He served first as a delegate to the General Assembly from Talbot county, and in succession a member of Congress, Governor of the State, State Senator, presiding officer of that body, and Senator of the United States. Declining health induced him ultimately to relinquish public honors that he might enjoy the endearments of his affectionate family. Alas! how brief and unstable is the tenure of all that earth can give to mortals. In the various private and domestic relations of life Col. Lloyd so discharged the duties of his station as to gather around him and to bind in the bonds of social affection a large circle of friends and admirers, and in public, the estimation placed by the people upon his services is best evinced by the frequent calls made upon him to fill the most elevated dignities. From his sound and discriminating mind and from his long acquaintance with public affairs, he has possessed a great and leading influence in the councils of the State.

EDWARD LLOYD (VI)

THE FARMER

1798-1861

When Edward Lloyd the fifth of the name, who was commonly called Governor, arrived at his majority, the happy event was suitably celebrated at Wye House by a convivial assemblage of relatives and friends, who in the midst of their hilarity, after dinner, called for the infant heir to the name and estate, Edward Lloyd (VI) Jr., who was brought to the table and made to go through the form of drinking his father's health. He was then more than one year old, having been born at Annapolis, Dec. 27th, 1798. He was the eldest son of a large family of children, all of whom at this date (Oct. 1885) are dead with a single exception, the widow of Admiral Buchanan, who, in a serene and beautiful old age, still represents the high

born graces of the family and the sterling virtues of her distinguished father. Young Lloyd grew up in the seclusion of his home, with no other companions than his own brothers and sisters, or, as unsophisticated youth knows few distinctions, the young negroes upon the plantation. His early education was at the hand of Mr. Joel Page a private tutor in the family, who long continued to be an honored and beloved inmate of Wye House, and who, there ending his days under painful circumstances, being distracted in mind, was interred in the ancestral burial ground where a stone is erected to his memory, consecrated by the affection of more than one generation of the Lloyds. As all his ancestors had been farmers or planters, young Lloyd seems to have been predestined to the avocation of a tiller of the soil. Under the erroneous impression that the agriculturist is not benefited by higher education, or rather condemning, as he justly might do, the sciolism or pedantry of the college bred men of his day, his father neglected to give him the advantages of even that poor training and culture which could be obtained in the superior schools of the time. Young Lloyd did, however, feel some inclination to prepare himself for a professional life, and actually began his studies in the city of Philadelphia; but these, being interrupted by a severe attack of illness, were never renewed. It would have been no waste of time, money and labor, if he had taken courses of instruction in law, medicine and divinity, as preparatory to the avocation to which hereditary custom had destined him; for the learning of each of these would have been of value to the great planter who was required by the circumstances of his position as slave holder to perform the functions of jurist, doctor and priest upon his domain and among his dependents. While Mr. Lloyd missed those refined and delightful pleasures which flow from the cultivation of polite letters and the pursuits of science, he was not without compensation in his escape from their enervating influences, for while acquiring the elements of a good sound education in English letters and the principles of such knowledge as can be made applicable to the common practical affairs of life, the most masculine forces of his mind and traits of character were free to develop in all their healthy vigor and natural nobility. In short his education, falling in with his inclinations or aptitudes and circumstances, made him not the scholar weighed down with "wise saws and modern instances"—dreamy, speculative, hesitating, timid from very excess of knowledge—but the thoroughly equipped man of affairs, courageous, ready, full of resources, capable of reading life's lessons of wisdom written in its most obscure dialect, of solving life's problems involved to the last

degree of intricacy, unraveling life's syllogisms in her most entangled "logic of events," and reducing in the crucible and alembic of experience the most refractory of life's materials. There is other learning than that taught in the schools, however high, and this Ed. Lloyd acquired in the school of experience.

Arriving earlier than usual at a period in life, when the vacant pleasures of youth cease to satisfy the mind and occupy the hours, he became desirous of serious and profitable employment and so, at his request, he was placed in charge of a large plantation of his father's. Marrying soon after, his father built for him the beautiful house at Wye Heights now occupied by David C. Trimble, Esq., and there he settled down to the serious work of life which was never pretermitted until life's close. There he continued to reside until the death of Gov. Lloyd, when he removed to Wye House, and Wye Heights became the home of Danied Lloyd, Esq., his brother. There, too, he may be said to have served his apprenticeship under that most able master in geonics,—his father. In the conduct of this and other large tracts he displayed those qualities, and later acquired those habits which characterized him as the greatest farmer of the State of Maryland. Reared in affluence he became frugal; growing up in ease and idleness he became laborious and industrious; accustomed to every pleasure which wealth could purchase or parental partiality bestow he became abstinent from or moderate in the indulgence of the customary enjoyments of youthful life, and to the greatest freedom of action, he became circumspect, self-restrained as regards his own conduct, and masterful of the conduct of those subject to his control—that is to say, as he was able to govern himself so he was able to govern others. In this apprenticeship at Wye Heights he acquired that training which qualified him to manage in after life, with wonderful skill the larger estate of both land and slaves that fell under his care at the death of his father or that he acquired by his own economy, prudence or acuteness.

Without being too precise in its definition, it may be well enough to note that the period embraced within the experience of Col. Edward Lloyd (VI) the typical farmer of this section of Maryland, was pretty distinctly marked off in the industrial history of Talbot county. It extended from the time when the agricultural revolution from tobacco culture to grain growing—from planting properly so called to farming—had been fully completed; through the years of a rude and wasteful husbandry when the rearing of the cereals received the almost exclusive attention of our farmers; down to the beginning of that great epoch,

which is marked in our industrial history by the introduction of improved machinery, the use of artificial fertilizers, but more distinctly still by the change of our system of labor. When Edward Lloyd, Jr., commenced his farming operations the rearing for market of tobacco, once the great staple and indeed currency of the province and State, after a gradual decline of more than fifty years, had wholly ceased. It had merely a survival to use the phraseology of the sociologists of this day, in the small patches of the negroes, who planted a little for their own uses. The adaptation of the soil of Talbot to the growth of grain, its presumed want of adaptation to the rearing of cattle, the proximity of the county to the first flour market of America or perhaps in the world coupled with the facilities of each farmer for the shipment of his products from his own door, probably a growing perception of the impoverishment of his lands, had expelled the "sot werd" (its "factors" had long since gone) from the fields and barns, caused the warehouses for its storage to go to decay, and deprived the inspectors of their vocation. Edward Lloyd, Junior, long so called, became a great grain grower, and labored successfully, when so many failed, through the long and weary years of agricultural depression, extending from about 1820 to his death in 1861—years when the rewards of farm industry were so small and the wants of a growing civilization were so disproportionately great—years when poverty seemed to be the lot of the small farmer, and debt that of the large—years, too, when, in the midst of social and political unrest all seemed to be so dazed and blinded as to be incapable of seeing the cause why their fertile fields yielded but the crops of sterility and their labor and economy were paid with the wages of sloth and wastefulness. During this period the value of lands in Talbot County declined, and population diminished or was stationary.⁶⁷ It is much to the credit of Edward Lloyd the farmer, that under these depressing circumstances,—for it must be borne in mind that he was affected as sensibly by them as others were, if not more seriously—he was able to maintain the ancient repute of the family for wealth, when it seemed upon the verge of destruction, to disburden his estate of a heavy debt left charged upon it by his father, to aid his brothers when involved in pecuniary difficulties, and even to add largely to his wealth both in land and slaves.

The farming of Col. Lloyd was conducted on a great scale, for he cul-

⁶⁷ From 1820 to 1860, according to the United States census, the population of Talbot increased in 40 years but 406 persons. From 1820 to 1840, in 20 years, it diminished 1,299 persons. From 1860 to 1880, in 20 years, it increased 3,630 persons.

tivated thousands of acres, and with a method which was as admirable as it was necessary for success. The system of tenantry, the occupant paying a proportion of the products, called by the French agronomists, the *système metayer*, which prevailed in this county, had not his approval as being entirely too favorable to the land renters, and often disastrous to the land owners; but while his estate was divided into many separate farms, each independent of the other, he kept the whole under his mediate or immediate direction and supervision. Each farm had its overseer, a white man, with its own gang of slaves, while the whole of them was under a bailiff or steward, who reported to him as master and chief. But he was not content with this, for he was unremitting in his personal attention, visiting each daily, if possible, giving general directions as to its tillage and management, looking after the welfare of his slaves, administering to their wants, or ordering punishment for offences against discipline. This involved much personal labor, for the accomplishment of which he was early in his saddle. Whether guests were in his house or not he made his rounds in company with his steward and returned to dine with his family in the afternoon. The remainder of the day was given to social enjoyment, or attention to such business as should be discharged in his office. He was of the class of gentlemen farmers—a class which it has been and still is the privilege and profit of this county to possess, giving dignity to an avocation too commonly thought to be suggestive of rudeness and rusticity only, refining the manners of our people prone to become agrestic, and maintaining a standard of honor in our social as well as business life—but he was a gentleman farmer, not in the sense of being one who amused himself with rural occupations as a pastime, and evaded the labors, responsibilities and annoyances of the husbandman, but in the sense of being one, who, not laboring with his hands upon his estate, was nevertheless assiduous in his attention to his business, careful in directing its greater or more important operations, giving personal attention to the condition of his dependents, looking closely after his own personal interests, yet finding time or taking it, for the cultivation of those amenities and graces which give to life its greatest charm, and for indulgence in those pleasures, without which “weary, stale, flat and unprofitable, seem all the uses of this world.” He was eminently a practical farmer, not given to trying experiments, yet not following old methods for the sake of consistency; having no agronomic theories to establish, but observing close that he might form rules for his own guidance. Not condemning the laws of good husbandry which the experience of others or of himself had shown

to be of value, he was suspicious of novelties, however highly recommended, knowing that in farming there is learned ignorance and that charlatanry has there as ample a field for its deceptions as in any other department of human effort. He did not believe there was any cryptic husbandry by which his broad acres could be converted at once into Hesperidean gardens, producing golden fruit, nor that there existed any bucolic catholicon to lard the lean ribs of half-fed cattle. Scientific farming, so-called, with its analyses of soils and their products, with its test tubes and scales, its alembics and retorts, with its ammonias, its phosphates and its potash salts, was looked at askance; not as denying, but as doubting, not as condemning, but as suspecting. Slow to change his method of culture, hesitating to accept innovations upon established usages, suspicious of new-fangled implements which the ingenuity of the North and West was inventing under the stimulus of labor scarcity, and was pressing on the attention of the less crafty South—crafty in the old and honorable sense—where the like necessity for such devices did not exist, in the same degree, at least, the whole economy of his farms was decidedly conservative, as it is best all farming should be. If success be the measure of skill in any calling, certainly Colonel Lloyd deserved to be regarded as one of the best farmers of Maryland; for his wealth increased while that of others diminished—he prospered while others in like circumstances failed, falling into embarrassments and poverty. And this success was won, not by happy good luck in outside and hazardous ventures, but by his ability and diligence in his own legitimate business.

A few words with reference to Colonel Lloyd's management of his numerous slaves may with propriety supplement this account of his farming. Slavery on his estate differed from the slavery that existed almost everywhere else in the county, in this, that it was plantation rather than domestic slavery, to use terms of differentiation that here need not be explained. Owing to the great extent of that estate and the great number of slaves upon it, it was necessary to divide them by placing gangs or groups made up mostly of families upon each farm. These gangs were under overseers, and lived in *quarters*, a kind of barracks, or where there were families in separate cabins. The greater portion of those thus situated seldom came in communication with their master or his family, indeed many of them were as unknown to him as he was to them. There was therefore small opportunity for him to become acquainted with their grievances or unusual wants, and an impression became current that these grievances were unredressed and those wants

unsupplied. That much hardship was silently endured is probable and there may have been even instances of cruelty at the hands of the rude men over them, but not with the consent, much less at the instance of the master. For the maintenance of due discipline a rigid regimen was absolutely necessary, and often without doubt the rules which were proper and mild in themselves were enforced by the overseers in so harsh a manner as to give grounds for a belief that the burdens of slavery, never and nowhere light and easy to be borne, on those portions of Col. Lloyd's estate which were not immediately and constantly under his eye, were rendered more heavy and galling than he wished them to be, or than they were elsewhere in the county. It must be remembered too, that even deserved punishments when inflicted by a private hand, and not by the unimpassioned arm of the law, are apt to be regarded as cruel, even when they are milder than those judicially inflicted; and that labors unrewarded by wages are considered as severe and crushing, which to the compensated worker would be felt as moderate or easily endured. It should be mentioned, also, that inasmuch as it had been the immemorial custom of the Lloyd's of Wye, rarely or never, departed from, to sell no negroes from their plantations, the number of the idle and the vicious, deserving severity of treatment, was greater upon their estates than where the masters, by disposing of the incorrigible or criminal of their gangs to the Southern dealers, rid themselves of a class of slaves whose discipline required rigorous methods that savored of cruelty. As Col. Lloyd was a humane man, and kindly in all other relations, if he was harsh and cruel in his relations of master to his slaves, a relation which appealed in many ways to his leniency, and in an especial manner to his compassion, he must have been violating his own nature and customary impulses, a thing not to be believed. But to close what may be said upon this subject, it may be stated that his slaves were reasonably well housed, well clothed, well fed, not over worked, and cared for in sickness and in old age; yet, it must be confessed, that they enjoyed few luxuries, and but little of that *dolce far niente* so delightful and so natural to the negro—nor did any slaves anywhere enjoy them, except the “curled darlings” of the household.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ This is a subject of so much delicacy that in this connection it cannot be pursued further: but it is hoped time and opportunity will be found for a consideration of the whole subject of slavery, as it existed in Talbot county, when occasion will be taken to correct and rebuke many of the misapprehensions which a hyperaesthetical humanitarianism has indulged and many of the misrepresentations of a malicious or ignorant prejudice has invented and promulgated.

The circumstance of the observance of the family custom of selling no negroes taken in connection with the prolificacy of the race, which a state of servitude instead of impairing seems to have promoted, caused a rapid multiplication of slaves upon the estate so that they began to be profitless to the owner. In order to remedy this evil of over population, and that other of the retention around him of the vicious and idle, Col. Lloyd purchased in 1837 a large plantation in Madison county, Mississippi, and thither he removed, first, those who expressed a willingness to go—for he gave to the industrious and tractable the option to go or stay—and subsequently those whose conduct was such as to merit the punishment of transportation to this his penal colony, taking care, in the cases of the former, or deserving, not to separate families. It will thus be seen that he adopted a scheme for his own relief which had been adopted by civil governments under like embarrassments. This plantation at first quite remunerative, was ravaged by the war, and for long after rendered valueless by emancipation, but it is pleasant to know that it has again become profitable to Edward Lloyd VII, the present owner.**

The Lloyds of Wye from the time of the coming into the province of Maryland of the first Edward had always taken an active and conspicuous part in public affairs, and therefore, it may be supposed, Edward Lloyd the sixth of the name felt it incumbent upon him too, not with standing his want of predilection for, if it may not be said, his want of adaptation to political life, to assume the burdens and, in appearance at least, to covet the honors of civic station. He may have felt in some degree the instigations of an inherited propensity or it may have been a sense of obligation to the sovereign people, like that which bound the ancient nobility to assume their arms at the command of the king, that impelled him to take part in our civic contests. It is difficult to resist nature; almost as difficult to resist custom. Col. Lloyd had few of those qualities of mind and character which make the politician, using that term in the opprobrious which is the common sense of the term. He could not use the politician's methods of action or thought. He

** It may be well enough to say that in 1857 and 1858 he made large purchases of land in Arkansas and Louisiana which have since been disposed of. In transporting his slaves in 1837, he took them in his own sloop across the bay to Annapolis and then placed them in wagons. In these they were conveyed to Mississippi, he accompanying them in person, to secure their safety and comfort. Mr. Lloyd bought lands in Talbot also, and among them were properties on Choptank, and the estates of his brothers, Mr. Murray and Mr. Daniel Lloyd.

knew nothing of his trickeries and frauds, nothing of his deceptions, pretenses and compromises with the truth and the right. He was as upright in his political conduct as he was sincere in his political convictions. If he was sometimes at fault in his opinions, as he most assuredly was, he never erred in his manner of asserting and defending them, he

Whose armor was his honest thought
And simple truth his utmost skill.

He made no claim to higher statesmanship, but was content to follow the foot steps of accredited leaders, for he was a strict partisan, and possessed the very equivocal merit of never differing from his party, at least so far as to oppose it in word or action. He inherited his attachment to the democratic party from his father, but this attachment was strengthened with the years, by a belief that in the supremacy of that party lay not only the national welfare but the security of his property in slaves. Pride is humiliated when it is discovered how many opinions which have been thought to have their origin in right reason may be traced to a selfish interest or even more ignoble source. Col. Lloyd probably never felt this humiliation, but he lived long enough to see that some of the doctrines of his party which were thought to afford the best defence of his peculiar property when pushed to extreme were the indirect causes of its obliteration. His first appearance on the political field was as delegate to the convention that nominated Mr. Van Buren, and then as presidential elector in the contest in 1836 between that distinguished gentleman and the more distinguished Mr. Clay. Mr. Lloyd gave assistance rather by weight of character and liberal pecuniary aid than by campaign oratory and electioneering devices, for he was not a ready speaker nor skilful schemer. The whigs were successful in the county by a very considerable majority, and carried the State, but their great chieftain was not elected president. He was again upon the electoral ticket in 1840 when Mr. Van Buren was a second time the democratic candidate for the presidency with Gen'l Harrison as his opponent. This ticket was again defeated in Talbot as in the State at large, and Mr. Van Buren lost his seat which was filled by a much weaker man and less astute politician. In the year 1843 there was much agitation in Maryland respecting the payment of the "direct tax" which had been imposed for the purpose of meeting the interest upon the debt incurred for the construction of "internal improvements." A very considerable number of citizens of this county opposed the col-

lection of this tax, and among them was Col. Lloyd, who most severely felt the impost. As the law provided that this "direct tax" should be collected by the same officers that collected the county taxes, and as there was resistance or refusal to pay the former so there was omission to pay the latter. There resulted much embarrassment at the county fisc. A public meeting was called first to protest against the collection of the State assessment, and second to devise means for the relief of the county treasury. At this meeting Col. Lloyd was present, and he was appointed one of a committee to confer with the county commissioners. No more need be said here of this humiliating passage in our State and county history. Our ship of State barely steered clear of the rocks of repudiation upon which some seemed bent upon driving her. It is difficult to believe that Col. Lloyd was one of these. It is reasonable as well as charitable to suppose he was unconscious of the danger that lay in her course. This is only another instance of honorable men falling into errors when their political conduct is directed by a different moral compass from that they employ for their guidance in their private affairs. In the year 1850 and for some years previously the question of calling a convention for a reform of the constitution of the State had been much discussed, and in May of this year a vote of the people was taken to determine whether such a convention should assemble. The vote was very small, indicating much indifference, not one half the electors casting their ballots; but the result was favorable to the call of a convention. Nominations by both the parties were made and those of the Democratic party were Messrs. Edward Lloyd, Morris O. Colston, S. P. Dickinson and Cornelius Sherwood. They were elected by a very large majority. At the organization of the convention Col. Lloyd was honored with a handsome vote for the president but failed of his election. He was not prominent in the debates of this body but that deference was shown to his opinions upon the different subjects that came before it, which was due to his good judgment upon organic law. After his election as a delegate to the convention, namely in October, 1850, he was, without opposition, elected State senator for Talbot and served during the years 1851 and 1852, succeeding the Hon. Sam'l Hambleton. Over this body he presided as president with the dignity and courtesy of the inbred gentleman and the tact and intelligence of the trained parliamentarian. It is believed that after the expiration of his term of service in the senate he never consented to be a candidate for any office, and gave no more attention to politics than his duty as a citizen required him. Before his death in 1861 the terrific

storm that had been gathering in the political sky for many years, and had given warning of its approach by its frequent thunders, broke with all its devastating forces upon the devoted nation, threatening to rend it into fragments. He did not live to see it in all its maddened fury, much less to witness after it had paved over all its ravages. He is thought to have been in hearty sympathy with the insurgents of the South; but it is impossible to believe he was incapable of foreseeing the consequences of the great rebellion to the institution for whose preservation that rebellion was raised, by those so infatuated as not to know that the first gun of the war was the signal for the destruction, sooner or later, of slavery. But he may have indulged the hope of many patriotic citizens that even after the first overt act some solution would be found of solving the problem reconciling national integrity with a perpetuation of the cause of the existing discord and distraction—a hope which, as is now seen, was vain and irrational. It is due to him to say that he did not render himself obnoxious to the government or its partisans in Talbot by any positive acts of disloyalty, though no man would have been more excusable from a southern point of view.

Col. Lloyd was nominally a member of the Protestant Episcopal Church, but like most of the Lloyds of Wye, he took little interest in its spiritual or temporal affairs. He respected its ministers, revered its doctrines and paid its dues, but neglected its ordinances, though not its moral precepts. Immersed in business he found time for but few of the social pleasures, other than those of a retired and domestic life. In his manners he was dignified and polished, but unaffected, easy and affable; inviting friendliness but repelling intimacies. He was frank, kindly and hospitable. A liberal scale of living was maintained at Wye House, but the lavish hospitality of his father was restricted to more moderate limits. While its doors were still opened to "welcome the coming and speed the parting guest," and while its board spread its generous regale, it could not be said, as was said of it in the days Governor Lloyd, in rustic compliment, meant to be superlative, that it was the most frequented hostelry of the county.⁷⁰ Col. Lloyd was of medium height, compactly built, of ruddy countenance, and a generally pleasing mien. No portrait of him exists. He married Nov. 30, 1824, Miss Alicia, daughter of Mr. Michael McBlair, merchant of the city

⁷⁰ Or to use the common mode of expressing the same sentiment which was meant to be complimentary. "Governor Lloyd entertained more strangers at his house than Sol. Low at his tavern in Easton." This Sol. Low was a prince of Bonifaces.

of Baltimore. This lady dying in 1838, left five children, of whom the present master of Wye House, Edward Lloyd, seventh of the name is the eldest. Col. Lloyd, after the death of his wife in 1838, remained unmarried and died at his home, Aug. 11, 1861, where he was buried in accordance with his injunctions as expressed in his will, "plainly, privately, without parade or preaching,"ⁿ and where a monument with simple inscriptions has been erected to his memory.

EDWARD LLOYD (VII)

MASTER OF WYE HOUSE

1825-1907

For evident reasons peculiar difficulties oppose the compilation of the lives of living persons. So great are these difficulties that many of the best biographical compendiums exclude accounts of those who have not finished their course. But in order to give a certain completeness, to this series of papers it is necessary to say something of the present representative of the Lloyds, Edward Lloyd, seventh of the name, who may be denominated the Master of Wye House. What shall be done in this emergency of having to speak of a man face to face, as it were, and speak truly, "nothing extenuate nor sit down aught in malice," must necessarily be to give but a sketch, mere outlines without shading or coloring from the literary artist; for to attempt more than to mention the principal incidents of the life of Col. Lloyd, without comment or reflection upon them would be running the risk of offending his modesty by praise, or his pride by censure, either of which would be violations of the proprieties. Offence may be given to a man of sensibility almost as easily by panegyric as by disparagement. It is agreeable to all to be well spoken of, but accompanying the pleasure of praise is the painful distrust of its being wholly merited; and as for blame, it can hardly be meted out so justly that the subject will feel that he has got merely his due.

Edward Lloyd (VII), the son of Edward Lloyd (VI), the farmer, and Alicia McBlair, was born in the house of his maternal grandparents

ⁿ The following is the first item of his will: "I desire that my funeral may be plain and private, and without parade and preaching." The same expressions are employed in the will of Governor Lloyd. It is worthy of notice, that neither will is introduced with the pious formula that was customarily employed in writing such documents.

in the city of Baltimore on the 22d day of October, 1825, the eldest of five children and the only son that attained majority. His early education was conducted by tutors, but when he arrived at proper age he was placed under the care of the Rev. Dr. Muhlenburg at College Point, near Flushing, in the State of New York. By this eminent instructor he was prepared for college and he was entered at Princeton, New Jersey; but as his preference lay in the direction of a life of activity he did not complete the prescribed course. He proposed to himself the following of the calling of his forefathers, that of the farmer, and soon after leaving college he took charge of one or more of his father's farms, living at "Presq'ile" formerly the residence of Mr. Murray Lloyd, his uncle. Since that time he has given himself unremittingly to the duties of his avocation, with occasional diversions into politics, which seems to be at the present the principal amusement of country gentlemen, as they afford a substitute for the excitements of the fox-hunt and the horse-race, and like those sports have they a pretended utility. Those who follow the hounds claim that they are destroying noxious vermin; those who patronize the turf that they are improving the breeds of horses; so politics are pursued under the thin disguise of solicitude for public welfare. As those sports have been in great measure abandoned by self-respecting men, there is danger politics may also be forsaken by the same class and for the same reasons, namely, their disreputable associations and their discreditable methods. So noble a pursuit as politics, in its best sense, should confer honor upon and not receive it from any man, however worthy, who follows it; but that Col. Lloyd and men like him still participate in the pastime or the game as it is played is the cause of its maintaining a respectability which would otherwise be lost.

The first appearance of Mr. Edward Lloyd, Jr., in a public capacity however, was as a military man. In the year 1846, when he had barely attained his majority, the Mexican war broke out, under circumstances far from creditable to the nation; but as men have not yet lost the propensities of their savage ancestors, or even their more remote brutal progenitors, when blood is once shed, the ravening madness seized them, so at this time upon the reception of the news from the frontier of a collision of Texans and Mexicans, a rage out of all proportion with the puny object exciting it, possessed the people of the United States. In Maryland, Talbot of course included, the militia was organized, the roll of officers eliminated of the old, feeble or incompetent, military companies were formed, the minds of our sober citizens were wrought

up to a condition of warlike enthusiasm by the orators and journals, and then the pride and pomp and circumstance of glorious war was travestied upon this narrow field. Mr. Lloyd formed a company in his own neighborhood of which he became captain, but soon he was placed upon the staff of Brigadier-General Tench Tilghman. He was promoted to the rank of major and served as aide to Major-General Handy. Subsequently he was commissioned colonel by Governor Thomas, and served upon his staff during his official term. He was not called upon to perform active service in Mexico, but no one doubts that there would have been willingness if there had been necessity for him to do so.

In the next year, 1847, his political career began, for he was brought forward, and this before he had reached the legal age for such a position, as a candidate for a seat in the lower house of the General Assembly by the democrats of Talbot with whom, like his father and grandfather, he was in political sympathy, the laws of heredity thus seeming to control means, opinions and actions as well as their bodily traits or features. He probably accounted it an honor to be elected, as he certainly was complimented by receiving a larger vote than either of his associates upon the same ticket, Mr. Daniel Leonard and Mr. Benj. M. Bowdle. At the same election the Hon. Philip F. Thomas, of Talbot, was chosen governor. The campaign in this county was exceedingly spirited. As it had been determined in the previous year, 1846, by popular vote that the General Assembly should meet biennially instead of annually as hitherto, there was not another election until 1849, when Col. Lloyd (for by this time he had received the accolade of colonel) was again chosen, still leading his ticket and thus winning popularity. At the session that followed he had for his associates in the lower house Mr. I. C. W. Powell and Mr. William Spry Denny, while Colonel Samuel Hambleton, then a whig, represented the county in the Senate. Young as he was in years, his duties as a legislator appear to have been performed in a manner satisfactory to his constituents, and that he aided in affecting those measures which resulted in the restoration of the credit of the State, then sadly shaken, must be a matter of self-gratulation. This brief experience in political life was apparently sufficient to satisfy his aspirations for public station—at least for many years following. Though taking no active or prominent part in the operations of party management, he was, amidst the absorbing cares of his estate, an intelligent observer of the movements of public affairs, and of the efforts made to control them. But his was not the interest of the curious or amused

spectator of the incidents of the political drama as it was played before him. Indeed events were occurring which compelled attention, as prelusive to that great tragedy that a few years later was presented to the awe-stricken world. Politics among men of the south, so circumstanced as Col. Lloyd, during the period under consideration, say from 1850 to 1860, aroused an intensity of interest which could not have originated in that vague apprehension of injury to the general prosperity or well-being which change of party or policy arouses, but in the well-defined fear that private interests would suffer by the loss of the dominance which one section of the Union under every administration however named, had exercised. It was not until after the great earthquake which shook the nation to its centre and threatened to rend it asunder, which did actually change the face of the social structure and engulf vast properties, that he suffered himself to be brought forward as the candidate of his party for any position. In the year 1873 he consented to serve as the candidate of the democrats for the State Senate. He had for his competitor Mr. James M. Cowgill, a republican whose opinions were as unequivocal as his own. Col. Lloyd was successful in his canvass and took his seat in a body which so many of his ancestors had adorned. He was made chairman of the committee on finance. After serving his term in accordance with party custom, and not less in accordance with party expediency, he was in 1877 again nominated for the State Senate, and elected over his republican opponent, Mr. Reuben Tharp. Upon meeting, Col. Lloyd was chosen president of the Senate, receiving the full vote of his party, and having no opponent. It would be superfluous to say of one in whom courtesy, dignity and ability are native, that he displayed all of these qualities while occupying the chair of presiding officer of this respectable body. In the year 1883, so evenly was the county divided between the two parties that it was necessary for the democrats to nominate candidates of character, capacity and popularity, and in as much as Col. Lloyd had served two years in the Senate most acceptably and capably, and in as much as no man was more justly esteemed, he was placed upon the ticket, having Messrs. Philip Francis Thomas and Joseph Bruff Seth as his associates. These gentlemen were elected. With Mr. I. Davis Clark, a republican, as Senator, the county and people of Talbot have seldom been more ably represented than in the Assembly of 1884. Since the completion of his term in the House of Delegates, Col. Lloyd has held no official position under county or State government, but he is regarded as a leader of

his party in Talbot and in Maryland, and as such has served on executive committees for the management of campaigns and like services. He has labored assiduously to maintain the supremacy which his party has long held and now holds, though with somewhat uncertain tenure, a supremacy which would be more tolerable to its opponents and more creditable to its adherents if it were maintained by such expedients only as he may be presumed to approve and not by such as the vulgar "bosses," to use the slang of the day, devise. If the national administration, now in power, would appoint him to some office of emolument and responsibility, it would go far to confirm the impression it is desirous of making upon the popular mind, that it wishes rather to secure the services of capable and honorable men than to reward political followers and "workers," and it would also serve, in no small measure, to disarm those most apt to criticise its conduct in the selections of the government agents or officers.

Col. Lloyd is now the largest farmer in Talbot county, as were his father and grandfather, from whom he inherited both his lands and skill in cultivating them before him. But those ancestors left him also an inheritance of debt, in the form of charges to heirs and other obligations, for the payment of which he has labored with most admirable assiduity and financial ability, though the burden for them has been rendered doubly heavy by the loss of his slaves and the long desolation of his southern property, which slaves and property together constituted so large a share of his fortune. He is said to have possessed before the war, in Maryland and Mississippi as many as 700 negroes, young and old, which at a valuation of 500 dollars per poll were worth 350,000 dollars. His southern plantations for many years were utterly valueless. His great loss he bore with an equanimity most admirable—with a fortitude really heroic. The conduct of men under such emergencies as those to which he was subjected by the war and its consequences, furnish the true indicia of character. For reasons already intimated or expressed, all cannot be said that might and ought to be said of Colonel Lloyd under the peculiarly trying, nay, the exasperating circumstances of the loss of his slaves and the desolation of his land. One who was in his company at the crisis of his suffering, said that on the very day when his field hands left their work at the call of the recruiting officers and marched in a body down to the transport steamer lying in Miles river at Ferry-landing, he was calm and composed, talked of everything else than of what was occurring or had just occurred on his estate, or spoke of it without reproach or abuse

of the government which had commanded, or of its officers who were committing, or of its adherents who were defending what he considered an outrage upon his private rights; without railing at the black men who were deserting under promise of liberty; without repining over his misfortunes; and without indulging in gloomy anticipations of the dark future.

To this may be added that the self control and mental poise he then displayed were maintained through the tempestuous times of the rebellion, when, with less cause, many men were so unbalanced that they have not yet regained their equilibrium of judgment or their tranquillity of feeling. Again: It is known upon most competent authority, that he, in those hours of trial, resisted at once the promptings of revenge instigating retaliation for the wrongs he believed he had suffered; the suggestions of self-interest, always whispering at the ears of those who may be tempted by opportunity; and the guidance of legal counsel not always as nice in its interpretations of the moral as it is of the civil law: for when smarting under the pecuniary losses and when vindictiveness towards those who had caused them, as he thought, had an apology; when circumstances favored the disburdening himself of obligations to those who destroyed the value of this property for the purchase of which those obligations had been incurred, and who thus destroyed their own security for their payment; when the learning of lawyers, the kindness of friends and the malice of partisans united to advise the repudiation of the debts of his father to northern men, he scornfully rejected all such suggestions, reaffirmed the validity of pledges and paid them in full. Further words would be superfluous, if not impertinent.

With regard to Col. Lloyd in his relation of master to his slaves, what was said of his father might be repeated of him. No change of circumstances had rendered necessary a change in the regime of the plantation that the experience of years had sanctioned with approval; and there was no such difference in the character of the two masters as to justify a belief that the disciplinary rules were administered differently under the younger, from what they were under the elder Lloyd. As evidence of the kindly feeling that subsisted between the slaves and their master, or at least, as evidence that the negroes, whose softness of temper disqualifies them for harboring resentments, retained no vindictiveness towards their former owner, and that the justness and benevolence of his mind entertained no animosities towards those who had deserted him, and disowned his right to their services, it may be noted, that after emancipation and the close of the war, when each freed man might go

where he listed and serve whom he pleased, many of Col. Lloyd's former slaves particularly those of his immediate household who knew him best, remained in his employ, or returned to their old houses upon his farms as hired laborers. Still others now look to him as their friend and adviser in all emergencies of a personal nature.

Col. Lloyd is in person rather above the medium height, robustly built, with florid countenance, light hair, and grey eyes. He is yet in full and vigorous life (1885) and though years have multiplied, much of the enthusiasm of youth remains. Amidst the good wishes of everyone he is striving—it is hoped and believed successfully striving—with courage and skill, industry and economy to rebuild his fortunes shattered by the war, and to maintain the ancient dignity of his family. Wye House, to which he removed after the death of his father, retains all its beauty and stateliness without, and all its social graces and charming hospitality within. Changes, there have been, but in its master there have been preserved what is best—those ancestral traits that have marked the Lloyds of Wye for many generations—elevation of character, amiability of disposition united with a refined simplicity of manners.⁷²

In the year 1851 Col. Lloyd married Miss Mary Key, the daughter of Charles Howard, Esq., of Baltimore, a lady of excellent lineage and no less excellent qualities, who is the mother of nine children, six sons and three daughters, eight of whom survive. The eldest son Edward, born July 20th, 1857, and educated at Annapolis, is now a Lieutenant in the United States Navy. His biography cannot yet be written, but his horoscope may be cast. Having his nativity under more favorable influence than the conjunction of the most propitious stars, it is

⁷² A notable incident in the history of Wye House, one illustrative of the great social revolution that had been effected in the county, through the changed relations of the races, was the visit of Frederick Douglass in the year 1881, to the scenes of his youth. He was politely received by the sons of Col. Lloyd he being absent, and invited to partake of the hospitalities of the house. He who left a slave of a poor man, came back a great nation's officer, to receive from the scions of a proud family the courtesies due an honored guest. He was deeply affected by all he saw, but more by the consideration and kindness that was shown him by the young men who were doing the honors in the absence of their father. He plucked flowers from the graves of the Lloyds that he had known but had passed away as mementoes, and he drank with an effusion that marked its sincerity, the health of "the Master of the Old House" and of his children, with the wish that the horn of plenty might be poured out abundantly upon them, and that they and their descendants to remote generations might "worthily maintain the fame and the character of their ancestors."—*Hon. J. O. Thomas in the Baltimore American, of June, 1881.*

safe to prognosticate that he will bring no humiliation to the pride of the Lloyds, the Howards and the Keys, whose blood mingles in his veins, that he will not dim the glory of the flag under which he serves, and which an ancestor immortalized in song; that he will not derogate from the honor of the country in whose service he is engaged, and for whose independence the sword of a revolutionary sire was drawn. The biographer of the future may be able to write of him when promoted to the highest rank for gallant deeds, as of Edward Lloyd, the eighth of his name, the Admiral.

Here will close this account of the Lloyds of Wye. There were other members of this remarkable family as deserving of mention as those whose careers have been thus imperfectly described, but it was thought best to confine these brief sketches to those of a single line, and to disregard, at least for the present, those of collateral lines, although many of these were men of strongly marked characters, and eminent for abilities and long public service. It is proper to say, that while the family at Wye House has rendered every facility that was possible to the collection of materials for these memoirs it is in no way responsible for the manner in which these materials have been used. They have been collected with much labor from diverse sources but are thought to be entirely authentic. At least, nothing has been invented for the sake of its lesson, or of adding interest to the narrative,

To point a moral or adorn a tale.

It would be surprising if many errors had not crept in through ignorance or inadvertence. None has been permitted to do so by design. The difficulty of escaping these can be appreciated only by those who have attempted similar tasks. As praise or blame can scarcely be bestowed with justice, since it is so hard to know men's motives and controlling circumstances, so panegyric has been sparingly used and even omitted when seemingly well deserved; while censure has been seldom employed because, if for no other reason, not often merited or required.

Col. Edward Lloyd died October 22, 1907 on his 82nd birthday.

GOV. DANIEL MARTIN

1780-1831

Governor Daniel Martin, twenty-second (1828-29) and twenty-fourth Governor of Maryland (1830-31), was a native of Talbot county, son of Thomas and Hannah Martin, grandson of Tristram and Mary Oldham, descendant of Daniel and Ann Martin of 1725.

His maternal ancestor, Edward Oldham, was one of the Justices for Talbot County 1760, and Burgess 1749-57.

General Henry Lee, the great cavalry commander in the American Revolution, known as Light Horse Harry, in his memoirs of the war on the Southern Department of the United States, pays the following high tribute to Captain Edward Oldham:

To the name of Capt. Edward Oldham too much praise cannot be given. He was engaged in almost every action in the South, and was uniformly distinguished for gallantry and good conduct. With the exception of Kirkwood of Delaware, and Rudolph of the Legion of Infantry, he was probably entitled to more credit than any officer of his rank in Greene's Army. A distinction which must place him high on the rolls of fame.

In the celebrated charge on the British at Eutaw, of thirty-six men which he led, all but eight were killed or wounded, yet he forced the enemy.

Governor Martin was thoroughly educated. Distinguished ancestors encouraged him. He inherited a fine estate called "Wilderness," (now 1912, the beautiful country seat of Mr. J. Ramsey Speer, of Pittsburg, Pa.), in Island Creek Neck, fronting directly on the broad Choptank river, and was a successful gentleman farmer. He married, in 1816, Mary Clare Mackubin, of Annapolis, a descendant of John Mackubin, of the Severn, a Scottish immigrant, connected by marriage with both the Howards and Carrolls.

At the time of Governor Martin's first election, the absorbing political questions were the rival sources for internal improvements.

In 1828 the first spadeful of earth was removed from the bed of the Chesapeake and Ohio canal by President John Quincy Adams. Thirty-four sections were put under contract. The United States subscribed one million dollars; Washington City, an equal amount, and the State of Maryland half a million. Governor Martin reported the completion of twelve miles of the Washington turnpike. He was on the Committee which secured a charter for the Baltimore and Ohio railroad in 1827. He was an earnest and able advocate for developing educational institutions. He favored manufacturing in the State penitentiary; urged the economy of having but few state officers, and was in favor of holding them to a strict accountability. He said:

To preserve the simplicity of our institutions is a deep concern; to guard them as far as possible from innovation is a sacred duty.

The national contest between the Jackson and the anti-Jackson parties was brought into the Maryland State election in 1829, and resulted in placing the Democratic candidate, Thomas King Carroll, on a joint ballot by seven votes in the chair of Governor Martin.

At the next election, however, the anti-Jackson party regained the ascendancy, and re-elected Daniel Martin governor by a majority of forty-one. Early in his second term his health began to fail. He was at his home in Talbot preparing to harvest his wheat crop in the first week of July, 1831, when he dreamed three nights in succession that he saw his mother on board a beautiful sailing ship off "Boufield," on the broad Choptank river. She told him that on the third day following her first appearance to him, he would be called home at the hour of noon, on the morning of the third day. It is said, that when at the breakfast table, the Governor, with tears in his eyes, related his strange dream, the family laughed at the idea of his deep concern, as he himself had never before placed any belief in dreams. At half-past eleven o'clock he mounted his saddle horse and rode out into his harvest field, where his slave farm hands headed by his overseer were cradling wheat. Just as he reached his overseer and attempted to speak to him, he fell from his horse dead, at noon on July 11th, 1831.

He was succeeded by Hon. George Howard, son of former Governor John Eager Howard.

Governor Martin was endeared to the society in which he passed his life by his manly and independent course, his liberal sentiments and his generous hospitality. He had filled several important public stations with much credit, and died in the occupancy of the office of Chief Magistrate, whose duties he had discharged with dignity and general satisfaction.

His obsequies on July 13th were witnessed by a large concourse of his fellow citizens.

At a special meeting of his Executive Council, Mr. Worthington submitted the following record for the Journal:

We hereby testify our high esteem for his frank, manly and polite deportment; his liberal, social and benevolent disposition; his republican simplicity of manners; his firmness and consistency as a politician, and his ever warm and unerring devotion to what he conceived to be the public good.

Resolved that the Armorer cause nineteen guns to be fired on Thursday morning at sun-rise and nineteen at sunset, and that the State flag be half hoisted, as funeral honors to the deceased. Similar resolutions were offered in the Lower House and Senate. Governor George Howard his successor, paid another eulogy to his predecessor.

The following is the inscription on the large white marble monument of imposing design, which marks the grave of Hon. Daniel Martin in Spring Hill Cemetery, Easton, Md.:

To the memory of
Daniel Martin,
who departed this life on the 11th
day of July, 1831.
Aged 50 years and 7 months, this
stone is dedicated.

He was distinguished by the confidence of his fellow citizens, having been often called to fill various posts of honor and of trust. In the last of these as Governor of his native State, to which he had been twice elected, he descended to the tomb. Thus closed his bright career of honor and usefulness.

In his death lamented, as in life he had been honored.

COLONEL JACOB GIBSON

1759-1818

*He was a man, take him, for all in all,
I shall not look upon his like again.*

HAMLET.

It was formerly the custom of conveyancers and scriveners, and the custom has not as yet fallen into complete desuetude, to make mention of the calling and social position of the parties to any indentures they were required to prepare. In these days of theoretical equality, we hardly tolerate the formal recognition of distinctions between men founded upon their profession or avocation. Years back men were not ashamed to have put upon record, as some would be now, that they followed certain mechanical trades. There was not only no shame, but there was a pride among the handicraftsmen, that not only felt no dishonor from their manual occupation, but was very exacting of due social recognition by reason of their honest calling. In truth, in the early stages of society the man practising any of the useful arts, was thought to be more deserving of consideration from his fellows than the man whose abilities or accomplishments, whatever they may be, could not be turned to some profitable account. The early colonists of Virginia and Maryland soon learned to estimate the value of the gallants that came over to mend their broken fortunes. They welcomed the horny-

handed mechanic, while they turned their backs upon the elegant courtier. They were these hardy workmen who founded many families of this county and state that would now disdain their ancestors if they should come back to them in their leather aprons bearing their sledge hammers, their lap-stones and jack planes. If any one will take the pains to go into the clerk's office and ask Mr. Turner to permit him to see the land records for the year 1693, he will find a deed of gift recorded in favor of *Jacob Gibson*, blacksmith. If this Jacob Gibson had been ashamed of his honest calling he would have required the conveyancer either to suppress all mention of his humble trade, or he would have had himself designated as farrier, artist in iron, manufacturer of agricultural implements, or by some such euphemism, but being a blacksmith he wished to be recognized as a blacksmith, and as nothing else. But if a further examination of this book of records be made, it will be discovered, after the lapse of a few years, that a Jacob Gibson was a party to another transaction and that he is mentioned as Jacob Gibson, planter. A little further on, a few more years having rolled by, and the name of a Jacob Gibson, gentleman, is discovered. Now from certain collateral evidence it appears that Jacob Gibson, blacksmith, Jacob Gibson, planter, and Jacob Gibson, gentleman, were not three Jacob Gibsons, but one and the same Jacob Gibson. He had earned enough money at his forge, or he had otherwise honestly obtained it, to buy land; and then his farming had been so successful that he bought more land, so that his wealth justified his living at his ease, and enabled him to cultivate the graces of life and not the economies altogether. In these several metamorphoses, it was the same man; just as the larva, the chrysalis and the imago are the same insect, in different conditions of development. If Jacob Gibson, gentleman, was really a gentleman when he was so called—and there is no reason to believe he was not—there is no doubt all the gentleman's traits, honesty, truthfulness, courtesy, courage and kindness existed previously in Jacob Gibson, the planter, and in Jacob Gibson, the blacksmith: just as the rudiments of the showy butterfly are discernible in the toiling caterpillar, and in the secluded pupa, requiring only the bright warmth of favoring circumstances to be developed in all their beauty.¹ But besides

¹ That Jacob Gibson had begun to feel his importance in the community, we have evidence in a record of the Court held August 18th, 1696, in which it is stated that he was "fined 500 pounds of tobacco for contemptuously refusing to serve as Constable of Island Hundred." Island Hundred was at this date constituted of what is now Miles River Neck and Wye Island.

being called gentleman he had the accolade of provincial knighthood laid upon his shoulders, for he bore the commission of a Colonel in the Maryland forces, an aristocratic distinction in those early days of our history. And further, as evincing his rise in the social scale, he intermarried with the gentry of the colony, Alice, the daughter of Lieut. Col. Woolman, becoming his wife. Col. Richard Woolman was a conspicuous and honored personage. He lived in Miles River Neck where he was the possessor of broad acres, and where he gave name to an estate which continues to be designated as "Woolman's" to this day. He came to Talbot from Anne Arundel, which county he represented in the General Assembly in 1659. Upon the organization of Talbot, he, having removed to the Eastern Shore, became the first representative of this county in the House of Burgesses, in 1661. This honorable position he continued to hold for many years, his name appearing in the list of delegates down to 1675. He was also for a longer time one of the Worshipful Commissioners and Justices of the Peace for the county of Talbot, from 1662 to 1680, and for a part of this period he was the Chief Justice. He died in or about the year 1680, leaving a son of the same name who died without male heirs, in April, 1714, bequeathing a part of his estate to his sister Alice, the wife of Jacob Gibson, blacksmith, planter, gentleman and colonel of the Maryland militia, who in his turn died April 7, 1741, devising the greater part of his estate to his son Woolman and cutting off a dissolute son, named Richard. Woolman Gibson died soon after his father, as his will was admitted to probate May 7th, 1742. He left four sons, the eldest and heir, was of his own name, Woolman, and the others bore names that were perpetuated in the family, John, Jonathan and Jacob. Of these Woolman and John were men of note in their day, and especially John, who was for several terms member of the House of Delegates, a Justice of the Peace for the county, a Justice of the Orphans' Court, and a member of the first Convention to frame a constitution for the state. Woolman, who may be designated as second of the name, though not so conspicuous as his brother, also held civil stations. He married a daughter of Colonel and Surgeon General Tilton of Delaware and by her were born to him four sons, who received the same names as those of the previous generation, John, Jonathan, Woolman and Jacob. John held civil stations of honor; Jonathan entered the revolutionary army in 1777 as second lieutenant in the 5th battalion of regulars, Col. William Richardson, of Caroline, being Colonel. He served with credit through the war, rose to the rank of Captain and died in 1783 at sea, upon his

return from the West Indies, whither he had gone for his health. He was companion-in-arms of Gen. Benson of this county. In a letter still in existence, Gen. Smallwood, his commander, speaks of him in flattering terms. Woolman Gibson held positions of trust, but took no part in the war, though one of his name, his cousin, and the son of his uncle John, enlisted in the company of Captain Greenbury Goldsborough of the Eastern Shore Battalion, of the Flying Camp, in 1776. The youngest brother of this family of Woolman Gibson, the second of the name was Jacob, the subject of this biographical sketch, a man who for thirty years or longer was more conspicuously in the view of the people of this county, for one cause or another, than any other person then living in Talbot, whatever his abilities or his station: a man who uniting great infirmities of character with great vigor of understanding, was more feared, hated and abused, yet withal was more influential as a political partisan than any man of his day in this community. In preparing this memoir no attempt shall be made to extenuate his faults, which were many, as there shall be none to exaggerate his excellencies, which were more numerous. His life is presented not as one worthy of imitation or admiration, but as one full of interest for the simply curious, and not devoid of value to the student of our local history, who would acquaint himself with the different phases of our political and social life during the period of time which it covers.

It will have been seen from this genealogy, that Jacob Gibson came of good stock,² and that in him was mingled the blood of the colonial gentry and the blood of the artizan who won his way to fortune by his own sturdy blows upon his anvil. His ancestors all belonged to that portion of the county which is called, by a misnomer, Miles River Neck, where the first Jacob Gibson came into possession by marriage, by purchase, and by original patent of several tracts of land known by the names of Todd, upon Darwin, Chappenham, Bendon, Edmonton, Leith and others. These lands all lay on St. Michaels river and upon them Jacob Gibson, the last of the name, was born. Portions of these tracts, of which he became owner, he had resurveyed under a warrant from the land office, issued in 1802, and united them into one under the name of Marengo—a name that indicates the admiration of the donor for that wonderful man, who was at this period astonishing the world with his victories over the enemies of republican France, and who in Jacob Gibson's opinion was the very avatar of Democracy.

² It is said the first Jacob Gibson came of a Scotch ancestry.

The precise date of his birth is not known, as all family records were destroyed by fire, when the house at Marengo was burned in 1847. But from certain expressions of his own, in a handbill issued by him in 1809, it is certainly known that he was born in 1759. His education was of a very limited character, and received in the neighborhood subscription schools, though there is a tradition that he was sent to Wilmington, among his kinsfolk there, for the completion of his schooling. Through life it was a source of continued regret, which he often expressed, as it was also the cause of much embarrassment, that he had not enjoyed better scholastic instruction. His early years were spent upon the farm, and engaged in its arduous but healthful labors he grew up to be a stalwart man, healthy in mind and body, with strong constitution, and a large and robust frame. He adopted agriculture as his calling, which he prosecuted with great vigor and success. As it was either as farmer or politician that he made himself conspicuous, so the most that shall be said of him must be in his connection with these occupations—the one the business of his life at which he seemed to play, and the other his amusement in which he seemed to labor.

He commenced farming at a time when a change in our system, from the culture of tobacco to that of wheat, was making, and he lived to see the former entirely abandoned, and the latter universally adopted. At one time he was one of the largest farmers in the county, for he not only cultivated his own lands of broad acreage, but he also rented farms in different parts of the county, which he placed under overseers who had immediate control of the several gangs of negroes, while he gave a general supervision of the whole. He had the administrative faculty well developed. Though hopeful and buoyant, he was far from being visionary in his ideas. His agricultural operations were conducted with a view to profit and not for purpose of testing new theories or trying new methods. It may be said that it was also without sentiment, for he was a rigid disciplinarian and an exacting taskmaster. He demanded that his orders should be obeyed strictly, and a full amount of labor performed, or the servant suffered the penalty of disobedience or idleness. As his passions were violent these penalties were not slow to follow, nor light in their infliction. The most marked characteristic of Mr. Gibson, and it was one which manifested itself under all circumstances in life was his pugnacity. He loved contention. He courted opposition. As has been remarked of him in another connection, he was a militant man, and was never more thoroughly at peace with himself than when engaged in a conflict with others. Even in the peaceful pursuits of

agriculture he found occasion for contests of one kind or another, amiable, or hostile. If a neighbor claimed an unusual yield from his fields or his flocks, Jacob Gibson was ready to throw doubt upon his statement, or to match it with some other respecting his own superior success in the same line. Thus: In the *Republican Star* of March 6th, 1804, the editor noticed the extraordinary weight of the fleece of a sheep belonging to Mr. W. B. Smyth, and also the size of a lamb from the same gentleman's flock. This apparently very inoffensive paragraph called forth a furious reply from Mr. Gibson, which being characteristic of this worthy is here copied. He says:

Since my arrival home I have taken up the "Star" of Tuesday, the 6th inst., and having discovered a puff in it about two forced sheep, and well knowing that the reputation of my sheep is higher than any other farmer in the State, I am of opinion that the author of the publication above alluded to, meant in a side way to undervalue the breed of my sheep. I therefore challenge the author or any other person to meet me at the General Court in April, with ten of their best lambs. I will show six at the same time, on a wager on the following terms, viz: that no one person in this or any other county in the State shall produce six equal to them in weight, beauty or size, for 50 dollars, 40 to 50 dollars that they outweigh 7; 20 to 50 dollars that they outweigh 8; and 10 to 50 that they outweigh the produced 10, provided the lambs have fallen since the 15th of January, and have not pastured on a wheat field.

(Signed) J. GIBSON.

N. B. I pledge myself that my lambs have not been one hour on any wheat field or clover lot, and that they have fallen since the 15th of January.

As a sequel to this may be mentioned another curious advertisement made in 1713 by Mr. Gibson, too long for insertion, commencing:

Boasters of Sheep Raising and Sheep Shearing, stop your gasconading, and behold two animals like their owner, who astonishes while he excels and puzzles the inquisitive, why and how they do so.

He appends the certificate of Thomas McKeel standard keeper, to the effect that two sheep of J. Gibson, alleged to have been raised on Sharp's Island, weighed 333½ and their fleeces 39 pounds. These were Merino sheep and the wool was valued at *two dollars per pound*. Another exceedingly singular and characteristic publication was made in the *Star* of July 1, 1806. It may be premised that the members of the Agricultural Society which had been formed the year before, are the objects of his indirect attack. He girds at them as small farmers of

lots, though claiming to be agriculturists. There is reason to believe this was in return for their refusal to admit him to the association. He writes:

Mr. Smith: I am sick, tired, sunburnt and mad. The run fever and backache among my *legion of honor* and their *invincibles* have left me (after six days dashing) twelve twentieths of my wheat yet to cut. Please let the little farmers know that as soon as their *lots* are secured, I hope they will reinforce me to help down with my continent and colonies, or the eating world may be put on short rations. To prevent mistakes I want aid at Marengo, Ulin, Austerlitz and Trafalgar.

(Signed), J. GIBSON.

Saturday night,
6th day of Harvest. }

N. B. Tell the bankers I shall want a basket full of dollar notes.

This last expression owes its origin to the fact that the Branch Bank of the Farmers' Bank of Maryland, at Easton, had just then gone into active operation, and therefore was engaging attention in the county by its novelty, while the directors were yet in doubt of its entire success. In this connection it may be well to notice an extraordinary communication of Jacob Gibson to the *Republican Star* in which he gave the outlines of a plan for a fiscal institution to be established by him in Talbot, of a kind, the most wonderful that ever entered the head of man. As a full account of "Jacob Gibson's Bank" was printed in the *Easton Star*, of Dec. 2nd, 1873, the details of his scheme need not be given here: but this much may be said, he proposed to retain four per centum of the profits as interest upon his capital invested, and one per centum as a sinking fund for the repayment to him of his investment, and the remaining to be used, 1st, for manumitting all the slaves of the county; 2nd., for the support of the clergy; 3rd, to aid charity schools; 4th, to establish manufactures. He made provision for the perpetuation of the bank, after the money advanced by him should be returned through the agency of the sinking fund. This communication of Mr. Gibson was thoroughly characteristic, and displays those excellences which he undoubtedly possessed, as well as some of his faults. It is a most curious production. It seems to have been written in sober earnestness, and yet it is so wild, that one is tempted to regard it as a satire upon the extravagant notions which prevailed at the time of the immense advantages to society and the enormous profits to individuals that were to flow from banking institutions. It is hardly necessary to say there never was any attempt to carry the scheme into execution.

But, to return to Mr. Gibson's agricultural operations, and his contentions attendant thereupon. In the year 1695, an attempt was made by an obscure person having a grudge to satisfy, but probably prompted by those who were his superiors in intelligence and social rank, and who also had a spite to gratify, for his constant antagonism, sportive or earnest, made him many enemies, to humiliate Mr. Gibson by lodging information with the grand jury that he was using a half bushel measure for the sale of his grain which was not of the standard capacity. The charge was so evidently malicious that the grand jury disregarded the testimony, and dismissed the case: but by the persistent efforts of a personal enemy upon the jury it was revived, and a bill was found by a bare majority. The matter would probably have passed almost unnoticed, and when it came before the court would have been ignored as indeed it was when it did reach that tribunal, but for the importance it acquired by the discussion in the *Maryland Herald*, then the only paper published on the Eastern Shore, which followed. Mr. Gibson wrote:

"Feeling a little hurt at hearing that the late grand jury had presented me for keeping an unsealed half bushel and delivering grain by the same it being too small, I have thought it my duty in defence of my character, to submit the following facts to the public consideration; they will there see to what lengths villainy and a malicious heart will tempt any unprincipled rascal to proceed for vengeance.

This communication opened the sluices, and for weeks and months the columns of this little paper were filled with rejoinders and re-rejoinders, with certificates, and affidavits, charges and countercharges, open slander, vile innuendoes, expressed in language of the coarsest character. This was continued until the public gorge, then not as sensitive and delicate as now, was raised, and revolted. It would serve no good purpose to mention names, nor to revive forgotten slanders. There were several persons drawn into the controversy of most respectable position, and it would wound the sensibilities of those living to recall the flings and slurs, the gross charges and disgusting imputations that were made one against the other. The controversy was carried on with the utmost violence, and in some parts with no mean ability. Jacob Gibson showed himself quite the equal of his antagonists some of whom had the advantage of superior education, and the additional advantage of aid from Mr. Gibson's political opponents, drilled in polemics. The defence he made rendered every one chary of attacking him in the future, but unfortunately it gave him such confidence in

his own abilities as to lead him to attack others, through the newspapers. In short, he became fond of disputation. It should be mentioned that this contest was not purely literary in its character, but with one of the persons in antagonism, who was quite his equal in size and strength, which were quite herculean, and not at all superior in refinement, a furious fight ensued, with doubtful results as to the mastery. To conclude this story it may be said that when the trial of Mr. Gibson came up, he was exonerated of the charge, as it was clearly malicious, for with all his faults none could safely charge him with dishonesty and he was too liberal to be suspected of the petty gains of illicit measurement of grain. It would have been a sad day for any man, after this acquittal to hint at the truthfulness of the charge, for he would have had to suffer a severe retribution for his temerity from the heavy hand of this courageous and choleric man.

Another interesting and curious incident connecting itself with his farming pursuits, namely his loss of property upon Sharp's Island, by the British in 1813, and his receiving pay for the same, might here be mentioned; but as that had a political complexion it may be reserved for notice in another connection.

Mr. Gibson was fond of appearing in print, as will be clearly seen before the close of this memoir. He even affected to write poetry not the poetry of sentiment or of philosophy, but of satire and invective. Dean Swift was his model, even to his filth. His memory will not suffer by a refusal to quote any of his verses. He was evidently very proud of his literary productions, and it may be said that if originality alone could give them merit, they could hardly be surpassed. He disdained anonymity, as a species of cowardice—the worst of vices in his estimation—so he always signed with his full name any thing he put in print. One of the last, perhaps the very last of these literary adventures was an excursus upon an agricultural subject published in the *Republican Star* of July 29th, 1817. This year the county had been visited by the Hessian fly in wheat and recently, by the cut worm in corn. The first mentioned grain rose to two dollars and fifty cents, and the last to one dollar per bushel. Much distress was experienced among the poor, so much so that a public levy was ordered for their support, and committees to distribute assistance were appointed. Mr. Gibson took this occasion to give an account of his observations upon the history and habits, as well as his suggestions for the remedying of the ravages of these great pests of the farmer. The body of his essay is prefaced by some healthful moralizing upon the folly of folding the hands

in calamity, of merely uttering complaints, or deprecating the visitations of Providence, instead of resorting to active efforts to avert the evil in the future. Such was his estimation of the perfectibility of man in knowledge that he believed he shall ultimately be capable of extirpating every evil that hinders his happiness. As this is altogether in keeping with his hopeful courageous spirit, so he concludes his prologue with the following truly Gibsonian piece of rhetoric.

Man is made the lord of everything on earth and in the water. Shall he who has exterminated the mammoth, conquered the whale, overcome the elephant, the lion, the tiger, the hyena, suffer these little insignificant insects to lay waste this paradise of the world, and conquer the greatest people in existence.

If what he said in this essay was derived exclusively from his own study of these insect pests, and was not founded upon what he had read or heard, which is not likely, for he was neither bookish nor travelled, it is certainly highly creditable to his powers of close and accurate observation, for he anticipated much that was subsequently published by men entitled to be called scientific agriculturalists. There are some errors that are now easily apparent, but not so many as might be expected of one entirely ignorant of entomological knowledge. His remedies are rational and judicious, not at all fanciful. His remarks upon the economic uses of birds and frogs, even such birds as the crow and hawk are singular as being in advance of senular teaching called new in after years. All this serves to show that Mr. Gibson was not the mere plodding farmer but the intelligent agriculturist, capable of observing nature and understanding her laws. In conclusion of this part of the subject it may be said that his boasting of his success in farming was without substantial foundation, for he was decidedly successful. He acquired a handsome fortune as fortunes then were estimated in land and slaves, which enabled him to dispense with the frugality of his earlier years, to live with great comfort, to dispense to his friends a bountiful hospitality, to give to the poor a liberal charity, and at last to leave to his numerous children a handsome competence.

It has before been remarked that while farming was the business of his life, politics were the amusement of Mr. Gibson. They were an amusement in the sense of offering diversion from plodding cares or an agreeable employment of his mind. Besides they gave him notoriety, which he liked, and which stood with him in the place of distinction. Politics indeed seemed to be almost the only path open to the gentle-

men of colonial and post-revolutionary times to attain distinction. More than once in these contributions, has attention been called to the close relation of the politician and the planter. It has been pointed out how the same faculties of mind are called into exercise by him who governs a state, and him who controls a farm or large estates with gangs of slaves how that legislative and executive faculties are called into requisition by both the one or the other. The southern gentleman was almost universally, by his education, and at last by a kind of implanted instinct, a statesman or politician. It is not pretended, however, that the school of the plantation was the best school for the American citizen who aspired to political position and influence. In one sense it was a very bad school. It rendered men arbitrary and indisposed to be controlled. In other senses it was a very good school. It taught him the art of control, of the government of men, and the necessity of wise legislation. To participate in politics then was not an abrupt transition in the life of the planter. He merely passed from the consideration of the plans and expedients of the agriculturist to a study of the intrigues of parties and the policies of the state of community: he merely ceased to manage his slaves, and engaged in the manipulating the electors at the polls or the elected in the assemblies. In politics therefore Mr. Gibson participated. They had a particular attraction for him, in the contention to which they gave origin: and in contention he found his highest pleasure. Politics as followed by him certainly were not an ennobling pursuit: indeed it must be said they were a degrading one. But in justice to him it must be said that he never made them the dishonest and sordid trade they are at present. If he sought success with great earnestness and with much violence of words and acts, his objects never were personal gain or aggrandizement. If he be deprived of the credit of laboring for the public good and the success of correct political principles, he cannot be accused of working for any lower motive than triumphing over his opportunity. He felt too strongly to be mean. He hated the enemy too cordially to be mercenary: he loved his party too warmly to be calculating. He was never sparing of labor nor of money. He himself, in his usual and peculiar style said on the occasion of his being challenged to a duel by a gentleman of Dorchester county, whither he had gone as a kind of political missionary during the congressional campaign of 1809:

I hope it will not be considered a wanton egotism to say I am the only *stump orator* in the district who confronts this faction, [the Federalists] and beards it to its teeth. That for the last ten or twelve years I have

been compelled to talk all, to write all, to flog all, and to pay all; and now I must die for all. This dying is unseasonable at this time, lest my services may be wanted to my county for I see the clouds arising that may require all the energies the county possesses to support its government and our national rights. To die as such a contest would be honorable and pleasing to me, because it would give me a sure passport to future bliss. But to be nibbled to death, by rats and mice the reflection is worse than hell.³

A man so intense in his political passions, and so devoted to the cause of his party, was not likely to carry off many of its rewards, as will be seen in the following brief account of the political career of Mr. Gibson.

At the outbreak of the Revolution Jacob Gibson was but a youth: but that he did imbibe patriotic sentiments can be very safely asserted from the known opinions of his family, his father having been a pronounced Whig, and his brother an officer of the army. His life-long hostility to England, which country he never ceased regarding as the enemy, open or disguised, of his own, was but the cherishing of a feeling that had been planted during the war of Independence. On the contrary, his sentiments towards France were those of admiration and affection. He named his son Lafayette, he called his farm Marengo, and he himself long bore the name of "citizen Jacob" because of his sympathy with the French revolutionists, who abolished all titles and introduced this term as the proper address of all citizens of the French Republic. When the great revolution broke out, Mr. Gibson regarded it as promising much for human liberty, and he never ceased to defend the principles which, it was claimed, it was intended to advance. A thorough believer in popular government, a democrat in grain, through all the excesses of that great movement he never despaired of French liberty. He even defended much that a person of less enthusiasm for democratic principles would have condemned, so that his political opponents were accustomed to call him a Jacobin, as well as citizen Jacob. His admiration of the leading French revolutionists was transferred to Napoleon Bonaparte, notwithstanding his strangling French liberty in its cradle, because he was a child of the people, and because he was the enemy of England. Until parties had begun to be formed towards the end of Gen. Washington's administration, it is not known what was the position of Mr.

³ From an extremely rare handbill issued by Mr. Gibson on the 8th Jan. 1809, upon the occasion of his being challenged to a duel by Mr. J—— M—— of Dorchester.

Gibson, though it is easy to infer that he took sides with those who regarded Mr. Jefferson as their political leader. During the succeeding administration of Mr. Adams, the parties in the country assumed a clearer definition, and Mr. Gibson was recognized as an active Republican partisan, and violent opponent of Federalists. In this county, as elsewhere, the Federalists claimed to be the party of the "wealth and talent," and their opponents asserted they assumed the pretensions of an aristocracy. Jacob Gibson, the maker of his own fortune, the possessor of none of the advantages of education, and few of those of a recognized social position, was the natural antagonist of this party. His enmity was so bitter, expressed so constantly in such intense, and too often ribald terms, that it cannot be doubted personal malice towards the members of this party intensified his hostility, which he persuaded himself was founded upon opposition to its political measures. It was not until the year 1798, the year of an election of members of Congress, when the Hon. William Hindman and the Hon. Joshua Seney were the candidates for a seat in the House of Representatives from the second district of Maryland, that Mr. Gibson appeared conspicuously in politics. Previous to that celebrated contest, his had been an inferior and not a very creditable role. He had been merely the boisterous, fearless and truculent partisan henchman of the Republican leaders in the county, frequenting the taverns, barbecues, fish feasts, and other assemblages where he was always ready to harangue a knot of the "commonalty," or "flog" an intrusive or obstinate Federalist. But in the year mentioned he assumed higher functions, without indeed discarding entirely the lower. He became a most earnest advocate of the election of Mr. Seney, and the equally earnest opponent of Mr. Hindman. He addressed the electors of the county in his peculiarly racy and doubtless effective style of oratory, and he used his pen in the preparation of some contributions to the *Herald*, which, if not models of taste, are certainly most curious productions of the literary art. If the merit of such productions is measured by their effectiveness in accomplishing their purpose, certainly these must be commended. In one of these communications, which were scattered throughout the district, he traverses the course of Mr. Hindman while in Congress, and in another recalls some revolutionary incidents in his life which he distorted into symptoms of toryism. Mr. Gibson also invited Mr. Hindman to meet him at several places to discuss the questions at issue in the campaign. These communications and discussions called forth replies from most respectable citizens of the district, and of other portions of the state

and country,⁴ of whom these may be mentioned: Mr. Nicholas Hammond and Mr. John Leeds Bozman of Talbot, Mr. Richard Tilghman of Queen Anne's, Mr. Vans Murray of Dorchester, and Mr. Sitgreave of Pennsylvania. In one of these communications of a Federal gentleman, it is intimated that at one time Mr. Gibson supported Mr. Hindman, which may be true; and of his having bet largely on the result of the election of 1798, which is undoubtedly true, as will appear in the sequel. The following addressed to Mr. Gibson appeared in the *Herald* of Sept. 11, 1798.

But the public are possessed of a clue by which your ardent zeal may be easily accounted for. A man who has staked three thousand dollars on the event of the election must needs become a very active patriot. Such an interest will even reconcile him to the inconsistency of his own conduct, and make him think it meritorious to insinuate reproaches against Mr. Hindman as a Tory, whom he warmly supported, a few years ago, as a steady and uniform Whig.

The result of this hotly contested campaign was the election of Mr. Seney, the triumph of Mr. Gibson and his friends, and the winning by the latter of a considerable sum of money. His elation upon this occasion was evinced in the following most curious and thoroughly characteristic publication which appeared in the *Maryland Herald*, immediately after the election:

TO THE POOR AND VIRTUOUS WIDOWS OF TALBOT COUNTY: Having been particularly favored through life by Providence in worldly affairs, and particularly in the late election, wherein I have won a considerable sum of money, I conceive it a duty indispensably incumbent on me to bestow some of this improper got wealth to a useful purpose. I do hereby propose that the poor widows of the upper end of this county will call upon my friend Mr. John Thomas at his house or mill and receive from him thirty barrels of corn. That the poor widows in the lower end of the county will call on my friend Mr. William Lowery, who will give them orders on my overseer on the plantation of Island Creek for thirty barrels of corn. That the poor widows in Bay-Side will call upon my friend Thomas L. Haddaway, or Capt. H. Banning, who will give them orders on my overseer at the plantation near Mr. Perry's, for thirty barrels of corn. The poor widows of Easton will call on my friend William Rose for ten barrels of corn, and the poor widows of my own neighborhood from Three Bridges to Pott's Mill, and to the bottom of Miles River Neck, a free corn house for twelve months. (signed) JACOB GIBSON. N. B. My friends above men-

⁴ A very full account of this campaign was given in a memoir of the Hon. William Hindman published in the "*Easton Star*" in Oct. and Nov. of the year 1876.

tioned will distribute the corn above spoken of in such a manner as in their judgment indigence calls for." J. G. This called forth a sneer from one of the opposite party, signing himself "No Boaster," insinuating that gift of corn was made in ostentation, and in reality a mere pretense of giving, but it had a most fitting rebuke from a friend of Mr. Gibson—"A WIDOWER." "When Mr. NO BOASTER will distribute amongst them [the widows and orphans] in the same liberal manner that Mr. Gibson has done, then he shall have the liberty to boast as much as he pleases; and this too without the necessity of electioneering priests to absolve him of his sins. * * When he acts as Jacob Gibson has done, they will gratefully acknowledge him a good citizen and of course a friend of the Widow and Orphan."

In 1799 some communications to the *Herald* of Mr. Gibson, all copies of which are lost, called forth a scurrilous attack upon him, which has been preserved. This indicates that Mr. Gibson had been challenged to a duel by some one, whose name does not appear, and that he had declined accepting, for reasons which would be quite satisfactory to the common sense of the present time, but which the writer regards as very futile and unbecoming a man of honor.

In the same year the Rev. Mr. Bowie thought proper to attack Mr. Gibson in an article published in the *Herald*, which had a reply of which this is the conclusion:

But if you are a tool, a mere sycophant, and writing to please a party in hopes of fingering the 300 pounds taken from Washington College and given to Talbot county [a reference to the establishing an academy in Easton] I leave you to yourself to spew out whenever venom is put into your mouth.] [Here Mr. Gibson relapsed into poetry, as he frequently did when he became much impassioned but his poetry was such as neither men nor gods abide, so it will not be quoted.] P. S. If citizen Jacob is that great fool you all wish the people to believe, how comes it his writing calls such a host of you into the *Herald* to answer him. If he tells foolish tales take no notice of them; leave them to the public judgment. Be candid and acknowledge you cannot bear such truths. If he had been educated at college, at the expense of the poor like you aristocrats, he would make you bawl when you now only grunt.

There is much of this article so deeply in the Gibsonian idiom, it cannot be further quoted. This or some other offence of similar character resulted in a ferocious fight at the Court House door between the Rev. Dr. Bowie and Mr. Gibson. They were equally matched in size and courage. Of the result of this conflict tradition has failed to give any report. It had been as well, for the reverend gentleman it had been

better, if tradition had not remembered the fight at all. This was but one of the many personal encounters of Mr. Gibson with gentlemen of the county, and with some men who were not gentlemen. Time would fail to recount them all.

In the year 1800 another violent controversy originating in the candidacy of Mr. John Edmondson for the General Assembly, was conducted in the columns of the *Herald*. This drew into its filthy vortex some of the most respectable citizens of the county. It was conducted on one side by Mr. Gibson and Mr. James Nabb, and on the other by Mr. John Goldsborough, Mr. John Edmondson, Mr. Nicholas Hammond and Mr. James Price. The cause of contention appears at this distance as utterly insignificant; but the contest was furious, and upon the part of Mr. Gibson without mercy.

The year 1801 was a period of apparent calmness and peace, and therefore of painful unrest to Mr. Gibson. It is said apparent, for nothing appears in the *Herald* from Mr. Gibson's pen: but he may have transferred his literary favors to the *Republican Star*, which was established as a Democratic journal in the previous year. The files of this paper for 1800 and 1801 are entirely lost.

In the year 1802 Mr. Gibson secured his first political appointment. On the 28th of January, he was chosen by Governor Mercer, one of the associate Judges of Talbot county court, having Mr. Samuel Dickinson as his fellow associate, and Mr. James Tilghman as his chief, or law Judge. This very honorable position he held until Jan. 1806, when the law of 1804 for reorganizing the Courts of the State, abolishing the General Court, and establishing District Courts and an Appeal Court, went into actual operation.

Mr. Gibson and Mr. Dickinson were the successors of Robt. H. Goldsborough and David Kerr, Esqs., of the county court, and were succeeded by Judges Purnell and Worrell of the newly organized District Court of the 2nd Judicial District, composed of Cecil, Kent, Queen Anne's and Talbot counties. The first year of Mr. Gibson on the bench was signaled by a furious controversy between him and Mr. James Cowan, editor of the *Herald*, who applied to the Court for a license to sell liquor and was refused through the instrumentality of Mr. Gibson, on account, as Cowan stated, of his political antagonism. This controversy which commenced with words terminated, as so many others in his career, in blows, and Mr. Cowan was terribly beaten—a method not recognized in the law of enforcing judicial decisions. He concludes an article written in defence of his refusing the license to

Mr. Cowan and also of his giving him a personal chastisement for the attack made by Cowan upon him in his paper, with these words:

I challenge him or my greatest enemy to charge me with one act that has violated the laws of my county, except in chastising insults; and I will have him and all others to take notice that from this time forward I will not withhold the same chastisement from him or any other person that hereafter attempts to implicate my character, either by pointed charges or insinuations. If the author of any anonymous publication is not given up, I shall take the printer for the author and treat him accordingly, So help me God. (signed), JACOB GIBSON.

In this year appeared in the *Herald* the political satire, entitled "The Grand Caucus." Perhaps no piece of writing, appearing in the papers of this county, ever created so much stir at the time, or has been remembered so long, as this pasquinade of Dr. Ennalls Martin. It ridiculed unmercifully all the leaders of the Democratic or Republican party in Talbot,—sparing none however respectable. Their foibles were displayed in words that could not be misunderstood, and their characters pictured in colors that brought out all their defects and weakness. It was execrably written, and really has no merit as a literary feat. It is coarse and vulgar to the last degree. But it seemed to meet the public taste, and hence it was retained in memory, and put away as a curiosity and for consultation. As a matter of fact, a larger number of those copies of the *Herald* containing this lampoon have been preserved to the present time than of any other issue of that journal. Jacob Gibson, under an allusive sobriquet was the person at whom the arrows of wit were mostly aimed. All the old slanders about him were revived; all his peculiarities and infirmities were exaggerated; all his virtues were travestied or ridiculed. Now, no reply to all this could be made but one, and this he proceeded to deliver with his usual promptness and vehemence, by attacking the author, as soon as he had been discovered, on the streets of Easton, when one of those memorable fights ensued, in which gentlemen of the day did not hesitate to engage, and of which tradition continues to perpetuate the memory. As Dr. Martin was a man in size, weight and courage, and it may be added, in brusqueness of manners also, quite the equal of Mr. Gibson, these two athletes were allowed according to the prevailing custom to "fight it out." The conflict resulted, after varying fortunes, in the discomfiture of Mr. Gibson, who was compelled to succumb to methods of attack that are not recognized as fair by professors of the "manly art of self-defence" but which are allowable, it is to be supposed, when men fight according to nature. The

strange sequel of this fistic duel was the calling in of Dr. Martin, by Mr. Gibson to dress the wounds that he himself had inflicted.

In the concluding years of the last century, and the earlier years of the present, there was a strange commingling of politics and religion in a country in which there had been a complete divorce of church and state. Traditions of this old unnatural union still had their weight but the most potent influence in bringing about this condition of the public mind was the French Revolution, one party espousing the principles of the revolutionists, including, as its enemies said, their atheistical opinions; the other party, condemning that great movement, and arrogating to itself the honor of being the especial upholders of religion. In this county this phase of politics had its own peculiar aspect. Here one party, the Republicans, or as they were beginning to be called Democrats, were said either to countenance the scepticism of the French, or of Mr. Jefferson their apt pupil, or to favor the so-called fanaticism of the Methodists, who had become very numerous. The Republicans resorted by accusing their Federal foes of the advocacy of a church establishment after the English model or with looking with lenient eye upon the socinianism of John Adams and the New Englanders. It is very true the Republicans had drawn into their ranks the largest part of the "commonalty," as the poorer people were called, and of these the religious portion were Methodists. On the other hand the Episcopal church embraced almost all the "high-toned" Federalists. So the boundary lines of the churches approximated to those of the parties though they did not strictly coincide.⁵

In the year 1801 a public religious controversy was held in Easton between the venerable Samuel Chamberlaine, Esq., of Bonfield, a pious and devoted son of the Episcopal church and the Rev. Mr. Telford, a respectable local preacher of the Methodist communion, upon "baptismal regeneration," a subject as far as possible removed from politics. This public discussion, which at the time was thought of so much importance as to justify the ringing of the bell to call the people together to hear it, lead to a private correspondence, upon that or cognate subjects between Mr. Chamberlaine and Mr. Gibson, the last of whom took ground with Mr. Telford, although he himself was, by birthright at least, a member of the Episcopal church, and although he was certainly a zealot for religion of no kind or form. Indeed he publicly avowed a disregard of certain fundamental Christian precepts, such as the injunc-

⁵ The Friends or Quakers, who were numerous in the county, were mostly Republicans.

tion to turn his other cheek when one was smitten by the enemy. Mr. Gibson was not a meek man by nature, and his faith in revelation, which he avowed was never able to change the natural man in him, which impelled him to strike back when struck, and often to strike first. This private correspondence for a while known only to their friends, in 1802 developed into a public exchange of polemical courtesies, in which religious fervor and political bitterness became inextricably mingled. The communications to the papers, and the handbills for more general distribution, of these gentlemen afford most curious reading, but much in them is of entirely too personal a character to permit of their being quoted. Of Mr. Gibson's share, it may be said, that while claiming to be, as to externals at least an obedient son of the church, he showed himself to be astute politician enough to give the "new institution" as he calls Methodism, precedence for the earnest piety and moral purity of its adherents. He was accused by Mr. Chamberlaine of using Methodism as a ladder to climb to honor and power. He retorts by affecting to be insulted by the intimation that his ambition was so humble as to be satisfied with a "four dollars a day judgeship;" and then says, if he really were criminally ambitious of rising to power upon the necks of the common people, his own church would be more likely to offer him a ladder for the purpose, as it had done to men inspired by such a feeling in England, the home of "our church." It is proper to say that amidst all the noise of this debate, there was an undertone, clearly distinguishable, of a mutual respect between the parties.

This too extended account of one of Mr. Gibson's controversies will serve this purpose, among others, of exhibiting his personal attitude towards religion. He honestly avows his disobedience of some of the moral injunctions, but he no where betrays irreverence or scepticism. He displays, whether from policy or indifference does not appear, a toleration of and liberality to differences of religious faiths and forms, which he was very far from showing towards divergencies from his own political creed and ritual.

In 1803, Mr. Gibson had more than one controversy. For the first time in this year Mr. Robert Henry Goldsborough offered himself as a candidate for the suffrages of the people. This was done in a handsomely expressed card which had the same effect upon Mr. Gibson that the shaking of the scarlet mantle has upon the infuriated bull in the Spanish arena. His anger was porportionate to the brilliancy of the object irritating him. No two persons could be more directly opposite to each other than these two gentlemen, in manners or in opinion.

The one gifted with all the graces of the polished man of the world and of fashion; the other possessed of the bluntness of a son of nature, and quite as vain of his plain speaking and downright doing as the other was of his suavity of speech and courtly airs. One a Federalist of the strictest sect; the other a Democrat of the most advanced kind. The candidacy of Mr. Goldsborough had scarcely been announced, when anonymous writers for the press began their covert attacks, only too glad to have so shining a butt upon which to try their bolts. But Mr. Gibson always ready for the fray disdained concealment, so he openly and above his own proper name commenced his onset upon the young politician in his usual blunt and ruthless style. These attacks led to defenses and counter-attacks, so that the war raged for months, by speech and pen, upon the hustings and in the newspapers, with personal statements and written certificates. The result of the election was the defeat of the Federalists to the great gratification of their inveterate enemy, Mr. Gibson.

For several years after these occurrences he appeared to have taken no conspicuous part in the local contests: at least his name does not appear as frequently as formerly in the public prints, or upon broadsides, a favorite method of his of communicating with the public at a time when journals were not so common as now. The Federal party had been placed in the minority in this county, largely through his efforts, and he was content with silent triumph over his sworn enemies. There is abundant evidence, however, that he was a prime mover of all the party machinery by which the Democrats retained their ascendancy, and the Federalists, with all their weight of talents, character and wealth, were debarred from power. In the year 1806, he achieved his highest political honor, in being chosen, on the 18th of September, one of the State Senators for the Eastern Shore, having these gentlemen as his associates from the same section: Zaddock Purnell, Mark Benton, Thomas Williams, William Whitely and John Partridge. Mr. Robt. H. Goldsborough received the vote of the Federal electors in the college. One of his first acts was to select his congenial friend and party coadjutor, Mr. James Nabb, one of the Executive Council. These two men were the Castor and Pollux of the Democracy of their day in this county: and their resemblance to those mythical heroes was the closer in that Mr. Nabb, like Castor, was fond of horse-racing, and Mr. Gibson, like Pollux, fond of boxing. By their joint labors they are justly entitled to be placed, as were those fabled Greeks, among the constellations, and be forever contemplated as the political Gemini of the

party in Talbot. Of Mr. Gibson's career in the Senate little is known. That he acted with his party may be easily conjectured. He was succeeded in the Senate by Mr. Edward Lloyd of this county, a near neighbor as well as co-worker in the cause of Democracy.

The term of Mr. Jefferson being about to expire, an election for a president occurred in due course in the year 1808. It was not expected that any Federal candidate for a seat in the electoral college would be presented to the people of the Second District. But a short time before the election Mr. R. H. Goldsborough announced his intention to compete with Mr. Perry Spencer, also of Talbot, for the seat favoring the election of Mr. Monroe, though he was not of the same school of politics. The following in his own words will show how this announcement was received by Mr. Gibson who was in Annapolis when the intelligence reached him:

When I arrived at my lodgings a gentleman from the Eastern Shore informed me that a federal candidate (as an elector) had reared his head in the district to which I belonged, and without opposition was parading through it with a splendid retinue.* That the riders were out calling the people together, and that the party was calculating on a rich harvest. This midnight trick, like all their acts, was kept in the dark until my duties at Annapolis called me out of their way. On receiving this information I left my post the next morning in pursuit of him, and at half past one o'clock the next day I had traveled near seventy miles before I got to the place of meeting, near Vienna. There I was gazed at as though I had tumbled from the clouds * * * I had not been many moments on the ground before I was insulted in the most vulgar and dastardly manner. However, I did not wait to know who he was, but struck at him with my fist the moment the insult was offered me. * * * The scoundrel who insulted me (I was afterwards informed) was J—— M——, who shrunk from my vengeance and retreated into a store; got over the counter and escaped through a door that led into a room, or into the back part of the yard.

This was very decided work for a man having but one arm, the other for some cause unknown, being at that time disabled. Mr. Gibson then addressed the meeting, and thence went into other parts of the electoral district upon his mission, which resulted in the election of Mr. Spencer. But after his return to Annapolis Mr. J. M. considering himself aggrieved by the words and conduct of Mr. Gibson, challenged him for a duel to be fought in Delaware. Misunderstandings and misapprehensions arose

* Mr. Spencer was a resident of Bay Side, and was more expert in modeling ships than in making speeches, but he was a very popular man.

which prevented the hostile meeting—each party accusing the other of seeking to avoid the fight and of being a coward. Handbills and public postings ensued, which as they have been preserved, afford most curious reading and are wonderfully instructive as illustrating the social customs and mental traits of the times. Those of Jacob Gibson also serve to give insight into his character. For J. M., to call Jacob Gibson a coward, was like Thersites branding Ulysses with being a dastard.

From some reason now unknown, but probably from some hasty word in condemnation of the course of the Democratic party with reference to the foreign affairs of the country, in the year 1811 a report acquired currency in the county that this protagonist of Democracy was about to prove recreant and to become a Federalist. This reaching his ears drew from him one of his characteristic communications, so odd, fantastic and whimsical that but for its length it might be quoted as fully illustrating those peculiarities for which he was so well known in his day, and by which his memory has been transmitted to the present by many lines of tradition. An election for a Senatorial college was approaching. The Federal candidates were Dr. Tristram Thomas and Walter S. Fountain. Mr. Gibson says:

I have often heretofore and again repeat it, sworn eternal enmity to such a British party, and if I could fix the charges upon its base author I would prosecute him or them for so base a libel.

It should be mentioned that "British" was his superlative epithet of vituperation, when applied to a party. His reasons, as assigned, for not voting for Mr. Fountain, besides the general one of being a Federalist, were that he had

raised the price of fish on the poor from three dollars and a half to five dollars, and wants a law passed to put a stop to the floating and small seins.

His reasons for opposing Dr. Thomas were that he had united in a meeting of physicians which had established higher rates of charges for medical services, at a time when provisions were scarce and costly. When wheat was at 20 shillings to 20 shillings 6 pence per bushel they raised the price of bleeding, puking and purging from 2 shillings 6 pence to 5 shillings: and their visits from 10 shillings to 15 shillings, &c.

Another grievance against Dr. Thomas he says he will conceal for the time and "until he becomes more dangerous," but he intimates that he is

objectionable because he makes out his "accounts in Greek, Latin or Hebrew" which "no paymaster can correct or check his imposition," and then, as though fearing Federal principles concealed in a medical jargon might be dispensed by the gentle Doctor when he prescribed or administered his high priced doses of calomel and barks to the ague-stricken people of one section of the county, he exclaims, by way of warning—"Choptankers look out." In a postscript he says:

If any person, after this notice, hears a Fed. say that I have turned Federal, and will break his mouth, I will pay all costs.

As connecting the agricultural and the political life of this worthy and as illustrating both, might be told the story of the seizure by the British in 1813 of his livestock upon Sharp's Island which at one time belonged to and was cultivated by him; and of the alarm which he caused in St. Michaels by his approaching that town by way of Broad Creek with such demonstrations as to cause the people to apprehend an attack from the enemy's fleet then in the Chesapeake. This story has elsewhere been pretty fully told [*Comet*, Jan, 6. 1877], and need not be repeated. The handbill issued by Mr. Gibson in defense of himself for receiving money from the British officers in compensation for the stock seized by them, was the most extraordinary production that ever came from his pen, famous in his day for its wonderful and fearful products. Much of this has been reprinted in the article noticed above; but much more must remain in its original edition, fit for the eyes of the curious only. The matter of his receiving money from the enemy was a subject of correspondence between him, the President of the United States, Mr. Madison, the Governor of Maryland, Genl. Winder and other dignitaries. The following is a copy of a letter from Mr. Robert Wright of Queen Anne's, then a member of Congress:

BLAKEFORD, May 15, 1813.

Dear Sir:—I received your handbill and congratulate you and your friends on the clear, and to me, entirely satisfactory statement of your conduct when in the hands of the enemy, in the character of a prisoner: and I feel it due to you and myself as well as to the eternal and immutable principles of justice, to assure you I was not one of those who were ready to give a verdict in your case before I heard the evidence nor was I disposed to believe that a patriot today could be a patricide to-morrow. But, sir, console yourself with the well-known truth, that however conspicuous you are in the Republican ranks, by so much the more ready the enemies of your country will be to destroy your fair

fame with the envenomed shafts of slander. It has been the lot of your predecessors, in all ages, and your contemporaries in the field of patriotism. * * * [signed]

Robert Wright.

Mr. Gibson was exonerated by the public authorities and indeed by everyone, but those biased by party prejudices, from all blame in the matter, though his enemies were only too glad to use the circumstances to annoy or injure him in public esteem. Of the curious sequel to this story, his giving some cannon to the people of St. Michaels, and their being used to repel the British at the time of their attack on that town in August 1813, an account is given in the article referred to, bearing the title "Jacob Gibson's Prank," and therefore need not be repeated.

Mr. Gibson after the close of the war of 1812-15 ceased to take that active part in practical politics which had been his pleasure through life. He cannot be said to have lost interest, but his interest was that of a spectator of the game, rather than that of a participant. He was like the gladiator, who victorious in many fights had withdrawn from the lists, and was now gazing from the seats of the amphitheatre upon the combatants below him, but with an almost irrepressible longing to leap again into the arena and join in the fray. The war had been a school to him. It had liberalized his mind; it had changed his estimates of men. It had possibly caused him to misdoubt himself. He had found the Federalists whom he had loved to hate were not the political renegades he had fondly believed them to be; and had learned that they might differ from him and yet be patriotic. With the decline of the Federal party, and its loss of power to offer successful resistance to Democratic principles, came to him the indisposition to contend, and contention was his political life. Age too began, as it does with all healthy minds, to soften the asperities of his disposition, and temper his judgments of men. With age came bodily infirmities. Those towering passions of his which were the sign and the result of a strong vitality, began to react upon a body so rugged and sturdy as to appear proof against the ordinary ills of the flesh. His health began to fail some years before his death. But his high spirit, which was never subdued, made its customary vigorous fight against his last enemy as it always had done against all his other enemies. But stricken with immedicable disease he succumbed, and being beaten he threw up his hands to death, January 7th, in the year 1818. His body lies at Marengo, where he was born and where he had lived. His grave is marked by no memorial stone, but tradition had perpetuated and is likely to perpetuate for a

long time to some the memory of this strong-minded, stout hearted, large bodied man.

If this narrative of the principal events in the life of Jacob Gibson has failed to make a clear impression upon the mind of the reader of this eccentric but notable man, certainly the object of this memoir has not been attained, and probably any further attempt to delineate that character would be useless. No man that ever lived in this county, of whom there is any record or memory, possessed such prominent and well marked traits. No man ever took so little care to disguise them by any affectation or conceal them by any artifice. He was really what he seemed to be. There was no necessity for looking beneath the surface—no need of a refined analysis, to understand him. His outward conduct was the mirror which reflected the inner man, and in this was seen without distortion or flattery his mental form and features: in this was seen his unfaltering self-reliance, his intense egotism, his singular independence of thought and action, his intrepidity, moral and physical, his fortitude in difficulties, his perseverance against obstacles, his imperious will that overbore all opposition, his oppugnancy and contentiousness, which caused him to love controversy and strife, carried even so far as personal collision, his entire naturalness which no education had, and no association could subdue to conventionalities, his bluntness, at times amounting to ferocity of manners, his extreme plainness to which may be added his occasional boisterousness of speech, his subservience to his prejudices, his submission to his masterful passions, and lastly, and above all his vigorous intellectual qualities, the most noticeable of which was his robust common sense.⁷ These certainly do not combine to form a beautiful and amiable character: only a rare and a strong one. Not one to be imitated, but one to arrest attention. Perhaps too little has been said of his gentler traits, for strange as it may appear, such traits he had. There remains to this day, written and traditional testimony of his disinterested kindness to his neighbors; of the laborious pains he would take to oblige his friends, or acquaintances. He was not implacable in his anger, but was always ready for a reconciliation with and kind offers to an enemy who would make concessions. If to the strong he was often

⁷ His contemporaries, his political enemies as well as friends, had a high estimate of his abilities, whatever they may have thought of his moral qualities. Mr. Nicholas Hammond, a man of singularly well balanced judgment of men and things, when asked his opinion of Mr. Gibson, said: "He has a very rude but a very strong mind."

a terror, to the feeble he was always a support. If to the arrogant he was imperious, to the humble he was compassionate. If with the rich he was exacting, to the poor he was charitable, not with the ostentatious charity of his gift of corn, but in many "little unremembered acts of kindness," the public took no note of, and scarcely he himself.

Mr. Gibson was twice married, first to a Miss Caulk of Delaware, and secondly to a Miss Reynolds of Calvert county. By each of these children were born to him, of whom these survived the father: Frances, the child of the first wife, who married Dr. Tilton of Delaware; Dr. Edward Reynolds Gibson, a man of fine cultivation, but of an impractical turn of mind—a dreamer and a doctrinaire, who removed to Florida, but subsequently became an editor of the *Telegraph* at Washington;^a Annie, wife of Joseph W. Reynolds of Delaware; Harriet, who was the wife of Thomas P. Bennett, of Talbot county; Mary, who was the wife of Dr. James Tilton, after the death of her sister Frances; and Mr. Fayette Gibson who inherited the homestead at Marengo, and what is more, many of the traits of character that distinguished his notable father. From many of these children families have sprung, members of which have arisen to distinction by that vigor of intellect which may be easily traced to such a sturdy ancestry as derives from Jacob Gibson, the first, or Jacob Gibson the last of the name in Talbot.^a

^a A curious story is told of this worthy and intelligent gentleman, which is worth repeating. He was left executor of his father's will, but a settlement with the heirs was procrastinated so long that their patience became exhausted. Dr. James Tilton, his brother-in-law, came down from Delaware for the purpose of securing a settlement. In no humor for trifling he went to Marengo to find Mr. Gibson, out in the harvest field to be sure, yet not with his hands superintending the work, but sitting under the shade of a tree surrounded by his books. When he saw Dr. Tilton approaching he rose hastily and ran to him as though he would cordially welcome him. Instead, however, of his employing the usual terms of salutation or greeting, he exclaimed with animation: "Doctor, Doctor, I have just devised a plan by which the British may pay off their national debt without adding a single penny to their taxation." The Doctor replied in terms more forcible than proper: "Damn your plans for paying the debt of England. You had better be devising a plan to pay off some of your father's debts, and the shares of your brothers and sisters in his estate, or you will be made to do so."

DR. ENNALLS MARTIN

1758-1834

*Scire potestates herbarum usumque medendi
Maluit, et mulas agitare inglorius artes.*

—VIRGIL.

At all times the destroyers of men, and not their preservers have borne off the higher honors and the greater rewards. Those who hurt, and not those who heal have received the most praise and pay. There were Machaon who, as Homer tells us, sucked the clotted blood from the wound of Menelaus,

—“and sovereign balm infused
Which Chiron gave and Æsculapius used;”

and aged Iapis, who, as Virgil says, of all the proffered gifts of Apollo preferred to know the powers and uses of healing medicines, and who, by his unostentatious skill restored Æneas to the ranks of battle. What insignificant personages are these in song and story compared with those great leaders whom they cured? And yet the poets tell us they were brave as well as wise. It is in the power of all to call over a long catalogue of the heroes of the battlefields of our Revolution; but how many of the names of those other heroes of the hospitals can be mentioned, who not less devoted, not less self-sacrificing, not less patriotic, without glory plied their silent art for the alleviation of suffering or the saving of life. Warren won his title to fame by dying at Bunker Hill a soldier, not a physician. Rush is remembered as the signer of the Declaration of Independence, not as the surgeon-general of the Army of Independence. Shippen is known, if known at all beyond his profession, as the founder of a great school, not as the Director General and organizer of the medical department of the incipient government; and if posterity shall hear of Craik, it will be of him as the attendant upon Washington upon his deathbed at Mount Vernon, and not as the surgeon-in-chief to the same great man at the head of his army at Yorktown. Talbot has had her hero of this class, who served his country during her times of trial, in that line of honorable duty to which he had been called, with the same small meed of praise. Of him is it now proposed to present a brief memoir, that, perchance, by it, the name of DR. ENNALLS MARTIN may be rescued from entire oblivion.

The very respectable family to which this gentleman belonged, and which besides himself, has given several other distinguished men to

the State, has been seated in Talbot county from the very earliest days of its settlement. Of three brothers who emigrated from Hertfordshire, England, about the middle of the seventeenth century, two settled in Maryland and one in Virginia. The founder of the family in Talbot was Thomas Martin, who was the grandfather of Dr. Ennalls Martin. He came into possession of the land, by patent or purchase, now known as "Hampden," in Island Creek Neck, and this long remained the seat of the family. Upon this estate was born August 23rd, 1758, the subject of this memoir, his father being Thomas Martin, the second of the name and lineage, and his mother a Miss Ennalls, of Dorchester county. The very retired neighborhood, and indeed the county itself of his birth affording at that time few advantages for higher education, he was at a very early age sent to the Academy at Newark, a school then acquiring excellent reputation, and afterwards organized as a college. Here he is said to have shown those studious habits that continued with him through life, and to have distinguished himself by his facility in the acquisition of the Latin and Greek languages in which he became proficient. After completing the usual course of studies in this Academy, he was in 1777 removed to Philadelphia, to enter upon his professional studies, it having been resolved by his parents to train him up as a physician. The Revolutionary war was then in progress. Young Martin shared in the patriotic order which inspired so many of the young men of the time. Dr. William Shippen, to whose instruction in the art and science of medicine, he had been consigned by his parents, was in this year, by appointment of General Washington, made Director-General of the medical department of the army. There was pressing need in that department for assistant surgeons and medical cadets: Dr. Shippen was ready to perceive how he might turn to profitable account to the colonies the enthusiasm for liberty, and the eagerness for professional knowledge displayed by his pupil; so Martin was placed in that division of the military service which had charge of the preparation and dispensing of medicines. This was in accordance with the medical curriculum of the times, when a course of practical pharmacy was the necessary initiation into the higher departments of the profession. But a privilege was granted to Medical Cadet Martin, to attend lectures during the season of winter, when his services were not in such demand as during the active campaigns of the army. He proved himself to be a skillful apothecary, as well as an apt scholar. Upon the recommendation of his preceptor he was during the year duly commissioned, by Congress, Hospital Surgeon's Mate, and his commission dated from June 1st, 1777. He was

assigned to the Hospital at Bethlehem, Pa., then the principal hospital for the main army, having Dr. William Currie for an associated surgeon's mate, a gentleman who subsequently became well known to the profession for his contributions to medical literature. His duties did not call Martin into the field to follow the army, and his medical studies were not interrupted. Indeed, he could hardly have been placed in more favorable circumstances for prosecuting those studies, for he was permitted during the winter to attend lectures in the Medical School at Philadelphia, which had but recently (1765) been established, and to which Doctors Shippen and Rush were giving, as professors, its first distinction. At the same time the army hospital gave him opportunity for the observation of disease at the bedside, for witnessing the great surgical performances of the operating table, and for watching the results of medical treatment.¹

Assistant Surgeon Martin remained at Bethlehem during the greater part of the war, virtually indeed, until its close, not resigning until 1782, sometime after the surrender of Yorktown in 1781. His services therefore extended over a period of about five years, and during that time it is said of him, that he was never absent from his post, except when attending lectures, but twice, once to visit his parents in Maryland, and once to repair to Saratoga, in obedience to orders, for the purpose of superintending the removal to the hospital at Bethlehem, of the sick and wounded of the armies, after the defeat of Burgoyne, by General Gates, in October, 1777. For his faithful and persevering performance of duty at Bethlehem, like other of the officers of the Revolution, he was very inadequately paid by Congress. There was compensation however in the valuable instruction which he received, and many years later, his native state of Maryland, in recognition of his patriotic devotion and his useful services, and also in consideration of the depreciation of his pay from Congress, voted him the sum of 475£, 30s, 9d,² an act of liberality and justice which did not meet the entire approbation of that portion of his fellow citizens with whom he was not in political accord, and which subjected those gentlemen who sustained it in the General

¹ At this date (1777) Dr. Walter Jones was Physician General of the Hospitals, and Dr. Benjamin Rush was Surgeon General of the Hospitals of the Middle Department, while Dr. John Cochran was Physician and Surgeon General of the army of the same department.—LOSSING'S FIELD BOOK, Vol. 11, p. 33.

² In the act, this amount was given for services from June 1, 1777, to February 16, 1780. Why no compensation was given for the remainder of his term, which did not end until 1782, is not clear.

Assembly to the censures of the economists of the day. Dr. Martin, throughout his life, was accustomed to speak of the time spent at Bethlehem as the most pleasant and profitable part of his career, having had ample opportunities for the study of his profession, agreeable work, pleasant society, and, what his brother officers in the field could not always obtain, excellent fare, derived from the wild game which abounded in the neighborhood.

While attending to his duties as hospital surgeon he had been able to attend two full courses of medical lectures at the Philadelphia School. The skill which he displayed as a dissector persuaded Dr. Shippen, the professor of anatomy, to appoint him demonstrator to the class; and he had applied himself with such zeal and ability that he was occasionally permitted, in the absence of the professor, to lecture in his stead. He was accustomed when speaking of this portion of his life, to refer to the difficulties of procuring subjects for anatomical dissection, as a great impediment to the pursuit of this department of medical science. The indignation of the people against the professors and students for their efforts to obtain the necessary material, was not founded wholly upon a regard for the dead, but upon superstitions, of which there are remains to this day. The degree of Bachelor of Medicine had been conferred upon him, and when about to leave the medical school to which he had rendered his services quite equivalent to the honors conferred, Dr. Shippen, his preceptor, offered him many inducements to remain in the city of Philadelphia and to continue his connection with the institution. It was proposed to him that he should accept the chair of adjunct professor of Anatomy; but this was declined, as he was persuaded that a general practice in his native county would prove more remunerative than the emoluments of such a position, even though coupled with such rewards as might be derived from the exercise of his profession in a large city. That he committed an error of judgment, he in after years was ready to confess, and this he attempted, ineffectually, as will be seen in the sequel, to remedy. It is venturing little to say that upon a wider field than that in which he exercised his undoubted abilities, he would not have remained the obscure country physician, but would have acquired eminence in his profession for both learning and skill. It was the intention of Dr. Martin, after receiving his first degree to apply the next year for the final degree of Doctor of Medicine. This purpose he never carried out, but many years later the University of Maryland, conferring this honor upon him, unsolicited, received honor in return, by this generous act.

In "the memorable year of 1783," as he calls the year of the acknowledgment by Great Britain of the independence of the United States, Dr. Martin took up his residence in Easton, Talbot county, Maryland, and entered actively upon the practice of his profession in all its branches. He had brought with him a reputation for learning acquired in the best school and under the best instructors of the country; and for skill in the observation and treatment of disease and injury obtained by long attendance in the army hospital. To these advantages he added the influence of a large family connection of the first respectability. His success was assured from the beginning, and this success but increased his diligence, attention and devotion to both the science and the art of medicine. While he continued to be a student of the best literature of his profession, he was a yet more diligent student of nature in her abnormal operations. The young physician must almost necessarily rely for guidance upon the teaching of others, but as the materials for independent opinion and conduct accumulate, the ability to free himself from the shackles of mere authority, and routine, and to adopt a course of thought or action that is marked out by his own reason or the indications of his own observation, belongs only to those of superior order of mind. When that course has been proven by the tests of time, such independence and perspicacity are the marks of the highest order of professional intelligence. These marks were exhibited by Dr. Martin. At a time when the dicta of Dr. Rush were almost as supreme in this country, as were the aphorisms of Hippocrates, of old, he presumed to call them in question. In particular he dared to doubt the propriety of applying the precepts of the sanguinary code of this great teacher to the treatment of certain inflammatory affections and forms of fever. Although he was of the independent character of mind, he was not one who found justification for his disregard of authority in his own impulses. It was not from a mere spirit of differing that he differed. Few men showed greater willingness to learn from others; but again few men showed a greater reluctance to obey directions, that were not accompanied by reasons for obedience. He was self-reliant, but did not disdain assistance.

His methods of treatment were, in general of the heroic character. They were decisive, not expectant. His remedies were drastic, his doses were formidable, and their results were unequivocal and palpable. Even his manner towards his patients was rough—almost brutal. He had a thorough conviction of the efficacy of medicine in the cure of disease when properly administered. He prescribed with that decision which

was born of this conviction, and of his own competency. None of those doubts that harass the sceptical, or that paralyze the timid practitioner affected him in his therapeutics. He fully believed in his art and in himself; and he would permit no one who employed him to express or show any doubt of the value of either. His strong will and self-assertion impressed almost everyone with a conviction of his ability: and if there was any reluctance upon the part of the sick to use the remedies he prescribed, he overcame that reluctance by a resort to physical compulsion. He has been known to seize a hesitating or unwilling patient around the neck, and while holding his nose with one hand pour his hideous draughts down his throat, when he opened his mouth to gasp for breath. Such conduct as this, and the like, instead of injuriously affecting his practice, was taken to be only an eccentricity if not really an evidence, of superior genius. No physician but one who thought he had reason to think his services indispensable could have dared to do much that tradition relates of Dr. Martin, whose rough manners and fearful dosing are yet remembered almost with trembling by the older members of this community.*

The practice of Dr. Martin, when at its height extended over the whole of this county, and into those adjoining. His services in consultation were thought to be of especial value. He may have owed a part of his reputation among the people as a consulting physician to the fact that he was as little regardful of professional as of social etiquette, and without much regard to the feelings, or the interest of his brethren.

* The following anecdote will illustrate his bluntness of manner. It is believed to be thoroughly authentic: Mr. Tilghman, of "Hope," a wealthy and prominent citizen of the county, was thought to be extremely ill. Doctors Tristram Thomas and Dr. Ennalls Martin were attending in consultation upon his case. On a certain day, Dr. Thomas was the first to arrive at the house of Mr. T., and was met at the door by Mrs. T., who stating that her husband was easily disturbed by the slightest noise, requested that he would draw off his heavy riding boots and put on slippers, which were provided for him. Dr. Thomas, who was one of politest men of his day, and the gentlest of physicians, assented with the utmost complaisance, and having substituted the slippers for his boots glided noiselessly into the sick chamber. Soon after Dr. Martin arrived, of whom a similar request was made by Mrs. T. He looked at her intently, as though he did not understand her meaning, saying, "What did you say, Madam?" She repeated the request. Then with the utmost abruptness he said, "Poo, Poo! Madam, you must be a fool!" and without taking further notice of her, he went stamping up stairs into the sick man's presence, apparently making more noise than usual with his heaviest of heavy boots. It does not appear that this conduct received any severe reprobation.

He did not hesitate to express his disapprobation of any course of treatment that an attending physician had been pursuing, if it did not meet his approval. Indeed a case is mentioned, where he openly rebuked a practitioner, who had been attempting to follow with servility Dr. Martin's own advice, as laid down in his published essay, giving the astonished doctor to understand that the best of written rules were a bad substitute for even a poor judgment—a declaration, which of course, was unanswerable, and made with a coarseness that was unpardonable. In his practice he always expressed a preference for surgery, his services in the military hospital and in the dissecting room having given him manual dexterity with the knife and other instruments. But situated as he was in the country, there were few opportunities afforded him for the employment of his skill, or an indulgence in his surgical *penchant*.

The reputation he had acquired in Talbot, and which really had extended into distant portions of the state, persuaded him, in the year 1818, to surrender his practice to his son-in-law, Dr. Edward Spedden, and to remove from Easton to Baltimore, believing that he would there be able at once to acquire a remunerative and less laborious practice; and besides would attain that distinction among his professional brethren which was his ambition, and which he felt to be his due, but from which he was debarred by reason of the secluded section in which he lived. But, like most physicians who have attempted similar adventures, he was disappointed in his expectations, and after a short residence in Baltimore he returned to Easton, resumed his former practice, in the laborious prosecution of which he spent the remainder of his life.

The career of the practitioner of medicine, especially of the country practitioner, is but little diversified. His life is spent in one round of duty, full of petty crises involving life and death it may be to a few, but marked by no great events that can interest the world at large, or that can distinguish his own career. But there are a few circumstances in the life of Dr. Martin which should not go unrecorded, as they will serve to characterize him, and also to illustrate the annals of this county.

In the year 1793 there was much alarm in the town of Easton because of the presence in Philadelphia of the yellow fever. A public meeting of the citizens was held to devise measures for the prevention of its introduction into the town, and its propagation, if it should appear. Among others adopted was the appointment of a Board of Health to inspect all persons coming from the infested city. This Board was constituted of physicians exclusively, of whom Dr. Martin was one.

It may be well enough to say, no cases of the disease were known in Easton or the county, during the epidemic.

In the year 1798 a number of the leading physicians of the State united in a petition to the General Assembly for an act of incorporation, and in January of the following year their petition was granted by the passage of a bill constituting certain persons therein mentioned a body corporate, under the title of "The Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of the State of Maryland." Among the provisions of this bill was the granting to this society the power to issue licenses to practice medicine within the State, to those persons who should prove their competency before a "Board of Examiners" to be selected, seven from the Western and five from the Eastern Shore. Of the original petitioners and incorporators Dr. Ennalls Martin was one; and at the first meeting of the Faculty, June 11th, 1799, at Annapolis, he was elected one of the Board of Examiners for this Shore, the other members of that section of the board being Doctors James Anderson, Jr., of Kent, James Davidson of Queen Anne's, Perry E. Noel and Stephen Theodore Johnson, of Talbot.⁴ At a general meeting of this Faculty at Baltimore in July, 1802, committees for each city and county in the State, entitled Medical Censors, were appointed, the principal duty of which was to see that "the Medical and Chirurgical law be not infringed by unlicensed practitioners, and that the penalties thereof be inflicted upon trespassers." Dr. Ennalls Martin and Dr. Stephen Theodore Johnson were selected as the Censors for Talbot. At this same meeting Dr. Martin was made one of an Executive Committee of fifteen, selected from the two sections of the State, and the members of this committee were also Examiners. These honorable positions in this society he held for many years. In 1818 he was elected president of the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty, which is indicative of the estimation in which he was held by his professional brethren. How long he held this place is not known. In the year 1830 he received a similar testimonial from this body by being chosen one of its delegates to the General Medical Convention, which assembled at New York, in the spring of that year, for the purpose of revising the American Pharmacopœia.

To Doctor Martin this county is largely indebted for the introduction of one of the greatest benefactions that medical science has conferred upon the human race, namely vaccination. The discovery of the pro-

⁴ The first meeting of the Board of Examiners for the E. Shore, for granting licenses to practitioners, was held on the 2nd Monday of April, 1800.

phylactic modifying influence of the cowpox upon the terrible disease of variola, dates as it is well known from 1796. Its introduction, however, into common use met with many prejudices and other impediments, so that it was not until 1803 that it was resorted to in Talbot county. In 1802, an article appeared in the *Maryland Herald*, published at Easton, recommending its virtues; but in 1803 a still more extended one was printed over the signatures of Dr. Martin, and other prominent physicians of the county. This was doubtless from his pen. It asserted with great positiveness the efficacy and safety of vaccination, and the opinions of the signers were corroborated by certificates from leading physicians of Philadelphia, then regarded as the very fountain head of medical knowledge in America. The vaccination of the poor gratuitously was offered by the gentlemen issuing this paper. Somewhat later Dr. Martin was compelled to defend his position as to vaccination being a preventive of smallpox, because of the occurrence of a case of varioloid in a person who had been subjected to the vaccine impression. The arguments he used are now but the common places of medical science, but then they were its novelties. It would seem that considerable time was necessary to dispel doubts of the value of this agent, to allay fears of its dangerousness, and to eradicate prejudices that were almost of the nature of superstitions, as to the propriety of its employment; but unquestionably to this sensible physician much credit is due for its introduction, and for its being brought into general use in this county within a reasonably brief period after its virtues had been made known.

In the last days of the year 1812 a disease of a peculiar type made its appearance in Talbot. It became epidemic during the winters of 1813 1814, in this and the adjoining county of Queen Anne's. A few cases appeared in Caroline and Dorchester. Such was its severity, or such were the results of its improper treatment, that in five months no fewer than five hundred persons, at a very moderate computation, perished in Talbot alone, out of a population of about fifteen thousand. The disease presented symptoms of pneumonia, masked however by such severe cephalic pain, that it acquired the popular name of the "head complaint." It was treated by the means ordinarily employed for pleurisy or pneumonia, which were repeated venesection and other depleting remedies. Dr. Martin was not slow to discover that this method was attended by most unsatisfactory, indeed disastrous results; and he had the good sense, and resolution to abandon '*system*,' and adopt the suggestions of experience. An employment of mild, soothing, and

as it were negative treatment was attended by most gratifying success; or if active remedies were used at all they were just the opposite of those prescribed by 'system,' namely, stimulants and corroborants.⁵ This success brought him great reputation among the people and with the profession: and very deservedly for he had shown great perspicacity and great independence. What better evidence can there be of professional ability than to be able to step out of the beaten track, and to anticipate, as it were, that which the science and the observation of the future prove to be the correct line of procedure. Medical men will notice that Dr. Martin's treatment of this disease, which would now be called a typhoid pneumonia, was precisely that which is employed by the most enlightened physicians of this day, though it was directly contrary to the received practice of his time.

As might be expected of one so devoted to his profession as Dr. Martin was; of one possessed of his knowledge of medical science and of his experience in medical art; of one of his independence of opinion and originality of methods, he was a contributor to medical literature. He is said to have been a frequent contributor to the *Medical Repository*, a journal published in the city of Philadelphia, but there are no means of identifying his papers. Besides these casual Essays, he published in the year 1815 a tract on the epidemic diseases, noticed above.⁶ In this tract he attempts to account for the appearance of this epidemic (in Dec. 1812) after a season of unusual healthfulness, and he assigns as the remote cause, the vitiation of the atmosphere by tuleric and meteoric phenomena, mentioning the occurrence of an earthquake shock in 1812 and the appearance of a comet—to so late a date have such professional superstitions survived. In his attempts to assign the predisposing, exciting and proximate causes of the disease, for he had the pedantry of systematists, if he contemned their methods, his etiology is hardly less curious. But when he comes to treat of the cure of the disease he is thoroughly rational, and, as has been before stated, he has actually anticipated the best treatment of modern therapeutics. The style of this essay is lucid except where the mind of the writer has

⁵ This and other statements respecting this epidemic are taken from Dr. Martin's Essay upon the epidemics of 1813 and 1814, hereafter to be noticed.

⁶ An Essay on the Epidemics of the winters of 1813 and 1814, in Talbot and Queen Anne's counties of the State of Maryland. By Ennalls Martin, M.B., Practitioner of Medicine, in Easton, Maryland. 'I do not contend for my own opinion, but for reason, or what carries the appearance of reason.'—Sealiger, Baltimore: Printed by Joseph Robinson, 96 Market Street, 1815, pp. vii. 71.

been confused by the jargon of the schools, and he attempts to explain the inexplicable.

Besides this tract an essay upon fever was published. This is characterized in a brief biography by his son, Dr. George T. Martin, as an "Oration upon Fever." In all probability it was a paper read before some Medical Society, and printed by request of that body. As no copy of it has been discovered no account can be given of its contents. It is said to contain "with a few objectionable paragraphs much worthy to be remembered."

At the time of Dr. Martin's death he was engaged in the preparation of an extended work upon "The Epidemic Diseases of the Eastern Shore;" but this was left in such an unfinished state as to prevent its publication.

Before closing this review of the professional career of Doctor Martin, and this appreciation of his abilities, it may be well to quote the opinion of a contemporary, and also that of a number of the faculty, who living nearer than the present to his time, had every opportunity to learn from those who knew and were capable of judging him what estimate was placed upon him during his life. In an obituary notice of his death published in one of the county papers it was said:

Although it is not pretended that Doctor Martin was endowed by nature with an intellect around which genius cast its lustre; yet it cannot be denied that he possessed a mind of the most searching and laborious study. * * * Zealous in the cause of science, generally, and in that of his profession particularly, he was rarely idle in the pursuit of knowledge. It could not therefore be otherwise than that one so laborious should readily obtain and easily hold, a preeminent rank in his profession.

Dr. C. C. Cox, in his eloquent eulogium of Dr. Tristram Thomas, pronounced in August 1847, thus refers to Doctor Martin, the cotemporary of Dr. Thomas:

Dr. Martin indeed held a high rank, not only in Talbot, but throughout the State as a successful practitioner of medicine and surgery, and a sound and forcible writer. His name is a household word in many a family circle and will long be cherished among the proudest memorials of his native county. * * * His excellent character, remarkable mental endowments and distinguished public services have justly endeared him to the people of Easton.

This same gentleman in a private communication in referring to the brusqueness of his manners has very aptly characterized him as "the Abernethy of Talbot."

But Dr. Martin did not confine his attention exclusively to medicine and surgery. Every man, however independent he may be, is more or less affected by his surroundings, or catches the spirit of the locality in which he may be placed. Living as he did in the midst of an agricultural people, it was natural he should share with them an interest in this one pursuit. It is proper to say also, that in the early part of this century, in this county, a great deal of intelligence was brought into exercise upon the subject of farming, both in its theory and practice. The remark is ventured, and it is believed it may be substantiated by proof, that fifty years ago there was a better judgment and a more accurate observation applied to our agriculture than at present: and this too, notwithstanding the progress of agronomy and the subsidiary sciences, the multiplication of farm journals and agricultural schools, and the fostering care of this fundamental industry by the government. A large number of well educated gentlemen were then engaged in a pursuit that is now too commonly abandoned to those of the least mental culture. The leisure afforded by the possession of slaves who performed the drudgery of labor under the supervision of overseers gave the masters the opportunity for the study of farm methods, and for coördinating the results of his own and his neighbors' observation and experience. The result was a vast amount of correct agricultural knowledge, which came near to science, if it were not science, and a system of farming which has not been excelled by those who are most accustomed to undervalue it, and which has been the admiration of those capable of estimating it without prejudice. Dr. Martin as a close student of the laws of nature, found agriculture a congenial subject. Like medicine, it is an empirical science, and an experimental art. The theories and the practice are tentative. Nothing is settled. There is an unlimited field for the expatiation of the imagination, and an inexhaustible supply of materials for observation. A study of the laws of life are at the bottom of both. The same faculties of the mind are exercised in the practice of farming as in the practice of medicine. The liabilities to error are the same, and the criteria of truth are the same. It is not to be wondered at that Dr. Martin who was so much of a medical philosopher, and so earnest a practitioner of his art, should have been, with his environments, an enthusiastic agriculturist. His farming operations, however, were carried on upon a small scale, and were rather a diversion than work. He was fond of speculating and experimenting and as a matter of course fond of airing his theories and displaying the results of his experience and observation in the public prints. But Ceres no more than any other of her sex,—deity or dame,

admits of a divided worship. It must be confessed that Dr. Martin's success as a farmer was not commensurate with his success as a physician.

In the earlier years of his life he was a warm politician, but there is no evidence that he ever sought any political position. Like his farming his partisanship was an amusement, not a pursuit. He early adopted the opinions of the Federalists, and with them, or those that succeeded them in their opposition to the Democrats, he continued to act through life. He was fond of political controversy, probably more for the mental exercise or stimulus it afforded, and for the opportunity it gave him of measuring himself with others in an unaccustomed field of discussion, than for the purpose of attaining any end, even the success of his party. As upon medicine and upon agriculture, he was fond of exercising his pen upon political subjects. He wrote frequently for the *Maryland Herald*, the only paper published upon the Eastern Shore up to the year 1800, and did not spare his opponents. He did not confine himself to argumentation. He was fond of personal attack. Private character was too often assailed, and that in a manner so gross as to admit no justification. One of his most noted contributions was that entitled "The Grand Caucus," published in the year 1798. In this dramatic satire the most respectable characters, and some not so respectable, belonging to the Republican or Democratic party, in this county, were most mercilessly ridiculed. Its wit is of the broadest kind, and had its point in the fact that it displays to the public the private conduct of some gentlemen, in some affairs, which they were most desirous, and indeed which propriety demanded, should be concealed and forgotten. This satire was thoroughly characteristic of the writer. It involved him in a personal collision, with one of the persons satirized—a man much like him in character, and fully his equal in mental and physical ability. This affair had this most curious and ridiculous *denouement* that the gentleman who had been worsted in the fight, and had received a grievous wound, called in as his attending surgeon the one who had inflicted the hurt. But a more serious injury was inflicted by Dr. Martin upon himself, by this injudicious publication, and others of a political nature. These, with his fondness for political disputation, prevented his acquiring much practice which otherwise would have come to him; for all were not as well disposed, to disregard his violence of opinion, when about to employ a physician, as was the gentleman mentioned above. Later in life, however, when his own feelings had become somewhat tempered, and party rancor in a measure subsided, Dr. Martin without changing his political associations or

transferring his allegiance, abandoned active participation in party contest.

A too persistent study of the physical, to the disregard of the spiritual; a too intense regard for wellbeing of men's bodies, to the neglect of the interests of their souls, which the profession of medicine promotes, is apt to lead the physician into indifference to religion, or even into absolute skepticism. Where there are three physicians, then there are two atheists, has long been made the reproach of the faculty. Of the atheists or skeptics Dr. Martin was not one. Notwithstanding his calling, and again notwithstanding the very constitution of his mind, as being essentially masculine in its character, the very opposite to that belonging to most devout persons, he was really a pious man; more particularly after his earlier years. Of course there could be in such a man as he, no sanctimoniousness, but there was an abiding conviction of his dependence upon and responsibility to a higher power. He conformed to the usages of the Protestant Episcopal Church and accepted its confession of faith. His life was thoroughly exemplary, for though his manners were rough, and his conduct was not of that gentle kind which is thought to characterize the religious; yet no one could lay to his charge any act that was inconsistent with a sincere profession of piety. In the year 1827 he was so unfortunate as to lose a son, Bartholomew Ennalls Martin, who was thought to be promising. That the grave of this young man might be saved from the desecration which so often comes to those that are made in private burial-grounds, the afflicted father gave to the vestry of Christ church, at Easton, the lot of ground in which he interred the body of his son (the first to be there deposited), and this became the graveyard for the burial of the dead of that congregation.⁷ Beside the remains of this son repose those of the father.

⁷ Although it is generally said this young man was the first to be buried in the Protestant Episcopal grave yard at Easton, another person may have preceded him; and as the circumstances of this burial are highly creditable to the sensibilities of Dr. Martin, it may be related. He was in attendance upon a poor woman, of respectable character, who being about to die, manifested a solicitude about something, which she long hesitated to communicate. Knowing her perfect resignation to death, and her lively hope of a happy resurrection; Dr. Martin was at a loss to understand her anxiety. She finally confessed that this sprang from a knowledge that she would have to be buried as a pauper in the potters-field, at which her self-respect or pride revolted. Dr. Martin's sympathies were aroused in her behalf, and to quiet her mind, he promised that she should be decently buried in a secluded part of one of his lots. This promise he faithfully performed; and those who relate this incident say it was

In his immediate family he was kind and indulgent. Though by no means genial, for he always was busy and preoccupied, yet he was honestly cordial with his friends, and to them he dispensed such a lavish hospitality as prevented the accumulation of a fortune, which but for this liberality his great practice must have achieved.

Dr. Martin possessed a vigorous physical constitution. In personal appearance he was a man of large frame, above the medium height and well developed. He was capable of great endurance. His complexion was dark and sallow, and his temperament what would be called sanguineo-bilious.

Dr. Martin was married to Miss Sarah Hayward, the daughter of Benjamin Hayward, Esq., an estimable citizen of Dorchester county. By this lady was born to him a family of five sons and two daughters, only one of whom survives to the present.⁸ All of these children held most respectable positions in society, and some of them rose to distinction in civil life. The family is represented in this state by Mr. Robert Martin, the son of Dr. George T. Martin, late of Baltimore, and now the engineer of the new water works in progress of building, for the use of that city. But other descendants of Dr. Ennalls Martin are found in distant parts of the Union, and all of these are proud to claim as an ancestor one so gifted by nature, and so honored by men.

After a long life full of the labors of usefulness, this worthy died Dec. 16th, 1834. Neither filial piety nor public gratitude has as yet marked his grave with even a modest stone, but tradition preserves his good name and the memory of his sterling qualities. If this inadequate sketch of his life shall perpetuate these traditions it will not have failed of its purpose.

the request of this poor woman and his own compliance with it, that first suggested the presentation of the lot of ground where she was buried to the Episcopal Church as a permanent grave yard.

It is proper to add the lot was deeded to the Vestry without any reservation, and that body subsequently authorized a plot to be laid off for the interment of the family of Dr. Martin. This grave yard now makes a part of Spring Hill Cemetery, near Easton.

⁸ The children of Dr. Ennalls Martin were these: William Hayward Martin, who was at one time upon the bench, in the state of Mississippi; Dr. Geo. T. Martin, who was a reputable practitioner of medicine, first in Caroline county and then in Baltimore city; James Goldsborough Martin, a merchant of New Orleans; Charles Martin, a merchant of Savannah, Georgia; Bartholomew Ennalls Martin, who died early in Easton; Mary Martin, wife of Dr. Edw. Spedden, of Missouri, and still living, and Elizabeth Martin, who died unmarried.

THE REVEREND THOMAS BACON, D.D.

1700-1768

In the recent numbers of *The Easton Star* there was published an account of the "Charity Working School," set up in this county in the middle of the last century, by the Reverend Doctor Thomas Bacon. The establishment of this school was but a single act, though a laudable and an important one, in the founder's busy life of laborious usefulness; and the narrative should properly have made but a part of the more complete story of that life which it is now proposed to tell with as much fullness as the very imperfect records and meagre memorials will permit.¹

Of the early life of Mr. Bacon little or nothing is certainly known. He is represented to have been born of respectable parents in the Isle of Man—that little spot of earth which long held such an anomalous political relation to the kingdom of Great Britain, and indeed in a measure still holds it, and whose people are so characteristically distinguished from their compatriots on either side of the sea that surrounds it, whether English, Irish or Scotch. He is thought to have been born about the year 1700, when though William of Orange was upon the throne of England, the Earl of Derby was King of Man. As little is known of his education as of his birth and parentage. The evidences which he gave in after life are proofs of his having enjoyed good academic instruction; for he was undoubtedly acquainted with the ancient languages, and his learning was such as to merit the degree of Doctor of Divinity which late in life was conferred upon him by one of the universities of the United Kingdom, probably that of Dublin, in which city he gave his

¹ In order that credit may be given where it is justly due it is proper to state that a large part of the materials used in the preparation of this biographical sketch is to be attributed to the Rev. Dr. Ethan Allen, the industrious collector of so much information respecting the clergymen who exercised their functions as ministers of the established church, and of the Protestant Episcopal Church, its successor, in Maryland. In the "Quarterly Church Review" for Oct. 1865, Dr. Allen published quite an extended memoir of Mr. Bacon, in which he embodied almost all that was then known of him. This memoir has been freely used. Some errors trivial as well as important have been corrected, and some additions have been made of incidents in Mr. Bacon's life which were either unknown to his biographer, or which he thought it proper to suppress as being unsuitable for or unworthy of publication. These additions have been made from sources entirely authentic—public records or private letters and memoranda. Some of the sources of Mr. Allen's information have been re-examined, but others are beyond the reach of the present writer; so many of his statements must be taken upon his authority alone, as there are no means of verification.

first exhibition of scholarly tastes and habits. After the conclusion of his academic course he appears to have travelled extensively, adding to his stock of knowledge by observation of men and manners in his own and foreign countries. His biographer speaks of him as having at this period of his life "experienced many changes of fortune," without noting what these were; but the expression may be understood as meaning that he attempted several callings without achieving success in any. It is certain that the sacred ministry was not the calling of his first adoption. In the year 1737 he was residing in the city of Dublin, and had before this date published "a laborious and judicious work entitled '*A complete System of Revenue in England,*'" a work which the bibliographers have not been able to trace, but of which he himself gives a brief account. From the nature of this work it is not improbable that he held some post under the government in the department of the revenue. But by the year 1738 his mind had been diverted from civil or secular pursuits and he had determined to devote himself to the sacred calling of the Christian ministry, with a purpose, probably, of exercising his vocation in the provinces of Virginia or Maryland, which then offered an inviting field to either the conscientious or the selfish clergyman of the church of England. He was fortunate in having at his former home, in the Isle of Man, to which he returned, so warm a friend, so learned an instructor and so pious and devoted an exemplar in all the professional as well as Christian virtues, as "good Bishop Wilson," the memory of whose pure life and good deeds is still and ever shall be fresh and fragrant in the church catholic.³ It would seem that Mr. Bacon's preparation for the ministry was deliberate and thorough, for it was not until 1744 that he was admitted to holy orders. On the 23d of September of that year he was ordained deacon and on the 11th of March of the

³ To this saintly man the pious throughout the world shall ever be indebted for his books of devotion, the people of his diocese for innumerable benefits, temporal and spiritual, and even we, of this far distant county, for acts of benevolence which should never be forgotten, and which justify this tribute. Such was his unselfishness that he refused several offers, by his sovereign, of translation, to sees of richer revenue; such his lowliness of mind that he persistently declined taking the seat in the House of Lords, to which he was entitled; such his gentleness of spirit that he was never known to speak a harsh word even to those who wronged him; such his charities to the poor that he was said to have kept beggars from all doors but his own; and such his humility, reaching beyond the grave, that when he came to die, he forbade his son to inscribe upon his tomb any words of praise. The best eulogium that can be pronounced upon Mr. Bacon is that he enjoyed the constant friendship of Bishop Wilson.

year following he was ordained priest, Bishop Wilson in each case being the ordinant, and the ceremony taking place in Kirk Michael, one of the parish churches of the diocese of Sodor and Man. At this time and up to the period of the Revolution, the colonies in America were under the ecclesiastical control of the Bishop of London, and it was only with his consent that ministers of the established church were allowed to exercise their functions in the provinces. Mr. Bacon was set apart for this duty, with the assent of this prelate. He had selected the province of Maryland as the field of his labors, his attention having been drawn in this direction by his brother, Mr. Anthony Bacon, a London merchant.⁸ He had formed the acquaintance of the Lord Proprietary, and having won his favor and esteem, it is probable he received some assurances of a presentation to a living, should a vacancy occur. At this date the Proprietary of Maryland was Charles Calvert, the fifth, or as some say the sixth Lord Baltimore. The family had again become Protestant in faith, Benedict Leonard Calvert having in 1713 publicly abjured Romanism. Before leaving England for the field of his labor, Mr. Bacon had been appointed domestic chaplain to the Proprietary, which appears to have been a purely honorary position, or if there was any salary attached, the office was a sinecure inasmuch as no duties were required. This honor, and whatever else the place brought to him, if anything, he continued to enjoy through life, as we find him as late as 1765, inscribing himself in his book of Laws, as "Domestic Chaplain to the Lord Proprietary."

Before leaving England, but at what date it is not certainly known, Mr. Bacon had married a wife and by her a son had been born to him.

⁸ Mr. afterwards Sir Anthony Bacon, the brother of Mr. Thomas Bacon, was a large shipping merchant of London, who for many years, and as long as the tobacco trade was profitable, maintained a close commercial intercourse with the people of this province. He had his factors or agents, with their stores and warehouses at several points in this and adjoining counties, Oxford, Dover, and Cambridge, among them. His ships traded in Choptank, Saint Michaels and Wye Rivers. He was at one time, perhaps more than once, in Talbot, and in the year 1748 he formed a copartnership with Mr. James Dickinson, settled at Dover, between whom, and the Bacons there was some relationship through marriage. After closing his business in Maryland Mr. Anthony Bacon engaged in mining in Glamorganshire, Wales. Between his Maryland trade and his Welsh mining he achieved a great fortune, and was knighted. [This is upon the authority of Mr. John Bosman Kerr.] He wrote and published in 1775 a small book entitled "A short address to the Government, the Merchants, Manufacturers and Colonists in America and the Sugar Islands." He died without children.

These accompanied him upon his voyage to America, and in a new country they were neither burdens upon his energy nor impediments to his usefulness.

Mr. Bacon arrived at Oxford, in this county, in October of the year 1745, not improbably a passenger upon one of the ships of his brother, Mr. Anthony Bacon. He did not come as among entire strangers. As before mentioned his brother was maintaining intimate commercial intercourse with the people of Talbot, and had himself at one time been a resident of the county. His agents were established wherever tobacco was to be bought and goods sold advantageously. To these agents and correspondents the Rev. Mr. Bacon doubtless brought letters of introduction from his brother. But at Oxford he met with a fellow islander, Mr. Henry Callister, for whom he brought letters from his friends in the Isle of Man and who, indeed, had had advices of Mr. Bacon's coming. This gentleman had been settled at Oxford since 1742, as a subfactor under Mr. Robert Morris, the chief factor for Maryland, of Messrs. Foster, Cunliffe & Company, merchants of Liverpool. Though occupying this subordinate yet entirely respectable position, out of which he arose at a later day, Mr. Callister was a man of repute and influence by reason of his high intelligence and his strong traits of character. It was his custom to copy the letters which he addressed to the firm of which he was agent as well as many of those written to his friends and kinsmen in England or America. Fortunately the large collection of these letters, covering a period of more than twenty years, from 1742 to 1765, has escaped destruction, and is now in a position where it may be consulted by the curious. Mr. Callister was very evidently a man of superior education and accomplishments; and being fond of using his pen, his letters are something more than the formal statements of a merchant's clerk, or the trivial communications of an absent kinsman to his family at home. They are written with no inconsiderable literary skill, while they make most interesting references to men and things in this and the adjoining counties with the writer's comments thereon. Among the persons mentioned was Mr. Bacon, with whom he was upon terms of intimacy and good fellowship from the date of his arrival and for many years after. A common origin, being both from the Isle of Man, and common tastes, being both fond of books and of music, drew these two persons together, though differences in religious and political sentiment tended to divide them, Mr. Bacon being a churchman and tory while Mr. Callister was sceptic and whig. As these letters give much information of him with

whom this contribution is concerned, which can be obtained from no other source, they will be freely used.⁴

The earliest of these that mention Mr. Bacon is one addressed to his brother, Mr. Hugh Callister, written at Oxford, and dated July 28th, 1744. In this letter he says:

This Mr. Bacon, you speak of, I suppose is brother to Mr. Anthony Bacon, who kept a store on this river, and is now a merchant in London, for I heard that one Bacon, a brother of his in Dublin, who wrote a book of rates, is expected in this country, after getting orders in London, to be inducted parson of our parish, and that he had another brother in Dublin, who kept a coffee house.

This letter was written, therefore, before Mr. Bacon's arrival in Maryland; but another bearing the date of November 5th, 1744, and addressed to Mr. Tear of Douglas, in the Isle of Man, contains this passage:

I should have passed for a tip-top musician if the Reverend Mr. Bacon had not come in. He handed me your letter and some others from Douglas. Immediately upon his landing, he found the way to our house and stayed with me about half a day. He has been to see us several times, and at our parish church he has given several sermons, which have got the better of most of the audience. There are a few blockheads who have aspersed him and his wife's characters, but as he will always be known to the best people, what the fools say will not hurt him. He is a very agreeable companion, and a sober and a learned man. His performances on the violin and violincello, have afforded us much delight, and his conversation as much. I have a pretty set of music and he has a better. We have a brute of a parson⁵ here in our

⁴ This collection of several hundred letters is now in the possession of the Diocese of Maryland, and it is through the courtesy of Dr. E. A. Dalrymple, the Curator of the Archives of that Diocese, that the writer has been permitted to consult them. They are interesting and valuable as affording information of the state of society in this and the adjoining counties, but more particularly of the condition and character of trade, domestic and foreign, during the time which they cover.

⁵ At the date mentioned the rector of the parish of St. Peter was the venerable and excellent Mr. Daniel Manadier, a French Huguenot. His age and infirmities required that he should have a curate, and the person acting in this capacity for him, and to whom Mr. Callister refers was the notorious Nathaniel Whittaker, very justly characterized as "a brute of a parson," for he was a drunkard, a gambler and a quarrelsome fellow. He was dismissed by Mr. Manadier at the urgent request of his vestry; but he seems to have been in such favor with Governor Bladen as to be appointed by him rector of Westminster parish in Anne Arundel county. While there he was publicly whipped by a lady, as is recorded

parish, and the vestry and people would gladly turn him out and make room for Mr. Bacon, but the latter will not be concerned, as he compassionates the other's misfortunes. We shall prevail on him at last to accept a good salary. The ordinary salary would not be much, but the extraordinary subscriptions he would get, if he should stay with us, would be worth his while. He has in a very little time got the esteem of our best people. He is still a neighbor, but I am afraid he will leave us as soon as a vacancy in some other part of the province offers for him.

On the 12th of November, only seven days after the writing of the letter to Mr. Tear, Mr. Callister wrote to his brother Ewan Callister, of Douglas, in these words:

I received with pleasure yours of the 18th June, which was handed me by the Rev'd Mr. Thomas Bacon, whom, I am in great hopes, we shall retain among us. He is very much esteemed by the best of our people, and almost universally he is esteemed a clever fellow, and I believe a good man. We have had several concerts together, and may have frequent opportunities to divert ourselves in that way. He is received as curate of this parish, and is allowed by the parson, who is an invalid 20,000 lbs. of tobacco per annum, with perquisites which may amount to 5 or 6,000 more, which is a very good living; and when the old parson dies, which he will in a very little time, I hope he will get the berth. It is about 50,000 lbs. of tobacco per annum, which is worth in the country one year with another £500 paper, or 250 £ sterling: and as parsons are allowed to trade with their tobacco, if he will ship it to England, it may produce as much more per annum.

These letters of Mr. Callister are so explicit that they need no comment nor elucidation. They serve to indicate with precision the time of Mr. Bacon's arrival at Oxford, the cordiality of his reception, not only by those for whom he brought letters, but by the people in general, the estimate that was placed upon his abilities as a preacher, and his social qualities, and finally of his installation as the curate of Mr. Manadier in St. Peter's parish. This gentleman who was far advanced in years, and had long been incapacitated for the full performance of his ministerial functions, and who, in truth, never had been efficient or acceptable as a preacher, though he commended himself by an exemplary life, died February 23d, 1745. The Lord Proprietary of the province enjoyed advowsons of all the parishes, and in his absence the Governor for the

in the old *Maryland Gazette*, in the following terms: "We read that at a county court held here the 9th of July of this year (1749) a Mrs. S. C., of Patapsco, was fined the sum of one penny for whipping the Rev. Mr. N——l W——r with a hickory switch, it being imagined by the court that he well deserved it." He died in jail in Somerset county in 1766.

time being exercised the prerogative of presentation to livings. Accordingly, it is found, that immediately after the death of Mr. Manadier, Governor Bladen, doubtless by the direct command of Lord Baltimore, previously made known, and at the request of the vestry, issued letters of induction to Mr. Bacon. At a meeting of the vestry held March 18th, 1745, he presented these letters and also his certificates of ordination; whereupon, by a unanimous vote of the vestrymen and church wardens he was accepted as rector of St. Peter's parish, and his papers were ordered to be placed upon record; which was accordingly done, and there they may be seen to this day.*

The satisfaction which Mr. Bacon had given while acting in the subordinate capacity of curate continued after he had been promoted to the rectorship. A letter of Mr. Callister to Mr. William Henderson, of Ramsey, in the Isle of Man, dated Aug. 21, 1746, says:

I presume you have been acquainted on the Island with Mr. Thomas Bacon. He is now our parson, and I think him the worthiest clergyman I ever knew, not excepting the Bishop. He is a strong vindicator of T. S. M. (Thomas, Sodor and Man) and a potent advocate for him.

On the same day Mr. Callister wrote to his brother Ewan:

Mr. Bacon has since my last been inducted into the parish, and gives entire satisfaction to all his parishioners.

* This letter of induction and these certificates of ordination (one of the last only) are here inserted as ancient documents interesting both as to matter and form.

LETTER OF INDUCTION

Maryland ss.

Thomas Bladen, Esq., Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over the Province of Maryland, To the Reverend Thomas Bacon, sendeth greeting: I do hereby constitute you the said Thomas Bacon to be the Rector of the church of St. Peter's parish in Talbot county, To have, hold and enjoy the said church, together with all the rights, profits and advantages whatsoever appertaining to a minister of the said parish; and do hereby require the Church Wardens, Vestrymen and all others the Parishioners of the said Parish, to receive, acknowledge and assist you, the said Thomas Bacon in all matters relating to the discharge of your function.

Given at Annapolis this third day March in the thirty-first year of his Lordship's dominion, Anno Domini, 1745.

J. Ross, Cl. Con'c.

T. Bladen. [Seal]

CERTIFICATE OF ORDINATION AS PRIEST

Tenore præsentium Nos, Thomas, permissione Divina, Sodor et Man Episcopus, notium facimus universis, quod die Dominico Decimo, videlicet die mensis Martii Anno Domini millesimo septingentesimo quadragésimo quarto, et nostræ

The following extract from a letter of Mr. Callister, written from the Head of Wye, whither he had removed, after leaving Oxford, to Mr. Tear, of Douglas, and dated Aug. 23, 1747, will testify to the continuance of the esteem in which Mr. Bacon was held. At this date he also had left Oxford, and had removed to Dover.

I am now removed a great way off from where I was, and so is Mr. Bacon. He has I know a great many services to send to the Island, but I cannot see him above once a month or thereabouts. I assure you he is a very considerable man here, and in great esteem with every great man from the Governor to the Parish Clerk. I am very happy in his conversation and friendship, and so is every one that is acquainted with him. I have sent you enclosed a couple of his minuets, which are excellent. I had got these ready for you long ago. He had innumerable fine things, but when I think of writing them down I have not opportunity, and when I have time, I don't think of 'em.

In a letter to his brother of the same date, Mr. Callister says:

Mr. Bacon and his family are well and in great esteem. Since I removed up here they are removed from Oxford about twelve miles nearer me. I had the pleasure of entertaining them in March last, at Oxford, when Mr. B. toasted you, and Mrs. Bacon expressed with tears of gratitude, some little obligations they owed to you, which I take to be trifles; but this acknowledgment is good of her, as they are now above being obliged, in a necessary way, having a very considerable income. T. S. M. (Bishop Wilson) and he hold strict correspondence.

consecrationis quadragesimo septimo, Nos, in Ecclesia parochiali Sancti Michaelis, sacros ordines Dei omnipotentis præsidio celebrantes, Dilectum nobis in Christo Thomam Bacon, Diaconum, in Americam transire, Deo optimo maximo favente, in animo habentem, et per Reverendi in Christo patris et confratris nostri Edmundi Londinensis Episcopi approbationem et commendationem de vita sua laudabili et moribus per literas testimoniales commendatum ac in doctrina et scientia per Examinatorem nostrum approbatum (præstito primitus per eum Juramento de supremitate Regiæ Majestatis agnoscenda subscriptisq articulis tribus istis in 36to Canonum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ contentis) ad Sacro-sanctum Presbiteratus ordinem juxta morem et ritum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ in ea parte salubriter editum et ordinatum admissimus ipsumq Thomam Bacon Presbiterium et Ministrum Verbi Dei rite et canonice ordinavimus. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum episcopale præsentibus apponi fecimus.

Datis apud Bishops Court undecimo die mensis Martii annisq Domini et consecrationis nostræ prædictis.

[sigillum]

THO. SODOR ET MAN.

The certificate of ordination to the diaconate, was dated Sept. 23, 1744, and was in almost the same words. It therefore need not here be copied.

Even if these written testimonials to his acceptability were wanting there are other evidences, quite as emphatic and decisive. These were the renewed interest of his people in all matters relating to the church. During the protracted infirmities of the former rector the temporal affairs of the parish had been neglected and religion itself had languished. Among the very first steps taken by him was to have the boundaries of the glebe belonging to the parish accurately defined, as the old marks had been effaced and disputes had arisen as to its limits. This glebe had been long occupied by Mr. Manadier, but it seems that Mr. Bacon had no wish to reside upon the farm, probably preferring the companionship, which even such small towns as Oxford afforded, to the seclusion of the country, for he was socially inclined.⁷ In the year following his induction measures were taken to enlarge the church for the accommodation of the increasing congregation. This work, which nearly doubled the capacity of the building was not completed however until 1750, when that part of White Marsh that is still standing was completed and formed the nave to the old framed church, which made, as it were, a transept or transepts to the new brick addition. Besides enlarging the parish church Mr. Bacon caused the Chapel of Ease, on King's creek to be renovated, and he restored the services in that place of worship which seem to have been interrupted for years before.⁸

The earnestness of Mr. Bacon in promoting the spiritual interests of the people committed to his care was farther shown in his attempt to correct certain evils and malign influences by the introduction of a sound religious literature among his parishioners. A letter of his is in existence addressed to the Secretary of "the Society for propagating the Gospel in Foreign parts," written in 1750, in acknowledgment of the receipt of certain books sent to him for distribution.⁹ This letter, besides exhibiting Mr. Bacon's concern for his congregation, gives a vivid pic-

⁷ This property which was once the glebe of St. Peter's parish is still known as the Manadier farm, and lies not far from old White Marsh Church.

⁸ Mr. Allen is in error in his statement that the Chapel of Ease of St. Peters parish was erected during Mr. Bacon's incumbency. It was built many years, at least fourteen before his institution. The parish records indicate that church services were held there by him as early as 1749; but they give no indication of their celebration for a long time previous to that date.

⁹ The writer of this contribution has in his possession one of the identical books sent out by the Society. Inscribed are these words: "A Present from the Society for promoting the Gospel in Foreign parts to Mr. Robt. Lloyd, by the hands of the Rev'd Thomas Bacon." Mr. Lloyd must have been sadly in want of literary pabulum if he ever read this book, for it is insufferably dreary.

ture of the state of religion, not only in his own parish, but throughout the province. It shows how that owing to the protracted decrepitude of Mr. Manadier, and the humiliating example of Mr. Whittaker certain evils had crept into and gained strength among his people, and that he was called upon to combat, under discouraging circumstances, not only the ordinary depravity of men but also the solicitations of a pleasing and insidious superstition, the vagaries of an enthusiastic pietism, and the suggestions of plausible scepticism. These considerations will probably excuse its insertion here, notwithstanding its length.

MARYLAND, 4th August, 1750.

REVEREND SIR: Your favor of the 31st March, together with a box containing 200 Mr. West's Littleton's Discourses in defence of Christianity, I have received, and am thankful to the new Society for that distinguished mark of their confidence in making me the instrument of distributing those valuable tracts in this province, where, Gods knows, such were greatly wanting. I shall in this, as in all other commands they shall think fit to honor me with, endeavor to acquit myself to the best of my power and the furtherance of their pious intentions.

Infidelity has indeed arrived to an amazing and shocking growth in these parts, and 'tis hard to say whether it is more owing to the ignorance of the common people, the fancied knowledge of such as have got a little smattering of learning, or the misconduct of too many of the clergy, especially in this province. Religion among us seems to wear the face of the country; part moderately cultivated, the greater part wild and savage. Where diligent conscientious pastors are seated, there improvement is to be seen, in proportion to their time and labors. Where others are fixed all things appear with a desert aspect, or overrunning with a useless growth of weeds and brush sprung up since the decease of the last laborious husbandman.

Tindal's Christianity &c., has got into most houses where any body reads: but his confused obscurity and the want of learning among the generality of our readers, make him of little more service to the cause, than to possess them with a conceit that there is something very deep in him against revelation, tho' they don't understand him. So that few of our real or would be infidels are able to support even a show of argument. They appear most formidable in the way of ridicule as best suited to their capacities and most taking with the vulgar, in which they receive their main strength from the Independent Whig, a book every where to be met with. But this with Lord Shaftesbury's politer way of banter unassisted by the irregularities of the clergy, would be of little force. Here indeed they seem to triumph, and the misbehavior of some weak and (I wish I could not say) scandalous brethren lies open to the eyes and understanding of the meanest and most illiterate, furnishes the evil minded among them with a plausible objection to the truth of Christianity drawn from the open practice of its professed defenders,

makes others careless about the knowledge or means of religion; leads many of them into corrupt or at least sceptical principles, and leaves some simple and well meaning people a prey to the emissaries of the church of Rome or to the enthusiasm of *new-light* or other *itinerant* preachers, who not long ago were very numerous, especially in the parts bordering on Pennsylvania: which multiplies the labors and afflictions of the more regular, honest pastors, who are grieved to see the kingdom of satan and separation from the church thus promoted and their mouths stopped from any reply to such scandalous notorious matters as are every day to be objected from that quarter. In this unhappy province, where we have no ecclesiastical government, where every clergyman may do whatever is right in his own eyes, without fear, or probability of being called to account, and where some of them have got beyond the consideration even of common decency, vice and immorality, as well as infidelity must make large advances; and only the appearance of a Bishop or officer armed with proper powers of suspension &c., seems capable of giving a check to their further progress.

Your orders to me have occasioned you a trouble of another sort which Dr. Wilson will communicate to you, and which from the goodness of your heart and sincere desires of promoting the knowledge and fear of God, I doubt not you will readily pardon. So bold an advance from an obscure and unknown person needs great apology. But the sincerity and well meaning of the design must plead in its excuse, for indeed I have no other to offer.¹⁰

(Lord Baltimore appoints all the clergy in Maryland, and will not consult either with the Bishop of London or the Society.)

I request the prayers of the Society in my behalf, and particularly recommend myself to your own. That Almighty God may grant a blessing upon all their truly Christian pious endeavors, is the hearty and earnest prayer of, Reverend Sir, your most obedient humble servant and brother in Christ,

THOMAS BACON.¹¹

To the Secretary.

If Mr. Bacon was held in "great esteem" by "all the great people from the Governor to the parish clerk," he commended himself to the reverence and grateful affection of the lowly, or more properly the lowest. Immediately upon his arrival in Maryland the peculiar structure of society as it existed here, owing to the presence of negro slavery, must have impressed him strongly and not favorably. He was too intelligent not to perceive, and too conscientious not to feel, that other duties than those the parish priest was usually called upon to perform were

¹⁰ This doubtless was an appeal for the aid of the Society in the publication of his *Sermons to Masters and Mistresses*.

¹¹ From the *Historical Collections relating to the American Colonial Church*, by Will Stevens Perry, vol. iv. Maryland.

demanded of him. While, therefore, he was bringing into order the affairs of his parish; while he was enlarging his church to accommodate the increased number of people who were glad to attend upon his ministry; while he was restoring services in places where they had once been heard but were now silent; while he was counteracting the influence of a sceptical literature by the circulating books of Christian apologetics; he was not forgetful of a large class of people who were religiously and intellectually destitute—the negro slaves.¹² He himself says in one of his published sermons:

Upon being appointed your minister I began seriously and carefully to examine into the state of religion in the parish, and I found a great many poor negro slaves belonging to Christian masters and mistresses yet living in as profound ignorance of what Christianity really is as if they had remained in the midst of those barbarous and heathen countries from whence they or their parents were imported. * * * I began seriously to consider in what manner I could best discharge my duty toward them, and deliver my own soul from the guilt of their blood, lest they should perish through my negligence. My first attempts towards it consisted in occasional conversation and advice, as often as I happened to meet with any of them at my own house, or at a neighbor's, or upon the road, &c., and in short familiar exhortations, as opportunity brought a number of them together at any quarter where I visited their sick, or at their funerals or marriages. I then determined to preach to them on particular Sundays and Holy days.

This determination he faithfully carried into execution, of which there remains evidence in two printed sermons preached to "a congregation of black slaves." These sermons are mere draughts or sketches, which were to be enlarged upon and filled out in his public ministrations to these people. He himself says his motive for their publication was that they

might raise a spirit of emulation among his brethren to attempt something in their respective parishes towards bringing home so great a number of wandering souls to Christ.

He further says:

In setting this scheme for the better instruction of the negroes on foot in my parish, I consulted nothing but conscience and had no other

¹² In ethical development, as measured by his opinions of the rightfulness of slavery, Mr. Bacon does not appear to have been in advance of his time, for he had no hesitancy about holding slaves. These, or some of them at least, when he removed to Frederick where such property was precarious, he sold to purchasers in this county, as shown by the public records.

view than the discharge of that duty I so solemnly took upon me at my being admitted to holy orders.

But the services he rendered to this helpless and despised class were not confined to his direct religious instruction of the slaves themselves. He saw that the most effectual and pervasive benefits were to be conferred upon them by those persons with whom they came in daily contact—their masters and their mistresses. He saw, too, that these masters and mistresses held a novel relation to these dependents, such as was unknown in the old christian countries of Europe, and that these relations implied new duties and responsibilities. He therefore addressed himself earnestly to those holding these relations, to awaken in them a sense of their obligations to those over whom they were placed, and a wish to discharge those obligations, where there was no compulsion. Some of his sermons directed to this end, “upon the great and indispensable duty of all Christian masters and mistresses to bring up their negro slaves in the knowledge and fear of God” were published in London, for distribution in America; and they were honored by being placed upon the list of books sent out by the venerable “Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.” These sermons were subsequently reprinted, in a mutilated form however, in 1817, by the Rev. Dr. William Meade, afterwards Bishop of Virginia.¹³ These sermons which had for their text,

Masters give unto your servants that which is just and equal, knowing that ye also have a Master in Heaven,

argued affirmatively of the negro’s belonging to the human species, and of his having a soul equally capable with that of the white man of salvation; that if he held no other relation to the superior race than that of belonging to the common brotherhood of humanity, it would be the duty of all to labor for his conversion and for the good of his soul, but that he is “a part of our families and substance and absolutely under our power

¹³ The republication of these sermons with certain parts excluded, presents a curious exemplification of that jealousy of discussing matters relating to the amelioration of the condition of slaves which existed in a portion of this country, and no where more prevalently than in Talbot, up to the time when slavery ceased to exist: and a further exemplification of the humiliating subservience of many religious teachers to prevailing opinions upon a subject as nearly related to morals as to politics. The wonder is, this deference which ministers were apt to show did not impel Dr. Meade to eliminate the very text of Scripture that formed the motive or theme of these discourses, which of itself was a more severe arraignment of the whole system of slavery than any words Mr. Bacon employed.

and direction" he has an additional claim, which no one should wish to evade. Dr. Allen in his criticism of these sermons says:

To say that his language is classical yet plain; his thoughts fresh yet clear; his positions sustained ably, conclusively and sometimes eloquently; and that the Gospel is distinctly and faithfully presented; and all with the most intrepid yet affectionate and christian spirit,—is saying only what is true, simply true.

Although Mr. Bacon may have considered it his prime duty to inculcate upon all, high or low, the observance of the principles and the practices of the church to which he belonged; and however positive he may have been in his opinions of the salutary influence of religion upon the character of the individual and of society he betrayed none of that zealotry which makes a merit of despising human knowledge, and which thus sanctions the sentiment of the sceptical and the cynical, that ignorance is the parent of devotion. The religious destitution of the poor and of the enslaved which he had observed, and which had given him so much concern, when he first arrived in Talbot, was paralleled by the intellectual poverty of the same classes, and this also awakened his solicitude. Having instituted measures for the remedying the first of these evils, as far as in him lay, he, in the year 1750, inaugurated another undertaking for the removal of the latter. This was the establishment or "setting up" of a "Charity Working School" within his parish. A full account of this benevolent work has already been given in these contributions. (See the *Easton Star* of February 24th and March 2nd, 1880.) In a sermon preached in behalf of this charity, at White Marsh in the parish church, Oct. 14, 1750, he thus speaks of his scheme:

A proposal has been made, and is already considerably advanced, for setting up a Charity Working School in this parish, wherein such a number of poor children are to be clothed, fed, lodged and taught as the pious voluntary benefactions of well disposed people will educate and maintain. This being the first attempt of the kind in this province, must needs labour under greater difficulties than any other succeeding ones, as well from a mistaken apprehension of a vast insupportable expence, which has discouraged many from contributing, as from the nature of such schools being hitherto unknown among us. * * * The present proposal has, as yet, been carried on only in a private way, and the success has hitherto far exceeded the hopes of the promoters of it. * * * You will find that the intent of it is to rescue a number of poor children from ignorance, idleness, vice, immorality and infidelity; and enable them to be more useful to themselves and the community they belong to. Were the advantages to stop here, and to extend no further than

our own neighborhood, it would be a considerable work; but it may be hoped with great reason that this school once settled will raise a spirit of emulation among the adjacent counties for setting up schools of the like sort among themselves; and thus shall we have the honour and satisfaction of giving a shining example, and to be followed in time by the rest of the inhabitants of this province, to the general good of society, the advancement of God's glory, the maintenance of true religion and the spreading of piety and useful knowledge and industry among the children of the poor, who again will communicate to their children, etc., so the rising generations will have cause to bless us, and late posterity gratefully own, that Talbot county laid the foundation of lasting blessings to the whole province. * * God only knows the necessity of such a work in this province, where education is hardly to be attained to, at any rate, by the children of the poor—much greater than can be apprehended by the general complaint, or even discovered by the particular inquiry of such as are put upon it by the duties of their station. Many poor white children have I found (I speak from sad experience), and many more undoubtedly there are, as ignorant as the children of the poor benighted negroes. Yet even negroes ought not to be neglected.

The scheme thus set forth and earnestly advocated went into practical operation a few years later, as has been fully stated in the article referred to above, a handsome endowment having been obtained by the indefatigable labors of this friend of universal education. From this school the children of colored people were not to be excluded. While every citizen of Talbot who values free schools should hold him, who established the first within her bounds, in lasting and grateful memory, the people of the African race should, in a special manner, cherish recollections of him as the first man, of whom we have any knowledge in this county who strove for their spiritual and their mental advancement.¹⁴

In the year 1747 Mr. Bacon removed from Oxford to Dover, on Choptank, as has before been noted. His friend, Mr. Callister had also been placed in charge of a factory or store belonging to the Messrs. Cunliffe,

¹⁴ Another helpless and destitute class of people, fortunately not a large one, received the compassionate notice of Mr. Bacon. In December, 1755, there arrived five vessels at Annapolis having on board "Neutral French," or Acadians. Of these one vessel was sent up Choptank, and arrived in Oxford on the 8th of the same month. These people fell under the care of Mr. Callister, then residing at this port, who interested himself in providing for their necessities. Mr. Bacon ordered a collection to be taken up in White Marsh Church Dec. 14th, in behalf of these enforced exiles, and it is not improbable he preached a sermon by way of recommending the charity. But his benevolence was not limited to good wishes or good words, for his own contribution was three times as much as that of his whole congregation.—[Scharf's *History of Maryland*, Vol. 1, p. 476.]

his "masters" as he calls them, at the Head of Wye, at or near what is now called Wye Landing, but long known as Emerson's Landing. We have a friendly note of Mr. Bacon to Mr. Callister of the year 1748, which indicates his settlement at his new home at Dover. It says:

Dear Harry:—I was not at home when your messenger came or returned, else should have performed your commands. This is to summon you and Mrs. Callister to attend, according to promise, at my house warming. Should be glad if Mr. and Mrs. Emerson would bear you company. Yours, T. Bacon. His excellency of Oxford will be here with the facetious and merry magistrate Captain. Fail not to obey this summons, as you will answer the contrary at your peril.¹⁵

This cheerful note is quite in contrast with his subsequent communications, when he began to feel the effects of the insalubrious situation which he had selected for his home. What were his motives for a change of residence from Oxford, which even then had a celebrity for healthfulness, to Dover, which also must have had even then the opposite distinction, it is difficult to determine. His brother, Mr. Anthony Bacon, who was in Talbot in 1748, and after forming a copartnership in trade with Mr. James Dickinson, a kinsman, living at Dover, was about to return to London, may have offered inducements to his brother to settle at that point. Or it may have been that Dover was nearer the chapel of ease, where he regularly officiated, while it was as convenient as Oxford to the parish church. But whatever were his motives, he soon had reason to regret his change of place of residence, for being subjected to the malarial influences which infested that region of the county, not only his physical health was impaired but his naturally cheerful mind became clouded with despondency. But here he continued to live, notwithstanding, until he finally removed from the county in 1758, and it was here that he entered upon, and possibly completed, the most important work of his life, the compilation of the Laws of Maryland, of which it is proposed now to give an account.

A mind as active in its energies and generous in its impulses as that of Bacon could not be contented, with the simple duties of a parish priest, nor find sufficient and satisfactory employment in labors, however serviceable, which were restricted in their benefits to narrow limits. Nor could the unfavorable circumstances of impaired health, and almost complete isolation in a remote and secluded section of an unsettled province,

¹⁵ His Excellency of Oxford was probably Mr. Robert Morris. The merry magistrate Captain was certainly Capt. Thomas Porter.

repress its natural vigor, which sought exercise in the performance of works of a broader utility than were demanded by mere parochial needs. Accordingly we find that he had hardly secured the success of his Charity School, indeed before the school had gone into actual operation, when he projected a work of great and lasting value to the whole province, or it may be said to the whole sisterhood of provinces in America. Upon this work, as it was ultimately completed, its original plan having been essentially modified, must rest his title to enduring memory, for in his Laws of Maryland he has erected for himself a monument that shall perpetuate his name while the State shall have existence. The first intimation that has reached the present time of Mr. Bacon's purpose to prepare a book of Maryland law, is given in a petition presented to the Talbot county court, at the November term of 1753. The following is an extract of the records:

Thomas Bacon to the Court here prefers the following petition: To the Worshipful, The Justices of Talbot county:—The petition of Thomas Bacon, Clerk, Rector of St. Peter's parish in this county most humbly sheweth: That your petitioner by approbation of his Excellency Horatio Sharpe, Esq., Governor, and thereunto encouraged by several eminent lawyers, and other gentlemen intends to form a complete abridgment of all the laws in force in this Province, digested alphabetically under proper heads, in the same manner as he formerly abridged the Laws of the Revenue in Ireland; that the printed copies of the several Acts of Assembly are so scarce, that your petitioner cannot without the assistance of the public procure a perfect collection of them. Your petitioner therefore humbly hopes that as a work of the proposed kind is judged to be of public utility your Worships will be pleased to grant him such recourse to the printed collection of laws, belonging to the county, as may enable him to carry his said undertaking into execution. And he, as in duty bound will pray &c.,

Dec. 10, 1753.

THOMAS BACON.

Which being read and heard, it is considered by the Court, that the said Thomas Bacon may apply to the Clerk of this County to have recourse to the Acts of Assembly, afor'd and that he shall not remove any of them out of the said Clerk's office.

It would seem that Mr. Bacon entered industriously upon his task and that by the middle of the year 1758 he had completed his work, for in the *Maryland Gazette* of June 22nd of that year he published the Prospectus or Proposals for the publication of an "Abridgment of the Laws of the Province distributed under alphabetical heads * * * with references to the Acts at large," which abridgment he speaks of as "completed." He also proposed in the same advertisement to fur-

nish to subscribers a "collection of useful precedents." He further says:

The subscriber did apply to the General Assembly, at their last session for encouragement to publish a *Body of Laws*, by authority, together with an Abridgment thereto annexed, the Charter of the Province, and other useful matters, which being referred to the consideration of a committee was, by a particular accident, necessarily postponed.

He invited subscriptions for the work and gave the names of gentlemen in the several counties who would receive the same—those of Mr. James Dickinson and Mr. William Goldsborough, of Talbot, being among them.

From the foregoing it is plain that the original plan of Mr. Bacon was to form merely an abridgment of the laws, but that he had it in contemplation to extend the scope of his work by giving the entire text of all the statutes that were at that time in force, and to render it still more valuable by other important additions. That such a publication was needed is evident from what he himself says in the preface to the volume as published, namely, that no full edition of the laws had been made since that issued by Parks in 1726, and that

the want of a body of Maryland Laws hath been for many years felt and complained of; and the uncertainty occasioned thereby hath often perplexed magistrates, officers and others, in the exercise of their respective duties to the public and themselves. From which period the Laws of each session have been separately published, but no complete collection of them can possibly now be made, most of them being long out of print, and the few remaining in private hands being torn and defaced, the common fate of stitched papers. And hence the difficulties under which many gentlemen labored, of knowing what laws were actually in force, or what alterations might have been in such as did really exist, by explanatory, supplementary or other subsequent Acts.

Having fully determined to print the text of the laws and not the abridgment only, in the year 1759 he again issued proposals for the publication of his work, and solicited subscribers. "These proposals," says Mr. Allen, whom it is necessary here to follow, "met with cold reception." At this time a warm political controversy existed, the parties to which were the friends of the Lord Proprietary, including his representatives in the provincial government, and a portion of the people who were stigmatized as "patriots." These controlled the lower branch of the Assembly, while the government party controlled the upper. Mr. Bacon was a supporter of the Lord Proprietary and of Governor Sharpe.

This aroused the hostility of members of the opposite faction who did not hesitate to assail Mr. Bacon, as attempting to foist into his book of laws certain statutes—particularly the tonnage law, and the act of 1704 for the support of the government—which they claimed were not in force. Nor did his private character escape aspersion, his personal failings being held up to public reprobation. Besides the impediments from this source, he was in a measure forestalled by the publication in 1759 of a smaller and cheaper abridgment of the laws by Mr. James Bisset of the Baltimore bar, which had obtained a long list of subscribers, and thus withdrawn a large patronage upon which he had confidently counted. At this juncture, however, he succeeded in securing the approval of the General Assembly and an authoritative recognition. At the October session of the year 1760 an Act was passed entitled "An Act for encouraging a collection and publication of the Laws of this Province," by which a committee was appointed, of which the Hon. Matthew Tilghman of Talbot county was one, to inspect the collect of laws made by the Reverend Thomas Bacon, and to compare them with the originals. In case the General Assembly should approve the said collection, after its due examination, and to report thereon, then Mr. Bacon was to proceed to the printing and publishing the same. It was further provided, that while the laws as published in this collection were to be regarded as authoritative copies, the collection was not to be regarded in the light of a code, abrogating and setting aside any laws that may not have been embraced, yet were in force. As an encouragement to Mr. Bacon the General Assembly allowed him three hundred pounds current money for eighteen copies of his collection, which copies were to be delivered to certain of the provincial officers, including the clerks of all the counties.¹⁶ Encouraged by this recognition by the Assembly, and the promise of substantial aid, the purposes of Mr. Bacon were further promoted by the exceedingly liberal subscriptions of many public spirited gentlemen of the province, both those occupying official relations to the government and those who held an entirely private station. Of those connected with the government, the Lord Proprietary subscribed one hundred pounds sterling, the Governor one hundred pounds currency, the gentlemen of the Council, of whom Mr. Edward

¹⁶ *Maryland Gazette*, Oct. 30, 1760. As this act is not to be found in Mr. Bacon's collection, nor does he refer to it in his preface to his Laws, some doubt remains as to its having ever passed, notwithstanding the positive statement of the newspapers quoted. There is no other evidence whatever that he received assistance from the provincial treasury.

Lloyd and Mr. Sam'l Chamberlaine of this county were two, fifty pound currency each. Many legal gentlemen subscribed a like sum, of the same kind of money. The liberality of these patrons enabled Mr. Bacon to proceed with the printing. Again delay was caused by unexpected difficulties in obtaining the paper and type from London, for it was necessary that these materials should be imported, as the typographical resources of the province were not sufficient to print a book of the magnitude, and in the style proposed, of the one about to be issued. Finally, however, all difficulties having been surmounted and all impediments removed, the volume was put to press, and in the year 1765 it made its appearance as that magnificent folio which to this day graces the library of many a Maryland gentleman, and remains a lasting honor to Mr. Green, the printer and publisher, as well as to Mr. Bacon, its author and editor.

It will be perceived that at least twelve years had been spent in the preparation and printing of the work. A considerable portion of this time had been consumed in useless delays; but those who know the character of the book, and are acquainted with the embarrassments under which it was compiled, some of which Mr. Bacon mentions in his preface, can readily understand why so long a time was required. This preface in accounting for the imperfections of the public records of the province and the loss of the original texts of many of the earlier laws, gives a very valuable though brief historical sketch of Maryland. This is succeeded by a copy of the charter in the original Latin, accompanied with an excellent English translation. The body of the work is made up of the full text of all the laws or almost all, in operation up to and including those of 1763.¹⁷ In addition the titles of all laws whatsoever are given, from the organization of the province which had either lapsed by provisions contained in them, or had been abolished by subsequent enactments. To render these texts perfectly trustworthy they were collated with the originals of the laws contained in the office of the clerk of the council at Annapolis. Following the text of the laws is an exceedingly full index, amounting almost to an abstract, with the subjects arranged alphabetically, and with references to the chapters and sections of the laws treating of those subjects. This index appears to be, indeed it almost certainly is, the "Abridgment" which Mr. Bacon originally intended should comprise the whole of his work. It is admirably well done, and its value can hardly be overestimated. To this is appended an index of private, parochial and town laws. The work is

¹⁷ Of those not given in full, excellent abstracts were made.

dedicated to Frederick, Lord Baltimore, and Mr. Bacon signs himself still the "domestic chaplain" of his Lordship. The whole makes a magnificent volume of nearly eight hundred folio pages, printed from clear and beautiful type, upon strong, calendered paper. At the time of its publication, and for many years after, this book was invaluable as a compendium of Maryland law; and now that other works of like character, or authorized codes have impaired its value in this regard, it has become a precious treasure from which the student of Maryland history draws his most valuable materials. The account of the preparation, publication and character of this book has been given with the more particularity in as much as it was the *magnum opus* of Mr. Bacon's life, the one for which Marylanders must be most grateful to him, and that by which he must be remembered if his name escape oblivion.

While thus industriously employed upon his book of laws, he was not negligent of the work to which he had solemnly dedicated his life—the work of the sacred ministry. He was not solicitous for the prosperity of his own parish merely but for the whole church of the province, and even of the neighboring province. We find him present at a convention of the clergy of Maryland, held at Annapolis in August, 1753. Of this he was made the secretary, and he was appointed also one of a committee to draft an address to the Lord Proprietary in reply to certain communications of his Lordship read to this convention. There are records of his preaching at distant churches, the journeying to which by the imperfect means of travel employed at that period, afflicted as he was¹⁸ must have cost him much discomfort, if not suffering. Some of these visitations were made in the interest of his Charity School, which he had much at heart. He travelled into Virginia to attend a convention of the clergy of that province, held in 1754, where we find him aiding both with his advocacy and his purse the establishment of a fund for the support of the wives and children of deceased clergymen. This may be said to have been in return for aid afforded him by Virginians for his Charity School. He was not held in less esteem by his brethren of the ministry than by the people at large. One of them spoke of him as the fittest minister in all the province to be made the Lord Bishop of London's Commissary, but for the physical infirmity which would prevent him from undergoing the bodily exertion necessary to the discharge of that office. The Commissary was an ecclesiastical officer exercising many of the functions of a bishop but without the power of ordaining.

¹⁸ Mr. Bacon was afflicted with hernia.

In the year 1755 he was called upon to suffer domestic bereavement in the loss by death of his wife who had accompanied him from England. In the year following, another affliction befell him of a similar character, his only son having been drowned at sea while on a voyage, as is probable, to visit his relatives in the old country. As troubles never come singly, he was, at or about this time, required to undergo still another trial, but of a kind which is as much more painful—good name and character to all honorable minds is dearer than even wife or child. The shameful story may be dismissed in a few words. One Rachel Beck, a mulatto, in the year 1755, publicly charged him with an offence against the law and morals, which had it been substantiated would have involved him in infamy and ruin. Upon her evidence he was presented by the grand jury; but there is no evidence the case was ever brought to trial. If it were, he was acquitted of the charge. Probably, however, the indictment was quashed, and a *nolle prosequi* entered. But Mr. Bacon was not content with this. For the purpose of clearing himself of the aspersion, he brought a civil suit against the woman at the August court of this year for slander, and after a trial, at which there was difficulty in obtaining a jury, owing to the defendants challenging the whole panel, on the ground, as she averred, of the sheriff, Mr. James Dickinson, being a kinsman of the plaintiff, but really, it is probable, on account of the respectability of the jurors. Mr. Bacon was completely vindicated, the woman was fined one hundred pounds sterling for her false clamor, and being unable to pay that sum was committed to jail. Upon the distress of mind caused by this affair, it is unnecessary to dilate. Such an accusation is painful to any man of sensibility, or one who values his reputation; it is doubly so to the clergyman who is expected and believed to possess a purity of character beyond that of ordinary men.

In the year 1757 Mr. Bacon again married, and this time under circumstances that had something of the hue of romance, tempered and subdued, however, afterwards by the sober colors of a common place law suit, or law suits. On the 10th of December 1755 he had acted as the officiating clergyman at the marriage of the Reverend John Belchier, a reputed but not a reputable minister of the Church of England, with Elizabeth, daughter of Colonel Thomas Bozman, of Oxford Neck, of this county; a gentleman of the first respectability. This John Belchier is represented to have come over to Maryland from England as the chaplain of a man-of-war. He was a man of education, having been at the University of Cambridge, and had been incumbent of a parish

at Barton in Norfolkshire, but probably had been expelled from his cure for irregularities of life, when "he came to this province hearing no doubt that it was an asylum of men of his profession and character," to quote from a letter of Mr. Daniel Dulaney, now in the hands of Mr. Oswald Tilghman. He is said, by the same authority to have been "a man of some letters," "insinuating in his address," and had "the semblance of great good nature and modesty." He was cordially received and hospitably entertained by the best people of the province and of this county. He paid his addresses to Miss Bozman, after having received a rebuff from the guardian of Miss Robins, a great fortune. He was accepted, and was married in the parish church at the time above mentioned. Belchier quickly squandered the fortune of this lady, and otherwise shamefully treated her. She accompanied him to Philadelphia under the pretence which he made of sailing for London by a ship from that port. Here she learned to her horror, that she had been cruelly imposed upon by this man who had a wife living in England. She immediately forsook Belchier, although without means or friends and in a strange city. Her sufferings reaching the ears of Colonel Harrison of Virginia, then in Philadelphia, who had an acquaintance with her family in Maryland; he sought her out, and after convincing himself of the truth of her painful story, he took her under his protection, chivalrously defended her from the attempts of Belchier and his hired assistants to carry her off, and finally restored her to her friends in Talbot. It would seem that Miss or Mrs. Bozman, was easily consoled, and was not deterred by her previous ill fortune from making a second adventure in matrimony, for in the following year, she married the Reverend Thomas Bacon, who like Belchier was a foreigner and a clergyman, but very unlike him in personal and professional character. It would seem from circumstances about to be related that in each case she married privately, and probably without the consent of her parents.

These two marriages, in the first of which Mr. Bacon acted as the officiating clergyman, and in the other as one of the principal parties to the contract, involved him in two prosecutions and one civil suit. He was charged with a criminal neglect to publish the bans, or to obtain a license for marriage, in both cases. Of course, if the marriages were regular, conjecture is at fault to determine why he should have omitted so necessary a formality. But it is certain from the records of the county, that upon information lodged by one Archibald McCallum, the grand jury did present and indict him for having privately contracted

marriage with a certain Elizabeth Belchier, alias Bozman, without having first made publication of his intent to marry at some church or chapel of ease &c.

He was tried and convicted of the offence, and was fined five thousand pounds of tobacco, one half of which was to go, according to the law, to the informant. This sum, Mr. Bacon, for reasons that are not apparent, refused to pay, and a civil suit was entered against him at the March court of 1758 for the recovery of the amount, in which he was cast, and was required to pay in addition to the original fine of five thousand, two hundred and fifty-eight pounds of tobacco and six pence currency, "for damages sustained by reason of detention and refusal to pay." One year after these occurrences, he was arraigned under a like indictment for

joining in marriage a certain John Belchier, then of the same parish and county, Clerk, and a minister of the church of England, and a certain Elizabeth Bozman, then and now of the same parish, and a Protestant of the persuasion of the church of England, without due publication of such marriage being first made, or license from the Governor &c.

In this case the attorney for the Lord Proprietary entered a *nolle prosequi*.

It is not strange that under the depressing influences of these legal prosecutions and of his continued ill health he should have taken a gloomy view of life, at this period of his career. Even the work on the laws, which he was diligently pursuing and which had afforded him pleasing employment and amusement, instead of dispelling his despondency, was probably deepening it, for he was already beginning to experience the embarrassments and hindrances in its accomplishment which have already been noticed. Music, his great delight, had ceased to solace him and had been abandoned. It doesn't seem that even the birth of a child gave him special gratification. The following letter written from Dover to his friend Callister who had changed his residence from the Head of Wye to Oxford, and dated March 17, 1757, betrays the dejection, though it does not explain it, under which he was then suffering. He writes:

Dear Sir: An increase of family necessarily induces an increase of wants. I have a parcel of garden ground and neither a spade to dig it with nor seed to sow in it. If you have got any spades, let me have one by the bearer, and a few seeds out of your stock. Perhaps a cheese may be had—necessary, as you know on certain occasions. Pray let

me have a bushel of salt, or my beef will spoil. I write to you with the freedom of a friend, as I shall always style you, though God knows, few are the friends I have now in this world. If you have any news by your ship, on whose arrival I wish you joy, please let me have a sketch of it. If bad keep it to yourself for I have had no other for some time past and begin to be heartily tired of it. I would not write to you on such a scrap of paper, if I had plenty of it as formerly; but the man without money or credit, must do as he can. Music has departed and gone into another world from me. The laws are my employment and my amusement, yet they are dry sort of stuff, and sometimes apt to stick in the throat. I have a heart still open to candor and friendship, which you will always find, when I shall at any time have the pleasure of assuring you in person that I am, with great esteem, Dear Sir, your very affectionate humble servant, Thomas Bacon.

Complaints of poverty must have been without foundation from a man enjoying a living such as St. Peter's, and the income from a large glebe. Apprehensions of the loss of friends must have been equally groundless with one who enjoyed the esteem of the best men of the province and of the county. In the gloom of despondency he evidently saw spectres of want and desertion that had no real existence.

Either driven by these troubles, or influenced by another motive, presently to be named, the prompting of which few, even of those who profess to be governed by duty and not by interest, have the power of resisting, Mr. Bacon determined to leave the Eastern Shore. The rector of All Saints parish in Frederick county having died in the year 1758, Mr. Bacon was invited by the vestry and people to act as nominal curate until certain difficulties in the way of his institution as rector should be removed, when he was expected to take full charge of the parish. He was nevertheless to remain the legal incumbent of St. Peter's parish, where the Rev. Thomas Thornton, who since 1754 had been his curate, was to perform all ministerial duty. This arrangement continued until 1760, when Governor Sharpe writes:

Mr. Bacon continues to officiate there [at all Saints] as reader and Mr. Thornton to officiate as curate under Mr. Bacon at St. Peter's¹⁹

In this year all impediments to his induction having been removed, he was formally presented to the living of All-Saints' parish by Lord Baltimore through Governor Sharpe. This was regarded as the most valu-

¹⁹ This statement is made upon the authority of Dr. Allen; but Mr. Thornton's name appears in the registry of St. Peter's parish as Rector, on Easter Monday, Apr. 16, 1759, while the last appearance of Mr. Bacon's name is in the record of Easter Monday, March 27, 1758.

able living in the province, being thought to be worth one thousand pounds sterling per annum. By this act the Proprietary displayed his friendship and esteem for his "domestic chaplain." His parish now embraced a vast district of country, though there were but three places of worship according to the established form. These were remote from each other, and attendance upon them involved much labor, which Mr. Bacon was ill able to endure, owing to his physical infirmity, and his otherwise ill health. Of his career in this new field of labor little is known, for the records of the parish have disappeared. Aside from his ministerial labors, in which he had assistance, he was engaged in bringing out his great book, the superintending the issue of which may have been one of the motives, besides the handsome stipend of his parish, for his removal from Talbot, more remote from the place of printing than Frederick, and not so readily reached. As in Talbot so in Frederick he showed himself to be the friend of popular education; regarding that as the best help a rational religion can receive, the greatest boon a true philanthropy can bestow, and the strongest defence a wise patriotism can erect. We find him in 1763 uniting with a number of his fellow citizens in securing the passage of an act entitled "an Act to establish a public school in Frederick county," and he was made one of the board of visitors appointed by this act to manage the affairs of this school, which was to be organized under the law of 1723, authorizing the establishment of free schools in each of the counties. It may not be amiss to mention the names of the other gentlemen associated with him, as some of them have acquired a historic celebrity. They were: Col. Thomas Cressap, Mr. Thomas Beattys, Mr. Nathan Magruder, Capt. Jos. Chapline, Mr. John Darnell, and Col. Samuel Beall. This school was organized and, it is believed, was merged in the Frederick Academy of later years.

It may be readily believed, or rather it is impossible not to believe, that a mind as active as that of Mr. Bacon, and a heart as warm in its humane impulses could not have remained unemployed in some useful and beneficent work. Yet from 1765 when his book appeared nothing whatever is known of him farther than he was performing his duties as a faithful minister of the church. If he were inactive, this inactivity was owing to ill health for he never recovered from the insalubrious influences which operated upon him during his long residence at Dover. He died in Frederick county May 24th, 1768. Inquiry has failed to discover the place of his burial, for neither public gratitude for valuable services, religious veneration for an example of a laborious and pious

life in the church, nor even filial affection has erected any monument, however simple, to his memory.

Of Mr. Bacon's private life and character little is known. The letters which have been published indicate something of these. He was sociable in his disposition, and in as much as he was acceptable to the most refined people of the province his manners and conversation must have been agreeable. Nevertheless he was inclined to melancholy, not an uncommon trait in men engaged in intellectual pursuits. Of his fondness for music frequent mention has been made. He performed on the violin and violincello, and according to Mr. Callister, was a very creditable composer. There is ground for belief that he used his musical accomplishments in aid of his Charity School, by performing at public concerts in different parts of the country. It is not difficult to accept without question that estimate of his character given by Dr. Allen, who says:

He was known to have been an affectionate husband, a tender parent, a kind master, and most agreeable companion. * * * As a neighbor he was ready to advise, speedy to assist, compassionate and charitable.

His wife and three daughters survived him, who returned, after his death, to Talbot. Elizabeth, his eldest daughter, went to England at the request of her uncle, who had become Sir Ant'y Bacon, of Glamorganshire, in Wales, where she married George Price Watkins, Esq., of Brecon, and afterwards inherited a very considerable fortune from her uncle. Rachel, the second daughter married a kinsman, Mr. Risdon Bozman Harwood, of Talbot county, and dying left two daughters. The third daughter, Mary, married Mr. Moses Passapoe, of Dorchester county, of whom there are descendants living in Baltimore at this time.

The following is a complete list of the publications of which Mr. Bacon was the author.²⁰

I. A Complete System of Revenue in Ireland, 1774. Bibliographers have not been able to trace this book. The edition of 1774 must be a reprint of one published anterior to 1737. Mr. Callister calls it a "book of rates." Mr. Bacon says of his "Abridgement" that the laws of Maryland were to be digested alphabetically under proper heads in the same manner as he formerly abridged the laws of the revenue in Ireland. This book therefore was of similar construction to the Index of Bacon's Laws at large—which is really his "Abridgement."

²⁰ In the compilation of this list, the writer has been very materially assisted by I. W. Lee, Esq., Librarian to the Md. Hist. Soc.,—the very best authority in Maryland Bibliography.

II. Four Sermons upon the great and indispensable duty of all christian masters and mistresses to bring up negro slaves in the knowledge and fear of God. Preached in the parish church of St. Peter, in Talbot county in the province of Maryland, by the Rev. Thomas Bacon, Rector of the said parish—[motto of seven lines] London: Printed by John Oliver of Bartholomew Close, West Smithfield, 1750, 16° pp. 142.

III. Two Sermons—London: 1749.

IV. Six Sermons—London: 1751.

The last two are probably the same in title as the preceding (II.) and differ only in the number of sermons included, in the number of pages and the dates of publication. There was a mutilated reprint of these sermons, or of some of them, with additions, issued under the direction of Rev. William Meade, as noticed in the text, and printed by John Heiskill, at Winchester, Virginia. The title to this need not be given here.

V. A sermon preached at the parish church of St. Peter's in Talbot county, Maryland, on Sunday the 14th of October 1750, for the benefit of a Charity Working School, to be set up in the said parish, for the maintenance and education of orphans and other poor children and negroes by the Rev. Thomas Bacon of said parish. Published at the request of the trustees. To which is added copies of the proposals, rules, subscription roll and proceedings relating to the said school. London: Printed by T. Oliver, and will be sold for the benefit of the said Charity School, 1751, 4° pp. 28.

VI. Two Sermons, preached to a congregation of Black Slaves at the parish church of S. P. in the province of Maryland, by an American pastor. [Motto] London: T. Oliver, 1751, 12mo. pp. 79.

VII. Laws of Maryland at large, with proper indexes, now first collected into one complete body and published from the original acts and records remaining in the Secretary's office of the said province. Together with notes and other matters relative to the constitution thereof, extracted from provincial records. To which is prefixed the Charter, with an English translation. By Thomas Bacon, rector of All Saints parish in Frederick county, and Domestic Chaplain to the Right Honorable Frederick Lord Baltimore (Seal of Province) Annapolis: Printed by Jonas Green, printer to the province. 1765—Folio—No pagination, but containing about 800 pages.

Of these publications, Nos. II. and V., are in the collection of the Diocese of Maryland: Nos. III. and IV. are in the Library of Harvard College. No. VI. is said to be in the Library of the late Rt. Rev. Bishop Hawks, of New York. No. VII. is well known in the Law Libraries of Maryland, public and private. No. I. cannot be traced by any books of bibliography within reach. The book of Sir Anthony Bacon is in the Library of Congress, Washington.

The authorities that have been consulted in the preparation of this paper are—first and chiefly Dr. Allen's memoirs of Mr. Bacon in the

American Quarterly Church Review and his manuscript history of St. Peter's Parish, of Talbot county; secondly, the *Parish records*; thirdly, the *County Records of Talbot*; fourthly, Callister's manuscript letters; fifthly, Bacon's *Sermons and Laws*; sixthly, Will Stevens Perry's *Historical Collections*—for Maryland; seventhly, Mr. John B. Kerr's manuscript history of the Chamberlaine family; eighth, the files of the *Maryland Gazette*, in the State Library at Annapolis.

DAVID KERR

First Grand High Priest of the Grand Royal Chapter of Maryland; Fourth Grand Master of Maryland, of the Ancient and Honorable Society of Free and Accepted Masons

1749-1814

Brother Kerr was the founder of a distinguished family in the county of Talbot, which is still worthily represented there, and in other portions of Maryland, and in many other states of the Union. He was born in Monreith, in the shire of Galloway, Scotland, July third, 1749.

Destined to a mercantile career, he received such an education as fitted him for this calling, and after serving an apprenticeship as merchant's clerk, he, in the year 1769, emigrated to America and settled upon the Rappahannock river at the town of Falmouth, opposite the town of Fredericksburg, in Virginia, where he prosecuted commercial business. He remained there until 1773, when he removed to Annapolis, Maryland, where he married, in March, 1773, Hamutel Bishop, granddaughter of Col. Charles Hammond, the Colonial Treasurer of the Western Shore. This lady died without children surviving her, in October, 1775, leaving her husband in the possession of an estate known as Greenbury Point, at the mouth of the Severn river, in Anne Arundel County which Col. Charles Hammond had acquired by his intermarriage with Mrs. Rachel (Stimpson) Greenberry, widow of Col. Charles Greenberry.

Kerr's creek, opposite the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis still perpetuates the name of David Kerr.

He continued to reside on this estate until 1777, when he removed to Talbot county. That Mr. Kerr was a patriot during the American Revolution, is attested by the fact that, on January 20, 1776, he was commissioned by the Council of Safety as First Lieutenant in Captain George Watts' Company of militia in Anne Arundel county. On April

17, 1777, he married for his second wife, Mrs. Rachel Leeds Edmondson (nee Bozman), widow of James Edmondson, and sister of the Hon. John Leeds Bozman, the well known historian of Maryland. He settled at Talbot Court House, later called Easton. Here, in 1789, he again entered into mercantile business, having for his partners Messrs. Robert Lloyd Nicols and Thomas Chamberlaine. This firm of Kerr, Nicols and Chamberlaine conducted the first retail general merchandise store in Easton. Success seems to have attended him; for having acquired a competency, he retired from trade to his attractive estate, Cook's Hope Manor, on the Peach Blossom creek in Edmondson's neck, about three miles south of Easton, enjoying the merited respect of his fellow citizens and sharing the honors which they were able to bestow upon him. Cook's Hope Manor originally contained 1000 acres and was patented by Miles Cook in 1659. Job's Content, at the head of Peach Blossom Creek, adjoined Cook's Hope on the east. It contained 1000 acres and was surveyed January 31, 1660 for Job Nutt. While on the north of this tract, along the head waters of the Tred Avon river, was another thousand acre tract, called Tilghman's Fortune, surveyed August, 1659 for Captain Samuel Tilghman. Soon after his removal to Talbot Mr. Kerr entered actively into politics. He attached himself to the Federal Party and became an ardent supporter of Washington and the elder Adams. In 1789 he was commissioned one of the Justices of the Peace, or Judges for Talbot county, but the Judicial system being changed by the law of 1790, he was legislated out of office. He was, in 1801, appointed by the Governor one of the three associate Judges of the county, two of whom were laymen. He was elected a delegate to the General Assembly of Maryland for seven successive years, namely from 1788 to 1794, and again in 1797. In 1791 on the 15th of December, he addressed a letter to the Governor, and Council, as follows:

"Doubts have arisen whether a Justice of the Orphans Court, under the late act is eligible to hold a seat in the Legislature, and as I am unwilling to lose my seat, I beg leave to resign my appointment as a Justice of the Orphans Court of Talbot county. I have the Honor to be your Excellency's and the Honorable Councils' Obedient servant, David, Kerr.

In 1802, he was again appointed a Judge of the Orphan's Court of Talbot county, but held this place for a short time only. In a letter written by him to Alexander Hanway, a kinsman of his, in Dumfries, Scotland, dated June 4, 1804, he gives a minute account of an accident

that happened to him on November 5, 1803. He was thrown violently from his carriage by a runaway horse, and it was ten days before he recovered consciousness. He wore a green silk patch over his eye, which was injured by this fall, till the day of his death. Governor Philip Francis Thomas of Easton married his granddaughter who owned an oil portrait of David Kerr showing this patch over one eye. David Kerr's eldest son, the Hon. John Leeds Kerr, who was long the leader of the Easton bar, was also an ardent Mason. He was born at Greenbury's Point, near Annapolis, January 15, 1780. The Chesapeake Bay was frozen so hard at that time that a party of gentlemen walked across the Bay, on the ice, from Annapolis to Wades Point plantation, on Easton bay in Talbot county, to inform the Hon. John Leeds, who was Clerk of Court for Talbot County from 1738 to 1777, of the birth of his grandson and namesake.

After serving two terms in the lower house of the United States Congress, 1825-1833, he was elected December 31, 1840 by the Maryland Legislature United States Senator to fill the unexpired term of the Hon. John S. Spence of Dorchester County, deceased. He died in Easton February 21, 1844, 64 years of age. He, like his father, was a member of the Masonic fraternity, by which body he was held in high esteem as was evinced, after his death, when an eulogium upon him was pronounced in Cambridge, by the Rev. William Brown, a fellow craft, in which the distinguished services, the mental abilities and the masonic virtues, which are the virtues of the good citizen and the upright man, of Mr. Kerr were commemorated with no inconsiderable eloquence.

His son, the Hon. Charles Goldsborough Kerr, who was States Attorney for Baltimore City for 18 years was also a Mason. In the *History of Free Masonry in Maryland* by Edward T. Schultz, 1884, is the following:

The first mention of Bro. Kerr's name is in September 1787, as the Master of Lodge No. 34, (afterwards No. 6). In 1791, he was elected Grand Treasurer; in 1794, Deputy Grand Master; and in 1795, Grand Master; and was re-elected in 1796. From the copies of old documents published in this work, it will be seen that Bro. Kerr was Grand High Priest of the Grand Chapter of Maryland in 1797.

It is said that he never lost his interest or attachment for masonry to the end of his life, which terminated on the 2nd of November, 1814. He died honored and revered by all capable of estimating his intelligence and moral worth. At a meeting of the Grand Steward's Lodge held December 10th, 1814, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the officers of the Grand Lodge, as evidence of their unfeigned regret for the death of our late Past Grand Master, Bro. David Kerr, wear crape for the space of one month, and that it be rec-

commended to the Masters of the several sub-ordinate Lodges to keep their respective Lodges in mourning for the space of six months, and that it be further recommended to the respective Masters to deliver, or cause to be delivered, an eulogium to his memory.

The mortal remains of brother David Kerr, the first grand High Priest of the Grand Royal Chapter of Maryland lie buried in an unmarked grave on his old homestead Oakland, a part of Cooke's Hope Manor, near the shore of the beautiful Peach Blossom creek, a short distance below the present residence of Mr. Samuel A. Rohrer.

He needs no marble monument to commemorate his many virtues. They are already recorded and preserved in our Masonic Archives.

May the precious tenets of Masonry which he has handed down to us, inspire each and all of us to put them into daily practice, and when we have finished our pilgrimage on earth, may the Great High Priest, who rules eternal in the Heavens, and whose last commandment was "that ye love one another," pronounce upon each of us that joyful judgment, "Well done good and faithful servant."

PERRY BENSON

Captain in the Continental Army and Major-General in the Maryland Militia

1757-1827

—"non pugnavit ingens
Idomeneus Sthenelusve solus
Dicenda Musis proelia."

The times of our Revolution constitute our heroic age. Patriotic illusion has given to all the more conspicuous characters of that epoch grand proportions, and has magnified even their unimportant acts into wonderful exploits. Research has been pushed to its farthest limit to reveal to our admiring eyes the slightest minutiae in the lives of the chiefs of that our happy Iliad, while eulogy has exhausted her resources in laudations of their deeds. While this has been doing, there has been an apparent forgetfulness that besides these great chiefs there was in that conflict a great host of men whose labors, courage, daring, patience, endurance and unselfish devotion to the cause of their country were as great as those of the leaders they followed, or the commanders they obeyed. The Revolution was not fought through by Washington, and Gates, and Green, and Knox, and Putnam, and Lincoln, and Wayne, and Marion, and men of like grade and ability, alone. There were men of humbler rank, and many more of no rank, who performed deeds worthy to be recorded and praised. But these have no men-

tion in story or song; or if mentioned at all, it is with such poverty of words and weakness of strain, that the subjects are dwarfed into honorless insignificance. The sentiment has become a familiar one that there have been many heroes in all past time, who have had no historian to record their deeds, and no poet to sing their praise. Of one of these almost unnoticed and unlauded heroes of our Revolutionary epoch, it is now proposed to present a brief memoir.

Perry Benson, the subject of this biographical sketch, was of a family that has been settled in Talbot county for at least two hundred years. The genesis of this family in Maryland was in Doctor James Benson, who soon after the organization of the county took up land on Saint Michaels river, between Royal Oak and the town of St. Michaels; and in this neighborhood he has representatives to this day. To him were born many children. The youngest son was Perry, the first that bore that name. From Perry sprang another James, who was the father of the subject of this memoir. The first Perry Benson, by marriage with the widow of Michael Russell, obtained part of Huntington Grange, upon the north side of St. Michaels river, and there settled. This land came to be known by the name of Wheatland, and is the same property that is now owned by Capt. David A. Martin (1879). Here the first Perry Benson and his son James lived, died and were buried, their graves remaining to this day properly marked. Here too the second Perry Benson, commonly remembered in this community as Gen'l Benson, was born, lived, died and is buried, but without a stone to indicate his grave. He was born on the 6th of August, 1757. His education seems to have been only of an elementary character, and obtained in the neighborhood schools from such masters as poverty or a worse compulsion drove to our shores, here to be bought, as other indentured servants, by the planters and other gentry. It is possible he may have received his best instruction in letters from Parson Gordon, the incumbent of St. Michaels parish, his father's near neighbor—a man of liberal culture, sincere piety and as the events of his later life showed, of undoubted patriotism, a quality not possessed by all his brethren of the cloth of that time. From this worthy source, as well as from his father, he may early have imbibed those sentiments which led him to espouse the cause of his country with so much enthusiasm, and to enlist in the armies that were raised for her independence, almost immediately upon the outbreak of hostilities. It is proper to state that what has been said of his instructors is merely conjectural, for absolutely nothing is known of his early youth.

To students of Maryland history it is well known that at a meeting of

the Delegates, appointed by the several counties of the province, in Convention assembled, and held at Annapolis from July 26th, 1775 to the 14th of August of the same year, it was resolved, among other measures for public defense, that forty companies of minute men should be enrolled, of which Talbot was to furnish one. These companies were to be filled by voluntary enlistment, and, it would seem, were intended for any emergency, but more especially as a kind of home guard against the disaffected to the patriot cause, of whom there were not a few in this county, and as an armed *posse comitatus* to carry into effect the resolutions of the convention and the orders of the Council of Safety of the province; also to support the committee of observation of each of the counties. Of this Talbot company, from the known ardor of Perry Benson in the patriot cause, he is believed to have been a member, but of the fact there is no recorded evidence. There is no wish to make any statement that is not well authenticated; it may be, therefore, well to say here with the utmost distinctness, that absolutely nothing is known of the beginnings of Benson's military career. The military organizations that were formed, or that were authorized to be formed, in this county early in the Revolution to some of which he may have belonged and to one of which he must have belonged, are mentioned as matters of local interest, but not necessarily relevant to the subject of this memoir. On the 1st of January, 1776, the Convention resolved to place the Province in the best state of defense, and to this end ordered that 1444 men and officers be raised and placed under pay as a force of regulars. A portion of this force was to form a battalion, and the remainder to be organized as independent companies. One of these independent companies, namely the fourth, was formed in Talbot, and these were the officers of it as first chosen by the Convention:

Captain—James Hindman.¹

First Lieut.—William Goldsborough.²

Second Lieut.—Archibald Anderson.

Third Lieut.—Edward Hindman.¹

¹ These two gentlemen were the sons of Jacob Hindman, who lived at the place now called Perry Hall. They were brothers of the Hon. Will. Hindman. James Hindman went into active service in the war, and rose to the rank of Colonel.

² This gentleman was the son of John Goldsborough, of Oxford Neck, and brother of Captain Greenbury Goldsborough. He served in the army and rose to the rank of Captain. He is known by the soubriquet of "Hession Billy," on account of some marvelous feats in his killing three Hessian soldiers, who simultaneously attacked him.

The organization of minute men, mentioned above, was dissolved, and it is not unlikely this independent company was formed upon its basis with pretty much the same officers. Of this company it is altogether probable Perry Benson was a member.³ This independent company was ordered by the Convention (Jan. 14th, 1776) to be stationed in Talbot county, where it was enlisted, and here it had the very ungrate-

³ It may not be amiss to say that after the dissolution of the forces called the minute men, the militia was reorganised throughout the province. The Eastern Shore was divided into two districts. Of these the lower one was composed of Dorchester, Caroline, Somerset, and Worcester counties, and the upper one of Cecil, Kent, Queen Anne's and Talbot counties. Of the former Mr. Henry Hooper of Dorset was chosen Brigadier General, and of the latter Mr. James Lloyd Chamberlaine, of Talbot. One battalion was assigned to Talbot in the first instance, namely, the 4th, and of this the following were the officers:

Colonel—Christopher Birkhead.

Lieut. Col.—Peregrine Tilghman.

First Major—Jeremiah Banning.

Second Major—Robt. Lloyd Nicols.

Quarter Master—Nicholas Thomas.

Subsequently another battalion, the 38th, was formed. The names of the chief officers of this battalion have not been discovered. The following companies constituted the 4th battalion, namely, those of

Captain Joseph Bruff,

" Jacob Gibson,

" Nathaniel Cooper,

" John Daugherty,

" James Lloyd,

" Samuel Abbott,

" Thomas Gordon,

" Greenbury Goldsborough.

The following companies constituted the 38th battalion, namely, those of Captain James Benson,

" Henry Banning,

" John Rolle,

" William Hambleton,

" William Webb Haddaway,

" Nicholas Martin.

It will be perceived by those who are familiar with these names, and with the residences of those who bore them, that the 38th battalion was composed of companies formed in the Bay Side, while the 4th battalion was formed in companies formed in the remaining portion of the county. These details are given, though only in the remotest degree connected with the subject of this memoir, that it may be shown who were the persons sufficiently patriotic in those times to engage for the defence of the State, and sufficiently earnest to assist in enlisting others in the same cause.

ful duty to perform of arresting some persons disaffected to the patriot cause. On the 25th of June of the same year, the Convention of Maryland, in conformity with a request of Congress, resolved to raise a force of 3,405 men from the body of the militia, to form a Flying Camp. Of this force Talbot was required to furnish one company, and of this company these gentlemen, on the 29th of the same month, were chosen by the Convention to be the officers, namely:

Captain—Greenbury Goldsborough.

First Lieut.—Woolman Gibson, of Jno.

Second Lieut.—John Thomas, Jr.

Ensign—Perry Benson, of James.

This is the first time the name of Perry Benson appears in the extant record. It is not certain that this company was ever formed. It is very certain that the Captain of it was never in active service in the Flying Camp under Washington, or in any other than militia service at home in the county. But, on the 6th of July, 1776, immediately after the passing of the Declaration of Independence by Congress, Captain James Hindman, the Captain of the independent company referred to above, was ordered to proceed immediately to Philadelphia, and to place himself with his command under Col. Smallwood, whose battalion had been ordered to that point. It is not known who was Benson's captain when he actually joined the army, nor is it certainly known at what precise time he enlisted or went into active service. But this much is certainly known of him, that he was in 1776 one of those men who made up the body known as the Flying Camp, and served under Washington in the campaign of that year, and subsequently. When the part that Maryland took in the war of Independence, shall have been more fully and satisfactorily written than has been done hitherto, perhaps it may be discovered who composed the patriot band from Talbot to join the great commander in the first year of the war, and the precise time when they formed a connection with the forces in the field. It is tolerably certain however, that Benson entered the army as a private or non-commissioned officer; that he made one of those Maryland troops, drawn from Cecil, Kent, Queen Anne's, Talbot, Dorchester and Caroline counties, which were consolidated into the 4th battalion, and commanded by Colonel William Richardson, of Caroline. Now this body, according to one historian, is said not to have joined the main army until September 8th, 1776, not in time therefore to take part in the battles of Long Island, where the Eastern Shore company of Captain

Veasey, as did the other Maryland troops, so distinguished itself, but in time to take part in the affair at Harlem Heights and White Plains. Whether Benson actually participated in these battles there is no means at hand of certainly determining. Nor is it known in what particular battles and skirmishes he shared during this year of active operations; all that can be said, or need be, is that he belonged to that Old Maryland Line, which became so famous for firmness and courage in battle that its frequent employment resulted in its almost complete annihilation before the end of the campaign of 1776. If the whole Line was composed of such men as Benson, it is not difficult to account for the reputation it acquired.

The term of service of the men composing the Flying Camp, being about to expire, a reorganization of the Maryland forces was, in March, 1777, resolved upon, and a body of regulars was formed. This was divided into seven battalions and were placed under the command of Brigadier General William Smallwood. The fifth of these battalions was composed of men enlisted upon the Easton Shore, and it had for its field officers the following, namely:

Colonel—William Richardson, of Caroline.

Lieut. Col.—James Hindman, of Talbot.

Major—Thomas Smyth, of Kent.

The fifth company in this battalion had these officers, namely:

Captain—Levin Handy, of Somerset.

First Lieut.—Perry Benson, of Talbot.

Second Lieut.—Jonathan Gibson, of Talbot.

Ensign—John Wilburn Watts, of ———.

Early in the year of 1777, the battalion of Col. Richardson was detached from the main army, then around and besieging Staten Island, which was in the possession of the British, and was ordered into Sussex county, Delaware, upon the inglorious but necessary duty of overawing the tories of the lower part of that State and of the adjoining counties of Maryland, particularly of Somerset, where there was a strong loyalist party. But it was soon recalled to take part in the military operations near Philadelphia. A private letter of Capt. Paul Bentalou, of Baltimore, still in existence, affords the first direct testimony to the presence of Benson in battle. This letter explicitly states that he participated in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown. In the former affair he was wounded while in the act of assisting Gen'l Lafayette, also wounded, on the field. This wound was probably very slight, for he was not incapaci-

tated for service in the battle last named, fought less than a month after.⁴

During the gloomy years of 1778 and 1779 Benson continued with the main army, sharing its privations, its hardships, its dangers and its humiliations. On the first of June of the last named year he was gratified by being made the recipient of a Captains' commission in the Continental Army, signed by the Hon. John Jay, President of Congress, and dating from the 11th of March 1778.

In the year 1780 the seat of war was moved to the South. The Maryland and Delaware troops were dispatched to that section, under the command of General DeKalb, to reinforce the armies there operating with but poor success. As a part of these troops Captain Benson and his company joined the Southern army then under the command of General Lincoln, who, however, was very soon superseded by General Gates. Of his career, while in this section of the country, there is more precise information than of that part of his military service which was rendered to the American cause in the North. We have the authority of a gentleman, who probably received the information directly from Benson himself, for what may be stated in this connection at least so far as the mention of the battles in which he was engaged. He undoubtedly participated in the disastrous battle of Camden, in August 1780, when the Maryland and Delaware troops alone saved the American army from complete dishonor, but were not able to save it from defeat. The losses of the Maryland line in battle had rendered the consolidation of regiments necessary. Accordingly in 1781 the seven regiments were reduced to one and this placed under General Otho H. Williams, while every effort was made in Maryland to recruit the line. The arrival of new levies increased the regiments to five. Under this arrangement Captain Benson was attached to the Fifth, commanded by Col. Benjamin Ford—a regiment which acquired a most enviable reputation. Before the beginning of the year 1781 General Greene had taken the command of the Southern army in place of General Gates. Benson served under Morgan at the battle of Cowpens, where the Maryland troops gathered so many laurels. He was under Gen'l Greene at Guilford Court House, and again at Hobkirk's Hill. At the last named battle he performed such service to the American army as should entitle him to the lasting memory and gratitude of the American people. He himself was very proud of his feat, and was fond of recounting it in after

⁴ This last incident is related upon the authority of the Hon. J. B. Kerr, who doubtless received it directly from the lips of Gen'l Benson himself.

years. On the day of battle the forces under Gen'l Greene, after a favorable position had been selected, were dismissed for the morning meal, no immediate attack being anticipated. The usual pickets were thrown out, however, to prevent surprise.

These pickets were commanded by Capt. Benson, of Maryland and Capt. Morgan of Virginia, supported by Capt. Kirkwood with the remains of the Delaware regiment.

Lord Rawdon, in command of the British took a circuitous route towards the American camp, and soon encountered the advanced guard of Benson. This brave man at once giving information to his commander of the approach of the enemy, determined to receive the shock of the enemy's whole force, in order that time might be given to Gen'l Greene to place his army in array. This was done with the utmost firmness, but at the cost of the larger part of his command, for before he drew back into line he had lost all but thirty-three men out of the one hundred and twenty that constituted his guard. He fired six rounds with such effectiveness that the British commander supposed he had come upon the main force, and formed into line of battle. The time thus gained allowed General Greene to form his army, for the reception of the enemy. Unfortunately the whole Maryland line did not exhibit on this day the firmness and bravery of Benson's guard; and so, a defeat was sustained; but there is but small doubt that the conduct of this little band and of its fearless commander saved the whole army from destruction.⁵ Gen'l Greene in his orders of the day, issued after the battle of Hobkirk's Hill, uses this language:

Though the action of yesterday terminated unfavorably to the American arms, the General is happy to assure the troops that it is by no means decisive. The extraordinary exertions of the cavalry, commanded by Lieut. Col. Washington, the gallant behavior of the Light Infantry, commanded by Capt. Kirkwood and the firmness of the pickets under Captains Benson and Morgan, rendering, the advantage expensive to the enemy, highly merit the approbation of the General and the imitation of the rest of the troops.⁶

⁵ In the obituary notice of Benson by the Hon. R. H. Goldsborough, a greater number of details are given of this action than of any other, and they are said of have been derived from a person who was present and participated in the battle. But they are given by Mr. Goldsborough in such a style as to render it difficult to determine what must be received as a literal fact, and what as the embellishments of a skillful literary artist.

⁶ Quoted from a paper by Will. G. Whitely, read before the House of Delegates of the State of Delaware, Feb. 15, 1875.

But it was at fort Ninety-Six that Benson best displayed those characteristics which distinguished him as a soldier. This post in South Carolina was in 1781 in the possession of the British, and was besieged by General Greene. It was thought expedient in view of reinforcements then marching to the relief of Col. Cruger who commanded the fort, to attempt an assault, although no practicable breach had been made in the defences. Capt. Benson, from his known fearlessness and daring was selected as will be seen for the post of greatest danger. The Americans had during the siege formed two parallels, by way of approach. Capt. Benson with his command was ordered to take possession of the inner line, while Col. Campbell was to occupy the line in the rear. Benson therefore, was charged with leading the assault, and Col. Campbell was to support him. Historians, following Gen'l Lee in his memoirs of the war in the South, have represented Benson as being commanded by Campbell. When Benson saw the book of General Lee, he conceived that full justice had not been done to him in the account there given of this assault, and accordingly addressed a communication to the editor of the *Republican Star*, at Easton, in which he briefly stated the actual condition of affairs on the day of battle, and appended to this note certain documents as confirmatory of his statements. In the *Star* of July 29, 1823, he says:

In reading the statement of the attack on Ninety Six in Vol. II, p. 127 of Lee's Memoirs I find it to be incorrect in stating that "Lieut. Col. Campbell, of the 1st Virginia Regiment, with a detachment from the Maryland and Virginia brigades was charged with the attack on the left. The first Maryland was ordered to take post in the first parallel, and Col. Campbell was ordered to take post in the second, and cover the whole, which was some distance in the rear of the first; and all the advances of forlorns and fatigue parties were sent from the first parallel; and I never knew that I was under orders from Col. Campbell until I saw 'Lee's Memoirs,' as I received my orders from Head Quarters, handed me by General Williams, then Adjutant General, which orders I now have in his handwriting." (Signed) P. BENSON.

then Capt 1st Maryland.

Following this letter is a copy of the orders of the day of assault.⁷ The following are these orders, now taken directly from the original, but which were first printed in connection with Gen'l Benson's letter. They were addressed to Capt. Benson.

⁷ The original of these orders is in the possession of Mrs. Pascault, the daughter of Gen'l Benson, who is now living in Easton, Md.

1 sub., 2 Serg'ts, 2 Corp'ls and 24 Privates to take post in each advance trench.

1 Serg't, and 10 fatigue men with intrenching tools &c., to be in the rear of each advanced party.

The 1st Maryland Regiments to take post in the advanced parallel.

The 1st Virginia Regiment to take post in the 2d parallel.

The Rifle men will man the high batteries.

The rest of the troops will be under arms.

After a few shells from the Howitzer, and rounds from the advanced battery, the subalterns upon a signal agreed on will throw their parties into the enemy's ditch and make lodgments on the right and left. The fatigue parties will follow and pull down the sand bags and parapet. As soon as this can be effected, the advanced parties will mount with a cheer, and seizing every advantage drive the enemy out of their works, &c., &c.

Capt. Benson commanding the first Maryland Regiment will support the parties in front by advancing from the Right and Left and Col. Campbell will cover the whole.

18th of June 1781.

From these documents it is very plain what part Benson took in the assault. He did not actually lead the forlorn hope, as the attacking parties were called, but they were sent from his line and after a lodgment had been made by them, he gave his support. His first position was the one of greatest exposure, and after the assault had begun his duties were no less hazardous than those of the parties that first encountered the enemy's fire. It is not proposed to give a full account of this terrible and disastrous assault on fort Ninety-Six. The reader is referred to any general history of the war of the revolution for its details. Let it suffice to say that when the proper moment had arrived for Benson to lead his men out of the trenches to support those who made the first attack, he rushed impetuously into the ditches, there to encounter that terribly destructive fire which soon rendered it necessary for the Americans to be withdrawn into their lines. But Benson was not of those who were able of himself to escape from the jaws of death. He fell, fearfully wounded, while in the act of giving command to his regiment. A musket ball entered his left arm, passed through his shoulder and neck, and lodged in his face. The shock was so severe as to overwhelm him and to deprive him of the power of moving. A fellow soldier, Thomas Carney, a colored man, who fought by his side, took him upon his shoulders, carried him out of the ditch into the American lines, and laid him before the surgeon. Carney was a man of herculean strength and size, and Benson was scarcely his inferior in these respects. Yet

Carney bore him off, at the same time carrying his own musket; but when he had accomplished his generous task, overcome with the heat and fatigue, he fainted. After his recovery which was speedy he insisted on returning to the assistance of those who had not yet extricated themselves from the ditch, but was preëmtorily commanded to stay and take care of Captain Benson.⁸ The wound which he had received was thought at the time to be mortal, and under this impression Major Jonathan Gibson,⁹ who was then in the army with him, addressed the following letter of condolence to Mr. James Benson, his father.¹⁰

CAMP BEFORE NINETY SIX,

So. CAROLINA, 17th June, 1781.

Dear Sir:—You'll pardon me for the shortness of my letter, as the opportunity now obtained is only for me to communicate the unhappy intelligence of the fate that befell my poor friend a few hours ago—your unfortunate son Perry. We have laid before this garrison 24 days, and in consequence of a reinforcement arriving in Charlestown encouraged the enemy to take the field, we were compel'd to make an attack by storm as the enemy were in full march to the relief of it. We carried

⁸ Thomas Carney was a yellow man, a resident and perhaps a native of Caroline county, Maryland. He enlisted early in the war, and was a member of the company raised by Capt. Peter Adams. He followed the fortunes of the army in the campaigns of 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779 in the North, and then was transferred to the South with the Maryland troops. He there fought at Camden, Guilford Court House, Hobkirk's Hill, and as has been shown, was one of the assaulting party at Fort Ninety-Six. Whether he performed other military service is not known. He was a brave and faithful soldier. His honorable record was recognized by the State and the national governments, from each of which he received a pension that rendered him comfortable for life. The good service which he rendered to Capt. Benson was gratefully remembered by that gentleman; and whenever he visited Caroline, he made it a point of duty always to call to see Thomas Carney, his old companion in arms, who had probably saved his life. It was the custom of Gen'l Benson whenever he reviewed the militia, a duty of which he was fond, to have Carney mounted and at his side ostensibly as servant, but really as his friend and benefactor. This colored Revolutionary soldier lived much respected and died Aug. 30, 1828, soon after the demise of Benson, having attained the age of 74 years. This account of Thomas Carney is derived from a brief memoir of him published soon after his death, and from the recollections of persons now living who knew him.

⁹ Major Jonathan Gibson was from Miles River Neck. He was the son of Woolman Gibson, and the brother of Jacob Gibson of Marengo, who became so conspicuous in this county as a Democratic politician. Jonathan Gibson served through the war, and died in July, 1783, leaving no descendants.

¹⁰ The original of this letter is in the possession of Mrs. Pascault, daughter of General Benson.

one of the works; in the attempt of the other we experienced it impracticable, without making too great a sacrifice. 'Twas there your lamented son in a glorious attempt receiv'd a wound, I fear will deprive us of a Life, much regretted by his acquaintance—not only so, but a loss to his country. His conduct has been uniform, since the commencement of his military life, and should he leave us, you may in some measure reconcile the unhappy event by considering the sacrifice made in supporting the rights of his Country, and leaving the world with such a carrectre as must ever be considered a lasting Honor, not only to him, but his family, and the remaining generation from whence he took his Existence. The wound runs through his shoulde and neck and terminates in the right side of his face. The surgeons suspend their opinion as yet, as the wound has not been perfectly examin'd.—I think the symtims are against him. However I shall write you by the first opportunity.

I am, Sir, with every

Esteem & Respect

Y'r Hhble Servt.

J. GIBSON.

N. B. Two or three days will bring about a genl. action, as we are determined to fight the party that are attempting to relieve this garrison. Everything at present promises us success.

Mr. J. Benson.

Fortunately the apprehensions of Benson's companion-in-arms were not realized, for the father had the satisfaction, soon after, of receiving at home his son who had been the subject of so much generous commendation. Capt. Benson obtained leave of absence for six months, and returned to Maryland. His wound was of such severity and of such a nature as to incapacitate him for further actice service during the war: indeed it deprived him entirely of the use of his left arm, and besides gave him much suffering through life. The following extract from the General Orders issued on the day of the assault is indicative of the estimate placed upon Capt. Benson by Genl. Greene.

And there is great reason to believe that the attack on the starr battery, directed by Lieut. Col. Campbell, would have been equally fortunate if the brave lieutenants Duvall and Seldon who most valiantly led on the advanced parties had not been unluckily wounded. Their conduct meets the highest encomiums and must secure them perpetual honor. The loss of the amiable Capt. Armstrong, and the dangerous wound received by the intrepid Benson are to be regretted. Their names cannot be forgotten while acts of heroism are held in estimation.¹¹

¹¹ This has been taken from an exact copy of the General Orders, made by Jonathan Gibson, major of brigade, sent to the father of Capt. Benson, and now in the possession of his daughter Mrs. Pascault.

Thus terminated the services of Capt. Benson in the war of independence. He had served his country until he had become incapacitated by reason of his wounds. For this service he received little more than his own approbation. Of honors, as has already appeared, he had but a meagre share: of pecuniary reward what he obtained was equally slender. To be sure he had the half pay of an officer of his rank, but to this day his aged daughter is a suitor against the government for claims which have never been satisfied. In a notice of his death published in the *Republican Star* are the following words:

There is a thought that pierces us that this war worn patriot should have died a creditor of his country for the price of blood that sealed the independence of this great, this powerful, this independent republic.

Capt. Benson continued his connection with the army until the conclusion of the war in 1783, when he was honorably discharged.

After the disbanding of the forces he settled himself on the parental estate at Wheatland, married, and gave himself up to the pursuits of agriculture; but the military life possessed charms for him to his latest day, and he did not fail, whenever there was occasion, to offer his services as a soldier to the state or nation. In the year 1794 the country was much agitated by an insurrection in the western counties of Pennsylvania, owing to an excise that had been imposed upon distilled liquors. Requisitions were made upon the states for troops. Recruiting stations were opened upon the Eastern Shore, and companies were formed. In June of that year the Governor of the State of Maryland appointed these militia officers in Talbot, namely:

Lieut. Colonel,	John Hughes.
“	“
“	Perry Benson.
Major,	Daniel P. Cox.
“	Robert Lloyd Nicols.
“	Hugh Sherwood.
“	William Goldsborough.

John Eccleston of Dorchester was appointed General of Brigade. Several companies were raised in Talbot, and moved to the frontier. With them went Col. Benson. It is believed they proceeded no farther than Frederick, where Benson was in the latter part of September, as the insurgents dispersed and submitted, though companies commanded by Capt. Sherwood, of Talbot, and Capt. Beal remained near the disaffected region for some time.

Again in 1798 when war with France was anticipated because of the

spoliations of the privateers of that country upon our commercial marine, the most intense excitement prevailed in Talbot county. Col. Benson was among the most active in stimulating the military ardor of the young men. Some of the most stirring appeals which were printed in the single paper of the county, the *Maryland Herald*, can with safety be attributed to him. He took part in the spirited public meetings which were held, and aided by his rude but moving eloquence in arousing an enthusiasm for resistance to French aggressions which would have been of great service had actual hostilities broken out with our ancient ally. Fortunately there was no need of his girding on his sword.

In 1807 the whole country was aroused to the highest pitch of indignation by the reckless and atrocious attack of the British ship *Leopard* upon the United States ship *Chesapeake*. Meetings were held in this county, as elsewhere, to give expression to the excited feelings of the people. Measures were taken by the state for placing the military in a condition for active hostilities, which were confidently expected to result. Companies were formed and officers appointed. Before the year 1800, the precise time not being known, Col. Benson had been made Brigadier General of the Maryland Militia. In 1807 William Hayward was appointed under him Colonel of the 4th regiment, and Perry Spencer (a remote kinsman of Benson) as Colonel of the 26th regiment; while Henry Johnson and William Smith were made Majors of the 4th and 26th regiments respectively. Of the many companies which were then formed, several retained their organization until actual hostilities with Great Britain broke out five years later. Genl. Benson as this time exhibited as much ardor and anxiety to engage with his ancient foe as in his earlier days.

Whatever may have been the opinions of others as to the policy of declaring war with England in 1812, there was no doubt in the mind of General Benson, although he was a decided Federalist, that there was righteous cause for such declaration. He regarded Great Britain as the foe of his country, and as such, a combat with her could never be wrong, though it might, at some time, be inexpedient. Minds like his, that have not been liberalized by contact with the wide world, or by the cultivation of letters, nourish their animosities, and find a pleasure in maintaining them. A hatred of England was an abiding feeling with Benson. As soon as war had been declared he interested himself actively in getting the militia of the county in a condition for effective service in case the enemy should make his appearance. The old military organizations were perfected and drilled. New ones were formed. Arms were

put in order and efforts made, often ineffectually, to procure additional supplies.¹² The county remained at peace until March, 1813, when the British fleet made its appearance in the Chesapeake, and those outrages began to be perpetrated that have covered the name of Cockburn with shame and infamy. These caused the utmost consternation to be felt by the people living in such situations as permitted the approach of the enemy by water. Talbot county was thought to be particularly exposed on account of the large number of rivers, creeks or estuaries which either bound or are embraced within her territory. By the middle of April of this year Admiral Warren who had reinforced Cockburn's command had advanced with a detachment of the fleet as far up the bay as Sharp's Island, which with Poplar and Tilghman's Islands he had taken possession of and was plundering. The alarm of the people of the county had become intense. Videttes were stationed at various points, and guard boats were placed in the rivers. Frequent reports of the approach of the enemy caused the repeated calling out of the militia, and its hurrying to the threatened places of attack; General Benson had command of all the forces within the county.

On the sixth of May occurred that pleasing episode of the war in Talbot, the presentation by the ladies of St. Michaels, through Genl. Benson, of a flag to the artillery company of Capt. Will. Dodson. To the graceful address of the ladies, Genl. Benson replied in an appropriate manner, in which he was pleased to say that he believed the women of St. Michaels were not behind those of Carthage or Rome, or of any other nation in patriotic devotion.

When the ships of the enemy's squadron had ascended as high as Kent Island, it was the common impression that sooner or later an attack would be made upon the town of St. Michaels where there were several vessels building, among which was a barge for river defense, in the shipyard of Col. Perry Spencer, and some privateers. Besides, the capture of St. Michaels was almost a necessary preliminary to the capture of Easton, where the enemy might expect to obtain much more plunder,

¹² In March 1813 a memorial was signed by General Benson and other prominent citizens of Talbot, and presented to the Governor and council; in which was set forth the defenceless condition of the county, particularly as regards efficient arms for the militia. This memorial was referred to the Secretary of War, Genl. Armstrong at Washington. But the replies of both the Governor and the Secretary were of a character to give little hope that any assistance would be given, and to indicate that the people of the county must depend upon their own courage and military skill if they would escape the ravages of the country.

as well as do much more harm. Positive information, from deserters caused General Benson to believe that the attack on St. Michaels was not to be long deferred; so he concentrated at St. Michaels a considerable number of troops—probably about six hundred—belonging to eight or ten companies of artillery, infantry and horse. It is not now purposed to give a full account of the affair at St. Michaels. This will be done at some future time. Suffice it to say that the attack was made early in the morning of the 10th of August, 1813, the enemy landing from barges on Parrott's Point, where there was a four gun battery, commanded by Capt. William Dodson, and over which the flag presented by the ladies was waving. This battery was captured, but not until one of the guns, heavily charged with grape, was most effectively discharged at the column of the enemy formed in the water, nor until the flag had been rescued by the commander. This warm reception caused the barges to draw off, and to open their fire upon the town from the river. This was replied to actively, and with so much skill that the enemy attempted no further landing, but returned to their fleet off Kent Point. The infantry was not engaged, but was drawn up in battle array, prepared to meet the enemy had he attempted to approach the town within musket range. The following is the official account of this affair as given by General Benson:

The enemy with eleven barges made an attack on the little fort at mouth of the harbor of St. Michaels, on Tuesday morning, the 10th inst., and under a dark cloud, and were not seen until they were landing. They were fired on by two guns, and the men from the fort retreated with the loss of their muskets. The guns were spiked and the enemy embarked, and commenced a cannonade upon the town. There were fifteen well directed shot from our guns, which made the enemy retreat; ten of the shot were fired by Lieut. Graham from his battery, and five from Lieut. Vickers. There was much blood on the grass at the water. One pair of boarding pistols, two boarding cutlasses, two cartridge boxes and a pair of pumps were left. The barges fell down to the brig three or four miles, and remained until 9 or 10 o'clock; nine of them went to Kent Island, in slow order; two went to the Admiral's ship. The militia generally behaved well, and I have no doubt the same body would meet the conflict with redoubled ardor. Some of the houses were perforated, but no injury to any human being. This sheweth the hand of a protecting providence.¹³ (signed,) P. BENSON, B.G.

Foiled in their first attempt upon St. Michaels, the enemy, on the 26th of August landed at the farm of Col. Auld, now owned by J. W.

¹³ It is proper to say this report does not tally in some particulars with the recollections yet living who were participants in the affair.

Kemp, Esq., a large force represented by some to have been 1800 men from sixty barges, and moved upwards towards the town. Genl. Benson disposed his troops in such manner as to deter the commander, Sir Sidney Beckwith, from executing his purpose. Towards evening the British forces were reëmbarked, and joined the fleet off Kent Point. In a letter to the editor of the *Republican Star* written by S. Dickinson, Brigade Major, under the direction of Genl. Benson, it is said:

The militia presented a determined front in support of their country's rights.

On the 30th the troops at St. Michaels were discharged, the enemy's fleet having left its anchorage and stood down the bay, when the General in command issued the following:

BRIGADE ORDERS

August 30, 1813. As the British are on their way down the Bay, the militia at this Post are discharged, except such a guard as Col. Auld may see proper to keep here. The Caroline militia will deliver their arms and cartridges to the Armorer at Easton; the extra arms will be delivered to the Quarter Master, Mr. Garey, to be sent to Easton. The General, in behalf of the country, sincerely thanks the militia that have remained at this place, under many privations, and in some instances under disagreeable circumstances. In sight of a menacing enemy, the troops presented a determined front in support of their country's rights. All the commandants of Corps and Companies are on their return to their respective homes, to order court martial on all deserters and delinquents. There is to be no firing of guns—no waste of cartridges. Every officer stands responsible for the safe keeping of arms and equipments—and as the main body of the militia have done themselves honor, the General hopes and flatters himself that they will return home with the same honor.

Again, in the spring of 1814, the British fleet made its appearance in the bay, and from that time onward during the summer continued to annoy the people along its shores and the water courses making into it. The militia of the county was kept on the alert. In October there was great alarm created by the presence of the enemy at the mouth of Chop-tank, and the marauding parties which were sent from the fleet along the shores of that river and its tributaries. A considerable force of militia was assembled at Easton, under the command of Genl. Benson, in anticipation of an attack on that town by barges sent up Third Haven. But these citizen soldiers were, fortunately perhaps, not called upon to contend with the British regulars, and when the danger was

passed they were dismissed, and soon after the commander issued the following address, through the public press of the county to the forces which had been under arms at Easton:

WHEATLAND, Nov. 7, 1814.

Sir: In justice to the patriot band of militia I had the honor to command and dismiss on the morning of the 2nd inst., at Easton, I wish it to be know that on the morning of the 20th ultimo, after they had been lying upon their arms all night with a probability of an attack from the enemy, at their 4 o'clock parade, A. M., from report of the officers, there was not one absentee from any of the corps. There appeared to be no party but one, and that was **WE ARE ONE**. You will please hand this to each of the editors of papers in Easton.

Your humble servant,

P. BENSON, B. C.

(signed,)

Robert Spencer, Esq., A. D. C.

Although there were those who severely criticised the management of the military operations in the years 1813 and 1814 in Talbot, there was a perfect unanimity of opinion as to the intense military ardor, and the fearless bravery displayed by the commanding general: indeed it was those very qualities which caused him to give ground for these animadversions. He displayed such an anxiety to engage with his adversary and placed such confidence in the soldiery under his command, attributing to them the same firmness and courage he himself possessed, that he was said to have exhibited something of rashness or temerity upon the approach of the enemy.¹⁴

With the war the military career of General Benson was terminated. During the remainder of his life, by reason of long peace, he was debarred from serving his country in that capacity for which alone he was fitted. He was not called upon to gird on his sword, except for display on certain festive occasions, or to attend the annual muster of the militia of the county. In those reviews or parades of the citizen soldiers which the

¹⁴ Mr. Robt. H. Goldsborough, who was present at the affair of St. Michaels commanding a body of horse, says of the troops and their general; "the force he could levy consisted entirely of militia, but they were militia who derived courage as well from their innate love of country as from the confidence they felt in their veteran commander, which seemed to prepare them to breast danger in defence of their native soil. * * * The enemy was met and repulsed with an energy and bravery which would have reflected honor on veteran soldiers. On this occasion the General offered in his own conduct an example of coolness and firmness in the midst of personal peril."

law at one time required, he participated with the utmost zest; for although they were but poor travesties of the

Pride, pompt and circumstance of glorious war,

they served to recall scenes in his life to which he reverted with peculiar pleasure. His military vanity was gratified in 1819 by the reception from Governor Charles Goldsborough of the commission of a Major-General of the Maryland militia, dating from the 1st of November of that year, and accompanied by the following flattering letter:

ANNAPOLIS, Nov. 3, 1819.

DEAR SIR:—I have much pleasure in having it in my power to present to so meritorious an officer of the Revolution, as you are well known to have been, the commission of Major General in the Militia of Maryland. I hope you will not decline to accept it, but beg leave to accompany it with the assurance of the respect and regard with which I am,

Dear Sir, Your Ob't Servant,

C. GOLDSBOROUGH.

The monotony of the life of this our Cincinnatus, who had returned to his plough, was pleasantly diversified by occasional meetings at his own home, in the town of Easton, or during his visits abroad, with his old companions-in-arms. Under the exhilaration of such meetings, like the retired soldier of all times, he

Fought his battles o'er again,
And thrice he routed all his foes, and thrice he slew the slain.

But the most gratifying of all these meetings was that with General Lafayette, when that friend of America was in the city of Baltimore, in the year 1824. At an assembly of

the freedom of Talbot county at the Court House in the town of Easton, on Tuesday, the 21st of September, 1824, to give a proper and united expression of their joy on the arrival of Gen'l Lafayette in this country.

Gen'l Benson was placed in the chair, and Tench Tilghman, Esq., appointed Secretary. A committee was appointed to draft an address to the distinguished visitor, expressive of the sentiments of the citizens of the county. This address having been adopted, a deputation consisting of Major Gen'l Perry Benson, Robert H. Goldsborough, Esq., and the Hon. Edward Lloyd was chosen by the convention to present the same in person to Gen'l Lafayette upon his arrival in Baltimore. This agreeable duty was accordingly performed, and its discharge made a part

of the proceedings at those fetes, which, in October, were celebrated in honor of the guest of the State and of the nation. He made one of that patriotic band who were by privilege admitted to the sacred precincts of the tent of Washington, which was spread on this occasion, to receive the distinguished visitor. The scene that was there witnessed was one of the most touching in all our history. Although Benson was a man of rugged character and "unused to the melting mood" it is not difficult to believe that, like all who were present at the memorable meeting of Lafayette with his old companions-in-arms, he had his sensibilities most deeply moved, and that he too was dissolved in tears. After these emotions had subsided, it is altogether probable that Lafayette, who was just from Philadelphia, where he had heard repeated an hundred times the story of the field of Brandywine and Germantown, had his French politeness tested by having to listen to the old veteran of Talbot rehearse his version of those fights. Another diversification of his quiet life besides that of occasional association with old companions, was his custom of spending a part of the summer away from his house and family under his tent, which he had preserved from his revolutionary service. This, an officer's marquee, he would spread in his large lawn extending down to the river, and there beneath its shelter, he would attempt to renew the life of the camp. To any guest who might visit him he offered merely a soldier's fare taken from his chest; and that this feigned campaigning might possess a realism which could not be disputed, he sometimes made that fare as poor and scant as ever continental soldier was compelled to accept in the darkest of revolutionary days. But liquor rations were never shortened in these summer quarters.

General Benson took little part in politics. After the parties under the present form of government became defined, he allied himself with the Federalists, and with them he continued to act during his life. He seems to have had no political aspirations whatever, and never held but one position of a political or civil character. In the year 1798, the year of the ever memorable contest for a seat in Congress between Mr. Hindman and Mr. Seney, he was a candidate for the House of Delegates. The Republicans, or Democrats, elected three of their ticket, but there was a tie between General Benson and David Kerr, Esq., another very popular Federal gentleman, which rendered a new election necessary when Gen'l Benson was chosen. At another time his name was mentioned in connection with the sheriffalty, but he never stood for that or any other office. He was no partisan, but an intense patriot. At a time when it was the custom of their opponents to reproach Federalists

with tory sentiments or a subservience to foreign influence, it would have been dangerous for any man, in his presence, to insinuate that Gen'l Benson was actuated by any other than the sincerest devotion to his country.

It does not appear that he was in connection with any religious body. In early life he was brought under the influence of the Methodists, but fell away from the austere rule of life of that people—so at least says Asbury, whom Benson visited in Virginia, in his journal. Later he claimed a birthright in the Protestant Episcopal Church. But he was too honest and sincere to pretend to a piety with which his conduct was not always in consonance. 'Twas said, "our armies swore terribly in Flanders." Armies the world over, have done so. Benson was but a soldier, and maintained the reputation of the army in the particular attributed to it by Uncle Toby.

He was a member of the Masonic fraternity, and the lodge at Easton honored him with a burial according to its impressive ritual.

He was also a member of the Board of Trustees of the Maryland Agricultural Society for the Eastern Shore: and this club of very respectable gentlemen very properly appointed him in 1824 one of a committee to notify Gen'l Lafayette of his election to a membership in that body, and to extend to him an invitation to attend the cattle show to be held at Easton in that year.

He belonged to the Society of the Cincinnati. The Diploma of the Society, signed by General Washington, indicates the date of his election as of the 27th of July 1793. It is sacredly preserved by his surviving daughter as the patent of a true nobility.

General Benson was twice married, each time to a daughter of Henry Johnson, Esq., and a sister of Dr. Theodore Johnson, an eminent physician in this county, of a past generation. The last of his wives only bore him children, and of these three survived their father, namely: Elizabeth Johnson, who married first Mr. Thomas Bond, and then Mr. Louis Pascault; George Robert, and James Henry. Of these, Mrs. Pascault alone is alive at this date, but she is enjoying a vigorous old age, respected for her own personal virtues, and venerated for her years and reputable ancestry. It is believed there are no descendants of General Benson of the second generation.

The personal appearance of General Benson was that of a strong robust man. He was above the ordinary height in stature, being six feet one inch or more. He was spare of habit but muscular. In complexion he was dark but florid. His bearing was that of the soldier, erect, and state-

ly. The entire loss of the use of his left arm which he habitually carried in a sling, did not prevent him from mounting his horse, but his wound gave him pain throughout his life. His latter years were attended with much physical suffering which he bore with the fortitude that was becoming a good soldier. It is said that in his last hours he enjoyed the consoling influence of religion, and that he met his last enemy with the same courage that he had encountered him so often upon the field of battle. He died after a lingering illness on Tuesday, the second of October, 1827. He was buried at Wheatland with Masonic honors, and was attended to his grave by a large number of the most respectable people of the county, his friends and neighbors.

The impressions of General Benson which are meant to be conveyed by this survey of his life and career, are the same that would be derived from the representations of those persons, still living, who knew him and who are capable of forming a proper estimate of his character. He was a "plain blunt man," without pretension and without affectation. He claimed to be but a soldier. It was his pride to have been a soldier of the revolution. He had a soldier's qualities. He was frank, loyal, brave—frank to bluntness, passionately loyal, fearlessly brave. As an officer he is represented to have been a rigid disciplinarian, but thoughtful of the comfort and safety of his command. In his intercourse with men he was somewhat brusque, but he had that politeness of the heart that peers through bluff speech and rough manners. In the domestic circle he was indulgent and affectionate. Love of country was his absorbing passion. The most marked quality of his mind was his courage; and he was well characterized when he was called "the intrepid Benson."

No stone marks his grave. The citizens of this county would honor themselves while they honor him, if they would erect some monument to his memory, before she passes away, who, perhaps alone, can point out the spot where repose the remains of the most conspicuous soldier Talbot sent into the army of independence, and as brave a man as ever faced the enemies of his country, on the field of battle.

COL. JEREMIAH BANNING.

1733-1798

*Dis carus ipsis quippe ter et quater
Anno revisens aquor Atlanticum
Impune.* HOR. LIB. I OD. XXXI.

The physical features of this county of Talbot, with its extraordinary extensive shore line, its numerous deep navigable water courses penetrating into every part of its territory, and communicating with that of neighboring counties, taken in connection with its proximity to the great ocean through the noble Chesapeake bay that washes its western borders, to which may be added its originally magnificent forest growth of timber trees, seems to have destined it to be the home of a sea-faring, ship-building and ship owning people. In fact we find that from the beginning it had a class, proportionately large, of citizens who lived by the sea—sailors and shipwrights of every grade. To a maritime population the sea has its fascinations hardly to be resisted. One cannot say whether its strongest lures are its smiles or its frowns; the pleasures it affords, or the dangers which it threatens; the competence which it brings or the promises which it violates. To “go to sea” was the chosen employment many a Talbot youth, long before the minds of boys had been excited by the tales which modern literature has furnished them in such luxuriant abundance of adventure upon that element; and to become a Master of a vessel trading between Choptank or Chester river with England or the West Indies was to realize the highest aspirations of the most ambitious lad, who from his home upon some quiet cove or creek saw the great tobacco ships as they were wafted out of the Easton bay, or lay becalmed off Sharp’s Island in the Chesapeake. To a people thus seated by the sea, as it were, or living upon its bosom the ship, as might be expected of them, was considered at once the most valuable and the most beautiful of human creations. It was the agent that brought almost all that was prized to their humble homes: it realized their ideal of what was most pleasing to the eye of man’s construction. The generalization may be ventured that as among maritime races of imperfect development their boats are the first objects, of not a strictly personal nature, upon which their taste is exercised for the production of graceful forms and ornamentation according to their own canons; so in Talbot ships were the first great objects of creative art in the construction of which the æsthetic feelings sought gratification. In their model and rig something more than simple adaptation to useful

purposes was sought to be attained by rough artisans who had but a glimmering thought that beauty itself is utility of the highest kind. It is safe to say there were built in the county many noble ships of fine lines and elegant finishing long before there was a single house that could justly claim any architectural beauty of design or decorative ornamentation, if not indeed before there was one that could be called comfortable, even though the ugliness which was common to them all, might not be considered discomforting.

The exigencies of the sailor's life call into exercise some of the best faculties of the mind, and are therefore calculated to develop the strongest characters. Fortitude under hardship; courage in the presence of danger, foresight to anticipate it; dexterity to avoid it, or vigor to overcome it; self-reliance that does not extinguish but fosters trust in others; loyalty to duty; generosity, too apt to be prodigal; piety, too often without foundation in morals or equally often mingled with superstition; a love of liberty which has its usual expression either in a devoted patriotism when his country is free, or in unlawful protests against authority when his country is oppressed—these are some of the qualities which are nourished and trained by the rough "calling of the sea-faring man."

Talbot is not without examples of the happy results of such a life, and it is now proposed to present an account of one of the most worthy of these—one in whom the best qualities of the bold, the skillful, the faithful, the generous, the patriotic sailor was conspicuously displayed and illustrated, Jeremiah Banning, of the Isthmus. Fortunately it is possible to give this account, at least so far as it shall relate the story of his earlier years, or those spent in the prosecution of his calling of mariner-merchant, in his own words. It was Mr. Banning's custom, originating doubtless in the duty of writing the logs of his many voyages, to keep a journal of a personal character, in which, however, he noted many incidents which especially attracted his attention, whether curious or important. As a part of this journal, a short time before his death he prepared for the gratification of his children a brief auto-biography. The journal of Mr. Banning is carefully preserved by one of his descendants, who for reasons that she considers imperative and which are certainly most worthy and creditable, declines allowing it to be examined by any one except those bound to the author by the same ties of kinship as those which bind her, or by ties of a similar kind. But the custodian of this "Day Book," as it is called, has most generously furnished extracts from it to the compiler of these contributions, and has kindly

consented that these extracts shall be published. They are therefore here presented without alteration or abridgment, and are said to be the very words of the writer himself. A few notes are affixed by way of elucidation, and an appendix or supplement is added for the purpose of relating what Mr. Banning has omitted. It may be well to introduce this autobiographical sketch by the statement that Mr. Banning was a native of Talbot county, and the son of Mr. James Banning by his wife Jane. After the death of his father, his mother married Mr. Nicholas Goldsborough, who having no children of his own adopted those of his wife, and dying left them his property. These children were Jeremiah, Anthony and Henry Banning, each of whom occupied positions of the highest respectability in society and have left descendants who are proud to trace their origin to such an honored and honorable ancestry. Anthony removing in 1771 to Chestertown, Kent county, there married, settled, accumulated large property, and died December 27, 1787, in his 47th year, leaving an only daughter, and heiress, Catherine Banning, who intermarried with Benjamin Chew, Esq., of Germantown, Pa., one of the well-known family of that name. Henry remaining in Talbot, was a gentleman of social and political prominence, having been one of the Justices of the Peace, or Judges of the County Court from 1774 to 1778. He was chosen by the convention one of the Captains of a Company of militia in 1775, and as such aided in protecting the country during the war of the Revolution. He was a vestryman of St. Michaels Parish for a number of years, from 1768 to 1783, but subsequently became identified with the Methodists. At his house meetings of the people of this denomination were held before churches or chapels had been erected for their accommodation. He died at a great age, Aug. 19, 1718, leaving children, one of whom was Mr. Anthony Banning, remembered by many still living as a man whose precise formal and dignified manners and habits did not misbecome a character of singular probity, purity and piety. Of the children of Jeremiah the eldest son of James and Jane Banning mention will be made in the sequel. The following are the extracts from his journal referred to above.

Jeremiah Banning was born in Talbot county on the 25th of March, 1733, and received an education sufficient to qualify him for mercantile pursuits and for a mariner, to which latter occupation his disposition always led him from his earliest youth.

In order to learn a thorough knowledge of seamanship he entered before the mast on board the snow, *Mary & Nancy*, commanded by Captain Edward Rooke, a near relation of the great Admiral of the same name, who was a sensible man, a gentleman, and an ingenius and

able navigator, but unfortunately inherited a small portion of discretion. This was a new vessel, just off the stocks, and then lying up Choptank river, ready to put out on a voyage to Madeira.

In May, 1751, they sailed from Wye River in the said snow, and returned to Maryland in the September following without meeting with any incident worthy of note; though to a speculative mind it is natural to imagine the feelings upon the first appearance of the unbounded ocean. The stupendous height of the Western Islands, particularly that of Pico, which was the first land he ever saw, save that of his native country, the top of which appeared to soar far above the clouds; the Portugese pilot coming on board; the health and custom-house officers, their, to him, unintelligible language had to the young and inquisitive mind a peculiar effect. To this may be added the new and various scenes that opened to his view upon visiting the superb cathedral, the splendor and riches of which seemed to have exhausted all Brazil and Peru of their treasures. Their convents, in one of which was a room for meditation whose walls were wainscoted with human bones, four of the thigh bones being placed in the wall when the mortar was green, forming a diamond, the space being filled with five human skulls; the backs were in like manner fixed, a faint glimmering of light, just sufficient to render the whole more visible, gave it the most solemn, awful and humiliating aspect that can possibly be conceived.

After his return from Madeira, he entered the store of the owner of the said snow, (Mr. William Adams, of Oxford), as store keeper and clerk. It may not be amiss here to remark that Mr. Adams was thought to be one of the most powerful men as it regarded personal strength on the continent of America, or perhaps in the world. The ablest man of the time was no more in his hands than an infant in those of a common man. His stature was six feet four or five inches, being very robust in proportion. His figure possessed great symmetry; if there was a fault, it was that the calves of his legs were too high up. Though bred in the forest under every disadvantage as to improvement, yet his manners were easy, genteel and affable, at least uncommonly so for his opportunities; but when crossed in temper, he was ready to resume his savage wildness and behaved more like a devil than a man. He would frequently seize men with his teeth and bite great quantities of flesh from them, yet in general, he was a good tempered and amiable man. To enumerate any particular instance of his strength, which was powerful, might have the appearance of fable.

In September, 1752, Jeremiah Banning ordered to London on business. He took passage on board the snow, Nancy of London, James Henderson, master, and sailed from Oxford on the 2nd day of that month, which day was rendered remarkable by its being the one wherein the style of the year was changed from the old to the new. This was affected by adding 11 days to the 22nd of September¹ for elapsed time, therefore

¹ An evident error for Sept. 22d.

it became the 13th of that month, and the alteration in the date of the year took place on the 1st of January instead of the 25th of March. For instance, had not this change taken place the 1st of January following would have been set down as 1752-3. They arrived in London without meeting with any disaster except that of a great want of provisions, which was occasioned by the penurious disposition of the captain, who was a Scotchman. As a proof of the ship's passengers being in a state of starvation, as soon as they struck soundings on the coast of England, a bag of bread was placed at the mast for every one at will, and so great was the hunger that I think some ate from 13 to 14 biscuits a day. From London he took passage in the ship *Osgood*, Robert Robinson, master, and arrived in York river, Virginia, the March following, 1753. In February, 1754, he sailed for Rhode Island. On the way down the Chesapeake Bay, the ship put in to Hampton roads, and while lying there the *Centurian*, a British gun-ship, arrived with several other men-of-war and transport ships, having on board General Braddock and his army, destined to carry on the war against the French and Indians on the Ohio.

The ensuing January he was passenger on board the ship *Oxford*, under command of Nicholas Price, then bound on a voyage to the Barbadoes. This ship belonged to Foster Cunliffe & Sons, merchants of Liverpool, who had for many years carried on an extensive and lucrative traffic at Oxford, particularly under the agency of Mr. Robert Morris, their factor.

The great natural abilities of Mr. Morris overleaped every other deficiency. As a mercantile genius it was thought he had not his equal in the land. As a companion and bonvivant he was incomparable. If any public or political point was to carry he defeated all opposition. He gave birth to the inspection law on tobacco, and carried it, though opposed by a powerful majority. He was the first who introduced the mode of keeping accounts in money, instead of so many pounds of tobacco, pr yard, pr. pound, pr. gallon, as was formerly the case. He was a steady, warm friend wherever he made professions, and had a hand ever open and ready to relieve real distress. At repartee he bore down all before him. Mr. Morris was father to the present Robert Morris, of Philadelphia, and the most distinguished merchant of his time in America, perhaps exceeded by but few in the world as to his extensiveness of trade, mercantile knowledge, popularity and probity in his dealings.

Mr. Morris, the elder, agent to the great house of Cunliffe & Sons,

Liverpool, received his death wound in July, 1750, by the wad of a gun fired by way of salute to him from the ship *Liverpool*, Merchant, Samuel Matthews, commander, which was then lying at Oxford. The accident occurred in the following manner: On the arrival of the aforesaid ship from England, Mr. Morris and some other gentlemen went on board as is usual on such an arrival; on his return to the shore he was accompanied by the Captain, who before he left the ship gave orders upon a certain signal to salute with such a number of cannon. The signal was the Captain putting his finger upon his nose. Unfortunately, a fly lit upon the nose of Capt. Matthews, and he with his hand brushed it away; this was taken by the officer on board as the signal. The guns were fired; the wad of one passing through the back board of the pinnace struck Mr. Morris a little above the elbow, broke the bone, and occasioned a contusion which in a few days brought on a mortification, and put a period to his life in August. It may appear fabulous, but notwithstanding, assuredly true, that Mr. Morris had a favorite spaniel by the name of Tray; this dog kept by his master during the whole of his sickness, and after he was laid out, couched under him, where he in a few hours died. I do not mention this through any superstition, but merely to portray the sensibility of those sagacious animals.

The motive that led to the above particulars of Mr. Morris was in order to give a sketch of the now poor, forlorn and destitute town of Oxford, which was at the time of his death and during his agency, for he was its principal supporter, one of the most commercial ports in Maryland. The storekeepers and other retailers, both on the western and eastern side of the Chesapeake, repaired there to lay in their supplies. In those days Easton, then only known by the name of Court House, could not boast of one store. Seven or eight large ships at the same time were frequently seen at Oxford, delivering goods and completing their lading; nor was it uncommon to dispatch a ship with 500 hogsheads of tobacco in 12 days after its arrival. At that time tobacco was not examined or inspected by sworn officers as now. Men skilled in that article were employed by the merchants or storekeepers, and called receivers, to view, weigh, mark, and give receipts to the planters, after which vessels were sent to collect it, when it underwent a pressing and packing preparatory for shipping.

After the death of Mr. Morris commerce, splendor, and all that animating and agreeable hurry of business at Oxford gradually declined to the commencement of the civil war, which broke out in April, 1775, when it became totally deserted as to trade. In the autumn of that

year was the last appearance of British ships, or indeed of any other, at that port. Baltimore at that time was little thought of or scarcely known, especially by an adjoining State. Herds grazed on the streets, if streets they could be called, but it immediately took the lead, and was destined to become the emporium not only of the Chesapeake, but of Maryland, and was excelled by but three cities in America. Talbot Court House, formerly distinguished by that name, as I before observed, became the centre of the retail business. Easton, known at present by that name, was in the writer's first memory a trivial place, and only contained three tippling houses and one tailor's shop. The poor, forsaken Oxford is bereft of all former greatness, and nothing remains to console her but the salubrious air and fine navigation, which may anticipate better times. Oxford's streets and strands were once covered by busy crowds, ushering in commerce from almost every quarter of the globe. The once well-worn streets are now grown up in grass, save a few narrow tracks made by sheep and swine, and the strands have more the appearance of an uninhabited island than where human feet had ever trod.

We will now return to the voyage to the Barbadoes, from whence I returned in the month of September, 1755. On the passage up the Bay and opposite the mouth of the Patuxent river, I first heard of the death of General Braddock, and of the total defeat and rout of his army. This circumstance to those who may be unacquainted with the critical and dangerous situation of the country at that time from the French and Indians, may seem trivial; but far otherwise was the opinion of the people at that day, for it was thought that nothing but the success of Gen. Braddock could save this country from immediate destruction.

In January, 1756, I was deputed by Mr. Henry Callister,² the then agent for the Cunliffes, to carry the French neutrals—as they were called—around into Wye river, in order to distribute them among those who would be pleased to receive them. These unfortunate people were natives of Nova Scotia, and when ceded to Great Britain, those of the inhabitants who refused to take the oath of allegiance, were banished their country and dispersed among the colonies.³

² Henry Callister succeeded Mr. Morris as agent or factor of the Conliffes at Oxford. This gentleman has left behind him numerous letters of great interest to the local historian. He was a native of the Isle of Man, a friend of the Rev. Thomas Bacon, and a man of education and accomplishments.

³ An account of the Acadians that were sent to this country is given in a contribution entitled "The Poor House," published in *The Easton Star* of Dec. 2nd, 1879.

In March following, 1756, I visited Lisbon on business with Sir Harry Franklin, the then British envoy of that Court. Lisbon, the preceding first day of November, had been mostly destroyed by an earthquake, and presented the most deplorable spectacle that it is possible to conceive from the awful effects thereof. The city was in a heap of ruins, with numberless dead carcasses of human bodies being mingled therewith. A square adjoining the river Tagus, and whereon it was supposed 5,000 fled for refuge, suddenly sunk and buried every soul in oblivion. To the bank or quay belonging to the same, were many boats moored; all disappeared at the same moment, and not a wreck thereof was ever more seen.

While at Lisbon, I had the first intelligence of the defeat of Admiral Byng, off the Island of Minorca, and the capture of that place by the French, for which the unfortunate Byng was tried by a court martial, and as it was said, very unjustly condemned to be shot, and which sentence shortly after was carried into execution on board the *Monarque*, in Portsmouth harbor.

In 1760 I again went to the Island of Barbadoes. On my return from that place the ship *Friendship*, with a great number of other vessels, was convoyed by two sloops of war. A few days after their departure were overtaken by a hurricane, the violence of which overset one of the sloops close to the stern of the *Friendship*; it was lost, and every soul on board perished. The day after this accident the wind became moderate, when they fell in with a French privateer, who without hesitation pushed into the midst of the fleet, and without ceremony boldly engaged the remaining convoy, and a most desperate conflict ensued. They were soon enveloped in smoke, and so long did the contest continue—though the French vessel was a sloop and the other a brigantine—that victory became doubtful with the fleet, and who were just about shifting for themselves. In this dilemma, out belted the privateer through the thick of the smoke, and the man-of-war pursued with a constant fire for some time, yet the privateer, by short tacks in the eye of the wind, got clear.

In the following spring, 1761, I took command of the ship *Friendship* and sailed for Barbadoes, and on the passage was captured by a French privateer belonging to Martinico, and carried into that Island⁴ where all on board the ship were confined in a common jail, and where all died except myself and one boy.

⁴ This capture occurred on the 16th of April.—*Maryland Gazette*, June 11th, 1761.

Here let us pause to contemplate the miseries and horrors of a prison, a prison in a suffocating and burning climate—a prison crowded with 370 men, many groaning under the pain of their wounds received in battle, and the worst torturing disease (the flux), suffocation and almost every calamity and distress incident to man. The dead and the dying were the pillows of the living. Those that died were 24, often 48 hours, before being removed; they were then thrown over the high walls of Fort St. Pierre, within which the prisoners of war were confined. At the foot of the walls negroes stood ready to drag the corpses to the sea-side, with every insult and derision natural to a low class of vagabonds, bred up under every prejudice and enmity to the English, where they were slightly covered up with sand, and soon after rooted up by the hogs and devoured. Those unacquainted with the rigors of war, and how the hearts and feelings of men inured to bloodshed and slaughter become callous, would suspect the above to be mere fiction. But the truth is, the writer and his crew, as well as all the other prisoners suffered more than he has words to express—such as a scanty allowance, and that of putrid meat; water from a stream where the women washed their linen, and that strongly tintured with soap. The hot scorching rays of the sun pouring down in the prison yard; driven within the walls thereof at the ringing of a bell on the going down of the sun; but to this dreary retreat they hurried as to the most happy abode, and doubly happy were those who could first gain the window seats, two of which, in front of the prison, could contain two men in each, with an arm embracing the iron grate. It will not be candid to omit the more favorable part of the usage while in jail, and this was they could not complain of their allowance in bread. Far be it from the writer to throw out any insinuations against the French nation in general, being perfectly satisfied that there is not a more humane, brave and generous people on the face of the globe. As an instance of this, when the soldiers were leading me to jail, a French merchant, by the name of Monsieur Acquairt, and who was a perfect stranger, proffered to furnish me with any money I might want, saying, when himself a prisoner among the English, that he met with the like treatment. After my redemption by a flag of truce, I was carried to the Island of Guadaloupe, which had but just fallen into the hands of the English. After remaining on this Island for a few days, I took passage in a ship for the Island of St. Christopher, where I remained for some weeks waiting for an opportunity to return to the continent. At length one offered, in the Sarah, Captain Cator, for Philadelphia. This ship was a letter of marque, and the captain

a worthy man and an intrepid seaman. After many skirmishes, chasing and being chased, as is usual for armed vessels in time of war, we arrived safe at Philadelphia, where the writer purchased a horse and traveled down into Maryland.

In 1761 I was again called to England on very important business, and took passage for London on board the ship *Betsey*, Capt. John Brook, then lying in Wye river. In justice to the memory of that worthy man, it might truly be said of him that he was an able seaman, in his disposition and manners very agreeable and friendly. On the passage to England, though they sailed from Hampton road in Virginia under the convoy of two men of war, and in company with the largest fleet of merchantmen that perhaps ever sailed from the Chesapeake, notwithstanding, from hard gales of wind they got separated from the convoy, and off the Western Islands were unfortunately captured by a French Privateer. Capt. Brook was taken on board the enemy, and the writer never saw him again except once as their ships passed in the Chesapeake. Captain Brook died the year following.

Dick Tilghman, a youth who was on his way to England to complete his education,⁵ and myself were permitted after much entreaty to remain on board the prize ship. About three weeks after being taken they made for the coast of Spain and intended going into Vigo, but night approaching the prize master thought it too late to attempt entering the port that evening as it was reported to be a rocky and intricate navigation. This circumstance in the end proved a fortunate event to the prisoners on board the *Betsey*, for she was, as soon as night came on, hove to under her foresail, with her head off shore, waiting for daylight to carry them into Vigo. Happily this delay rescued the writer and his brethren in distress from experiencing the difference between a French and a Spanish jail, for about 12 o'clock on the same night, and as the Frenchmen on board the *Betsey* were rejoicing and flattering themselves with the idea of a plenty of wine and other refreshments the next day, the *Antelope*, a British man-of-war of 50 guns having under her convoy a fleet of Newfoundland merchantmen, popped upon them and re-took the *Betsey*. Bravo! The *Antelope* carried the *Betsey* into Lisbon. Here my young friend Dick Tilghman and

⁵ This youth was that Richard Tilghman who was the son of James Tilghman of Fausley in this county, and the brother of Col. Tench Tilghman and Judge William Tilghman. He was educated in England, returned home, studied law under Daniel Dulaney, from whom, possibly, he imbibed his loyalist sentiments. He went to England, and died on his voyage to India.

myself were restored to liberty. Common gratitude compels the writer to acknowledge that during their captivity the enemy paid them all the respect and attention they could have wished or expected. At Lisbon they remained a considerable time waiting an opportunity of getting to England. At length the *Portland* of 50 guns arrived there in order to receive Lord Bristol the British ambassador from the court of Madrid, and who had left that place on the eve of a rupture between the two nations. This indeed was a wind that blew fair for nobody, a bad war that suits nobody.

In January, 1762, Messrs. Tilghman and Banning procured passage in the *Portland* to England, but before their departure from Lisbon a circumstance occurred which must not be passed in silence. It was as follows: During their residence in Portugal they had contracted an intimacy with the officers on board the *Portland*, particularly with Mr. Cooper, the purser. Mr. Cooper had for some time been paying his addresses to a young lady by the name of Wall, a native of England and a Roman Catholic, and who had long resided in Lisbon. On the writer's former visit to that place he had formed the most friendly acquaintance with that lady. From these circumstances he was prevailed on to give her in marriage (which was to be in private) to Mr. Cooper, who was himself an Episcopalian. This it seemed by their bigoted laws was highly criminal, though perfectly unknown to the parties concerned. As soon as they became acquainted with their danger they immediately sought refuge on board the *Portland*. The Inquisition made a solemn and formal demand of all those present, abetting or aiding in the aforesaid marriage. The Captain peremptorily refused to give them up. Lord Bristol the ambassador was on board. The castle of Balim, or Bell Isle, forbid the ship at her peril to pass that fortress. The *Portland* on this threat immediately dispatched intelligence thereof to some British men-of-war somewhat higher up the river. They instantly got under way, and as they came abreast of that ship she also tripped her anchor and in a line they all stood down the Tagus, with their lower ports opened, guns run out, matches lighted, and every man at his quarters. In the space of time taken up in negotiating with the officers of the Inquisition, the castle, in sending for the other men-of-war, and in passing the castle, oh, God! what soul torturing feelings between hope and despondency, 'tis possible to be imagined but it cannot be described. The ships passed the forts, not a gun was fired, in one hour the *Portland* was plunging in the great Atlantic, and all apprehensions of the Inquisition vanished into air. I believe they almost forsook against ever after taking another frolic with Hymen.

The Portland arrived at Spithead in the February following, having first landed Lord Bristol at Falmouth. From Portsmouth my young friend Richard Tilghman and self set out in a post chaise to London. On our journey thither had another narrow escape from being plundered of our remaining little. Two wealthy merchants from Spain who also came passengers with us from Lisbon accompanied us in another chaise. The former two being but little encumbered with baggage proposed taking in some belonging to the merchants, among which was a fusee, this for convenience of carrying was partly pointed out of the window. The merchants drove on faster and were robbed by a highwayman of a rich booty. The highwayman passed the hinder chaise, but seeing the muzzle of the gun passed on without stopping, but his looks and manner plainly pointed out his profession. When Messrs. Tilghman and Banning overtook their traveling companions at the next inn, they found them stripped of their gold watches and every farthing of their money, and what was extraordinary and amusing the merchant then thought proper to resume his fusee.

In the ensuing April 1762, I was commissioned by Messrs. Anthony Bacon & Co.,⁶ eminent tobacco merchants of London, to proceed to America in order to purchase a ship for them. For this purpose I took passage on board the ship *Mary*, Captain Deverson of London, then lying at the Isle of Wight bound for New York. The war still raging, they put into Plymouth sound to join convoy. On departing from thence the Captain being a stranger to the custom of that port for paying anchorage, was leaving it without complying with that requisite, on which an 18 lb. shot was fired through the ship from an adjacent castle. This circumstance detained the vessel for a long time and until the boat was sent on shore where they not only paid anchorage, but £13 sterling for the shot they were pleased to present them with. The *Mary* arrived safe at New York the January following, after a boisterous and tempestuous passage; but the agreeable company of several ladies and gentlemen passengers on board, and the gentlemanly accommodating behavior of the Captain, rendered the time not so tedious as it otherwise would have been. During the above voyage the writer observed a rule which might be a good hint to all travelers, especially at that time; it was that of concealing one's country, not that his country was by any means an unpopular one, but he had frequently noticed

⁶ Mr. Anthony Bacon, brother of Rev. Thomas Bacon of St. Peter's parish, and afterward Sir Anthony Bacon of London, had factories at many places upon Choptank, and especially at Oxford and Dover.

the disputes, heats and animosities which arose where there were a variety of persons from different countries associated together, which was the case in the present instance. It was strange to think what an amazing curiosity this concealment gave birth to, particularly with the captain of the ship, though a Ramsgate man, however the writer baffled all inquiries in a jocular manner. At length, the captain was sure he had discovered the secret by seeing him throw out the grains or gig at a great distance into a dolphin, when he declared he would not hesitate to swear that he was a Mudian.

In 1765 on the 10th June, sailed from London for Maryland. On the 5th July anchored in Feunchal road at the Island of Madeira, there landed several passengers and the merchandise taken in for that island. Here took in wine, fruits and other refreshments, and departed on the 10th, arriving at Oxford on Sunday, 18th August, saluting that old respected port with 7 guns. The ship soon after anchoring was crowded with gentlemen anxious to hear the news from England, as the politics of that country were at that time very interesting to the Americans, but more particularly did they wish to know whether the Stamp Master had come over in the Layton, as intelligence to that effect had reached Maryland before the ship arrived. They found that they had not been misinformed, for Zachary Hood, Esq., a native of the Western Shore, who had been commissioned in England to distribute or issue the stamps in Maryland, was then actually on board the Layton. Mr. Hood was threatened with immediate destruction; however, he took an opportunity of making his escape and fled to Annapolis, from thence he was hunted and driven like a savage beast to New York, but found there he was obliged to seek safety in the fort. In America he could find no rest, and he was obliged to fly to England for protection from whence he never returned. At Annapolis Mr. Hood's house was leveled with the earth, and himself in many places burnt in effigy, and even at Easton, but the unfortunate and patriotic operator there in forming the figure cut himself with an ax, which caused his death. It was unknown to the commander of the Layton when his ship left London that his passenger bore such an odious commission, or he certainly would not have received him on board. No doubt it was the policy of the British Parliament to appoint a native of America to execute their detestable, execrable and unpopular laws. Be that as it may, this inconsiderate act of the British Parliament first paved the way to a civil war, and in the end cost them 13 of their principal colonies in North America.

In 1767 entered into an engagement with Messrs. Cable & Osgood, wealthy Hamburg merchants in London, men of great credit, high reputation and probity. They were of the sect called Quakers, and from them the writer experienced the greatest kindness, and was on terms of intimate friendship. On the 17th May, 1768, took command of the ship *Pearl*, which carried 696 hogsheads of tobacco, sailed from London and arrived at Annapolis, in Maryland on the 13th July following, without meeting with any remarkable occurrence except as the ship lay becalmed on the Western Islands, catching 80 sea turtles, on which all on board feasted during the rest of the voyage, and on arrival the writer gave several large entertainments to his merchant friends and one to Governor Sharp and the principal inhabitants of Annapolis. It will not be unacceptable to the curious hereafter to be informed of the principle on which this tobacco trade was carried on, for, though it was of so much importance, it is already unknown to the greater part of the people. The landed men before the late revolution were called planters from their staple commodity, the planting and cultivating of tobacco. This article they in part shipped on their own risk to merchants in England, for which they had in return the various goods and merchandise for their families. Even the storekeepers in Talbot county took tobacco in trade for their goods and shipped it to England, taking various kinds of goods for their stores in exchange. This commerce was esteemed a very lucrative and advantageous business to the merchants, who sent out ships for that purpose and chose for commanders men of high standing and reputation, as well as those best calculated to please and solicit the consignments of tobacco. In this way the planters of Talbot county, as well as others, procured all their best clothing as well as other articles necessary for their homes.

The writer made his last voyage in 1772, and on the 18th day of December in that year surrendered up the command of his ship. In June, 1773, he was engaged by former merchants in London as their agent on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and the ensuing July took passage on board the ship *Royal Exchange*, Captain Thomas Woodford of London, for his native country. Captain Woodford was a native of Virginia, a very sensible man, an able mariner, a gentleman, and a most pleasant and entertaining companion. On their passage the *Royal Exchange* put in to Madeira, where she landed passengers and merchandise, took in wine and refreshments, and departed from there in August. The Isle of Wight was the last land in England that the writer ever visited. The Island of Madeira was the first foreign land

he ever visited, as he sailed for that place when he first crossed the ocean, it proved to be the last he ever set foot upon.

Here we must pause to make some remarks upon the inhabitants of Madeira. The writer was powerfully struck by the great change in religious matters, and thinks if it continues to dwindle in the same proportion, a very few years must extinguish all zeal. The merchants of Madeira are among the most polite and hospitable people in the world. Self interest may have some weight with them, their attention to strangers being a ready means of extending their consignments. During the writer's stay there on his last visitation he, together with a few other passengers on board the Royal Exchange, was invited to spend his time at the country seat of Mr. Searl, an eminent and wealthy merchant of that Island, and a native of New York. This gentleman inhabited a palace, which was once a convent belonging to the Jesuits, situated just beyond or without Funchal, the chief town of that island. The natives of Madeira were indeed Portuguese.

The Royal Exchange arrived in Virginia early in September, 1773, and the writer, after visiting his many friends and acquaintances in Norfolk and Hampton, took a boat up the bay and visited his worthy friend Daniel Woolstonhalm, Esq., who lived at the mouth of the Potomac river; from thence returned to his home in Maryland on the 20th September, 1773.

Here closes his career of travel to foreign countries and sea life. He deems it both singular and fortunate that during the whole time he was on the sea, he never met with one shipwreck; what was very extraordinary he never saw one man lost by accident, and but one buried at sea; he wishes he could say he never saw a ship founder. He would here like to expatiate at some length upon the pleasing contemplations caused by the first view of foreign countries. Even our own Chesapeake, one of old ocean's proudest boasts, though in history it is yet in its infancy, it is worthy of admiration and attention if but to applaud its spacious waters and incomparable navigation. The Susquehanna dashing and foaming over innumerable rocks. Next East river, the Elk, which is now celebrated for its mills and extensive commerce in wheat and flour. It was on this river that Admiral Howe landed a powerful army under command of his brother, Gen. Sir William Howe, in order to subjugate America during the late civil war. The Sassafraz river is more famed for its fertile lands than for commerce. The Patapsco famed for the golden kite-foot tobacco which is esteemed the finest species in foreign markets. On the banks of this river has suddenly

sprung up more like a fairy tale than reality the commercial city of Baltimore, the first emporium on old Chesapeake, and now the fifth in the United States. The Chester river has long been distinguished for its ample stores of wheat rather than tobacco. On the fertile banks of Wye river, once dwelt poor Dick' o' Wye, the richest man in North America. This river was once celebrated for its extensive trade in tobacco, now for wheat. South and West rivers are of little note, but the Great Choptank and the Little Choptank, guarded at their confluence by Sharp, Tilghman and James islands, all three of which have nearly worn to skeletons from the angry raging of the Chesapeake, outrivalled in days of yore all others in shipping, trade and commerce. Oxford, one of the principal agents and proudest boasts, instead of launching her wealth upon the ocean as formerly in 1775, is content to ship her grain in little swift sailing boats, throwing it in the lap of an upstart sister. The lofty banks of the Patuxent were thickly settled with opulent planters producing tobacco highly valued as to quality.

After retiring from active service on the sea the writer entered upon quite a new life, that of a farmer and agent on the Eastern Shore of Maryland for merchants in London. The clouds of a civil war began to thicken and lower on the shores of America. Several insidious attempts had been made by Great Britain to raise revenue in this country, and as often were they baffled and given up. At length they made a bold stand on a poor sneaking twopence or threepence per pound on tea as a tax or duty. This at once threw America into flames which extended to several nations in Europe. A British army was sent to Boston, in order to force this tea down the throats of the Americans. Preparations were made in the 13 colonies to repel force by force. In every section the military was called out into training, and on the 19th April, 1775, they engaged for the first time with the British regular troops of Concord and Lexington in New England, and totally defeated them. In May, 1775, the writer was elected a first lieutenant of a company of militia raised at the Court House, now called Easton. Soon after was made Captain of another company raised at Bartlett's Oak. About the same time was elected by the county to serve in a general convention of Maryland. The ensuing June, 1775, in company with his first lieutenant, set out on urgent business, bearer of important papers, to Cambridge, near Boston, in New England. Took a view of the American army encamped at that place. On the route passed

⁷ This was, undoubtedly the Hon. Richard Bennett, whose widow married the second Edward Lloyd of Wye House, to whom she brought an immense fortune.

through Philadelphia, New York and from thence down the sound to New London. Here they hired horses and in company with others traveled to Providence, where in July they took a stage coach to Cambridge. They found that Gen. Washington had fortunately just arrived before them, and they had letters of introduction and important papers for him. After transacting business, viewing the American camp, and also that of the English, who were encamped on Bunker's Hill, between the lines of the Americans and the enemy the writer in company with General Lee's aide-de-camp had a long conference with some British officers. After remaining some time in the American camp, where they received every attention and respect from those they were acquainted with, they started out on their tour homeward. On the way they passed through Rhode Island where the writer had the pleasure of paying his respects to many of his old friends and acquaintances. From Rhode Island embarked in a packet up the sound touching at Stony Point and many other places, and arrived in New York safely.

The whole country through New England presented an exciting scene of warlike preparations. Nothing was seen but disciplining militia, their marching and counter-marching. Nothing was heard but the rattling of drums and blowing of fifes. From New York they went in a stage coach to Philadelphia, from thence to Chestertown, and from thence home on the 10th of August.

In January, 1776, was appointed Major⁸ to the 27th Battalion of Militia, and soon after assessor of Mill Hundred. James Denny was the first man assessed in Talbot county, or, perhaps, in the State of Maryland.⁹ In May, 1777, was appointed one of the Magistrates¹⁰ of Talbot county, and in August following was elected by the people Colonel of the 38th Battalion of Militia, and appointed naval officer of the

⁸ By the Convention then in session, Christopher Birkhead having been, at the same time, chosen Colonel.

⁹ Previous to this date all taxes for provincial and county purposes were of an indirect kind, or were levied upon polls. The quit rents, however, which were the peculium of the Lord Proprietary were a direct tax upon acreage, irrespective of the value of the land. The last tax upon polls was made in November, 1776.

¹⁰ He was therefore one of the Justices of the first court of the country held under the constitution of the State of Maryland. He continued to have a seat on this bench until March, 1791, when there was a change of the judicial system of the State under the law of 1790, which required the appointment of one Chief Judge, and two Associate Judges. But Mr. Banning continued to be a Justice of the Peace until 1793. See Act Assembly, 1790, chap. xxxiii, for powers of the Justices of the Peace, after formation of District courts. These powers related chiefly to the finances of the counties.

Port of Oxford.¹¹ Was next made Chief Justice of the Orphans' Court.¹² The writer now found himself launched into an ocean of sundry employments, and his warm, steady and firm attachment to the cause of his country, together with his never engaging in any political party in particular, enabled him to act independently by all. By always strictly adhering to what he thought just, he became better enabled to discharge the various trusts reposed in him. By acting with such impartiality he had the happiness of never hearing the least murmur or complaint of his decisions; there never existed any censure that he knew of for neglect of duty. In 1779 he was elected, without being present or soliciting the same, one of the select vestry of St. Michaels Parish.¹³ As this was a new thing there was great contention, and strange to say many candidates were grievously disappointed.

About this time he was appointed one of the commissioners of the tax and signers of the paper money.¹⁴ In 1785, was appointed by law first commissioner for laying out the town of Talbotton, since called Easton, gave the name of the streets, etc., etc.¹⁵ In May, 1787, was appointed armorer of the Eastern Shore of Maryland. In 1788, was by a very contested election chosen to represent Talbot county in a general convention held at Annapolis, in order to ratify and confirm the federal government now established in the United States. The four deputies

¹¹ As naval officer he was "collector of the rates, duties and imports" under the State government, and so continued until the adoption of the Federal constitution, when he was appointed (in 1789) Collector by Gen. Washington, then President of the United States. He held this office until his death in 1798, when he was succeeded in the office of Collector by his son Mr. Robert Banning, who had been commissioned Inspector in 1795. Mr. Sam'l Chamberlaine was the last Collector under the Provincial regime.

¹² Col. Banning became Chief Judge of the Orphan's Court in 1780 and continued to fill that responsible post until 1791, having for his associates Messrs. William Goldsborough, Richard Johns, William Dawson and Charles Gardiner, when the number of Judges was reduced to three by Acts of 1790 and 1791.

¹³ This was the first election of Vestrymen, under the law of March 1779, which was the first step towards the reorganization of the Church of England in America, after the Revolution.

¹⁴ This was probably under the act of assembly of 1778, chap. vii, by which an issue of 300,000£ was authorized. Mr. Banning has failed to note that in 1775 he was appointed one of the signers of the bills of credit authorized by the Convention of July of that year. The Commissioners of the Tax serving with him were Messrs. Thomas Sherwood, Christopher Birkhead, James Benson and Samuel Nicols.

¹⁵ In 1788 he was one of the commissioners to lay out the road leading from the town of Easton to the Point—then called Cow Landing.

sent were, the Hon. Robert Goldsborough, Edward Lloyd, John Stevens, and Col. Jeremiah Banning. In August, 1789, was by President Washington commissioned collector of the customs for the Port of Oxford, and in June, 1791, made inspector of the revenue for the same Port. These will probably be the last marks of public favor conferred upon him, being far advanced in years. Frequent attacks of the gout have so crippled him in the feet as to render walking and the more active duties painful. He felt the first symptoms of this disease when in London, 1766, and was ready to give in to the old opinion that it be could brought on by a troubled mind. The second attack came on in 1767, when visiting the Isle of Wight, brought on in his opinion by the hardships of the last voyage, or perhaps the great degree of heat and cold which he had experienced in various climes had an effect. As to excess in eating and drinking it could have had but little weight as he was temperate in the last article, and especially in the former, and when led to partake of the latter it was imposed upon him by the necessity of his profession in partaking of good cheer at entertainments to which he was invited by his many friends. Perhaps few men in a young country received more testimonials of the confidence of their fellow-citizens than himself. During his life there have been many uncommon and unexpected revolutions, more perhaps than ever happened in the same space of time, or indeed may happen again in the like period. To enumerate some of the most remarkable, we may commence with the western country becoming well known. Half a century ago the name of Ohio was not known by more than one in five hundred, and those who had an idea of it gleaned their knowledge from vague and visionary French travelers, which had more the air of romance than reality. It was carried on by European nations in America. A civil war with the parent country, and afterwards a total revolution and change of government. A general toleration, and indeed, a total change of religious matters, opinions and sentiments. Instead of that persecution and inveterate spirit of hatred that once prevailed amongst the different sects of Christians, every one is now permitted to serve his Creator, as he thinks most conformable to his reason. The Church of England is almost reduced to its lowest ebb, and Methodism not known before the civil war is now most warmly persued. To these may be added the gradually increasing spirit for liberating negroes, together with the wonderful change for the better in the more human and liberal treatment of these people. Among the other changes may be added, the great staple trade of Maryland is now almost changed from that of tobacco to wheat. The occurrence

which only happens once in more than a century, to wit: That of three figures of one denomination in the date of a year, for instance, 1777, the like of which will not take place until 1888.

In Europe also many surprising events have taken place. First the expulsion of that powerful and learned body of men called Jesuits. Second the abolition of nunneries in many counties. Thirdly the universal spirit of liberty and the rights of men. Fourthly the contempt for, and low estimation of Kings. Fifthly and lastly the great revolution and change of government in France, both in religion and in politics. In their struggle they have beheaded both their King and Queen, together with a great number of distinguished characters, and they are now combating with the combined powers of almost every nation in Europe.

A few trifling remarks relative to his own country, the writer cannot pass over in silence. He is fond of those details of antiquity, and will here gratify himself. He will begin with the manufacturers in America. In his early recollection scarce a pair of shoes were made in Talbot county, or even in America, at least for the genteel and fashionable, those for both whites and negroes were imported. So great has been the improvement in the above article that an imported pair is now rarely seen. Boots were very seldom seen except when imported, and used only by the rich and fashionable. There were no saddles made in the country, and very few imported, so that it was considered a great and very expensive luxury to own one; the very few of those that were not imported, were so mean and of so uncouth a fashion, that few persons would use them. Now we have so greatly advanced in the skill of dressing leather and in manufacturing it, that but very little is imported. The fulling of cloth, making of nails, sickles, scythes, and salt making, were not practiced at the above period. Carriages, what few there were, were all imported, and there were not more than four in St. Michaels Parish, one of those belonging to the writer. Even common carts were imported, and perhaps there were not more than a dozen in Talbot county. The poorer planters used cans, and the rich ones what were called trucks, these machines are rare at this day. Wheat fans, the writer never saw one until 1760. In regard to dress it is not wondered that it has had its various changes. Perukes were worn by some of our principal men. Caps of linen and seersucker of a sprodging.¹⁶

¹⁶ This last phrase is unintelligible, but it stands as written in the original manuscript of Mr. Banning. It is evident he intended to add to this narrative. The cause of its abrupt termination is not known; probably that cause which ends all human work.

But little more is known of Col. Banning than what has just been related, principally in his own words. Family tradition and a few scattered notices of him in the public records and newspapers have preserved some memorials of him and his extraordinary will written by his own hand, which may be regarded in the light of a supplement to his autobiography, and from which extracts will presently be presented, has furnished to us views of his character and opinions upon some social and political subjects, as well as revealed some curious incidents in his active career which he thought it unnecessary to mention in the account of his life prepared for his children. In religion he was an adherent of the Church of England, and her successor in America, and he never permitted himself to be drawn away from her communion even when so many were forsaking it, including members of his own parental household, under the fervid preaching of the Methodists. He transmitted his partiality for the beautiful and decorous ritual of the Episcopal church to his descendants. In politics he was a whig under the provincial regime, an ardent and devoted patriot during the war of the Revolution, and a Federalist of the school of Washington and Hamilton before and after the adoption of the Constitution of the United States. His views of the measures of the English government that led to the revolt of the colonies he has himself expressed with sufficient distinctness. His active participation in military operations was confined to the defense of the county, by the militia, from the petty attacks from the enemy's fleet, or from the marauding expeditions of the tories from the southern part of the State. He has left a memorandum of his driving off with his command a party that had seized a vessel at Castle Haven in Dorchester county, and then made a landing at Benoni's point for the purpose of plunder. It is not believed that he ever participated in any military operations beyond the limits of the county. None rejoiced more than he upon the return of peace. He early discovered the weakness and inefficiency of the government under the Articles of Confederation, and became the earnest advocate of a "more perfect union"—so much so that, as has been noted, he was chosen one of the delegates from Maryland to ratify the Constitution of the United States. He supported the administrations of Washington and Adams. A letter of Col. Banning to Gen'l Washington, and the reply of the President to him have been preserved, and as they probably have never appeared in print since their original publication in the *Maryland Herald*, they are here inserted in full. A public meeting had been called, to assemble at Easton on the 7th of September, 1793, of the citizens of Talbot

to express their sense of the duty and interest of the county in observing an impartial conduct and a strict neutrality with all the powers now at war in Europe, and their opinion of such measures as have already been taken upon that subject.

The President had issued his proclamation of neutrality and there were not wanting those who for one motive or reason, or another, condemned the position he had taken. The meeting assembled at the time specified and passed a series of resolutions sustaining the President in his course. Unfortunately the number of the paper containing them is lost, but the following is the letter of the chairman of the meeting, Col. Banning, which accompanied the copy of them that was transmitted to the President, and the reply of Gen'l Washington:

EASTON, September 7th, 1793.

To the President of the United States—

Sir: I am enjoined by such of the citizens of Talbot county as were present at a meeting held this day at Easton, to communicate to you the enclosed resolutions; and at the same time to accompany their sentiments by expressions of their esteem and attachment to your person; and of their heartfelt wishes for your constant health and happiness. In compliance with this injunction I have accordingly done so: and I beg to assure you, sir, that in the exercise of this duty I feel the most distinguished pleasure.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

JERE BANNING, Chairman.

To which the President returned the following answer:

MOUNT VERNON, 16th Sept., 1793.

To Jeremiah Banning, Esquire, Sir:

The approbation which the General Government has met from my fellow citizens, throughout these States, cannot fail to excite in me the liveliest satisfaction; and the assurance given by them of their firm intentions to unite in keeping our country in a state of peace at this important period, is an additional and pleasing testimony of the unanimity and good sense of the citizens of the United States.

While I beg of you to assure the citizens of Talbot of the reliance I place in their disposition towards the General Government manifested in these resolutions, I also request you to make known to them the pleasure I receive from their expressions of esteem and attachment for my person: and to you, sir, for your polite manner of transmitting these resolutions, my best thanks are offered.

GO. WASHINGTON.

Jere'h Banning, Esq.¹⁷

¹⁷ *Maryland Herald*, Sept. 17th, 1793.

At another public meeting held at Easton May 3rd, 1796, for the purpose of declaring the sense of the people of the county upon the subject of Jay's treaty, which was then exciting much angry feeling, Col. Banning was one of thirteen gentlemen, who represented whatever was most respectable for purity of character, political intelligence, or social distinction, appointed to draft a series of resolutions approving the treaty and urging its fair and honorable execution. Col. Banning was therefore recognized as a decided Federalist, at a time when parties were in process of formation.

He is represented as having been fond of the social pleasures, given to hospitality, and forming strong personal attachments. He was not averse from some ostentatious display in his mode of life, but his pride was not accompanied with offensive disdain for those whose modes of life were plainer and simpler. He had no enemies where all seemed friends. In his home he was accustomed to maintain some old English customs long after they had ceased to be observed by his neighbors. The yule or Christmas log blazed upon his hearth while he lived, and though perhaps it was not brought home with all those ancient rites of jollity that were once observed, it was punctiliously prepared and deposited in his capacious fireplace by his servants, who, while it burned, were required to do no more than the most necessary work of the farm or plantation. The stirrup cup was always proffered to the departing guest, and the family still preserves the ample glass in which this social *viaticum* was prepared and presented. His house was garnished as some or encumbered as others would now say with curiosities gathered from all parts of the world during his numerous voyages or presented by his sea-faring friends. He was a man of good natural abilities, and these he had cultivated by reading the best authors. He collected a not inconsiderable library, which he bequeathed to his children. He was fond of using his pen as his journal attests, and we may readily believe if he had lived in the present time he would have indulged his disposition to speculation upon political and social subjects and his propensity to write upon them by frequent contributions to the public prints, if not by the production of something of more permanent and sustained a character. His private affairs were managed with order and discretion, so much so that he was enabled to accumulate a handsome fortune in lands and negroes, the first of which, distributed among his three children, gave to them independence and the ability to maintain a style of living corresponding to their social position. The last, as will presently be shown, were emancipated, with conditions that attest his feelings of humanity as well as his sense of justice.

Col. Banning died Dec. 23rd, 1798, at his seat, which he called the *Isthmus*, now owned by Mr. James Easter, and there he is buried; but no stone marks his grave though his will indicates he was not indifferent to such tokens of filial respect and affection.

Reference has already been made to Col. Banning's will, a curious as well as a valuable document. This will, singular for its great length alone, filling twenty-two large folio pages as recorded, contains not only his wishes given with great minuteness with regard to the disposition of his property, but also his reflections upon certain topics that are hardly expected to be introduced in a formal paper of this kind. Very evidently it is olographic, and was written at various times during several successive years, as though its preparation had been a pleasure which he wished to prolong, and it was clearly intended, of itself, to be a kind of literary legacy to his descendants, to remote generations. A few extracts from it may not be unwelcome, or at least they will furnish a fitting conclusion to this biographical sketch of one of Talbot's worthies.

By an Act of Assembly of 1782, which was an extension of the Act of 1773 of similar tenor, owners of entailed estates were empowered to cut or annul the entailments by simple deeds of conveyance. Col. Banning seems to have entertained doubts as to the wisdom of this law. After making certain provisions to secure to his children the property he devised to them and their heirs, he says:

I do not mean, neither would I have it to be construed, that I intend in any of the foregoing devises to debar courtesies to husbands or dower to wives according to the law of the land. From the present law and opinions entails seem of little avail, and believe that the most competent judges are opposed to the idea of perpetuity of lands in the hands of particular persons. It therefore might have the appearance of singularity to risk an opinion to the contrary: but when we reflect upon various snares and allurements that are strewed in the paths of unwary youth, with a view to inveigle them out of their property, gives me, I must confess, the strongest reasons to doubt the justice of the policy and the law, and have ever held that whatever is morally wrong could never be reconciled by political reasonings; and surely every violence and infringement of the express words of a last will and testament deserves the epithet. And besides, it is a direct violation of our boasted liberty of disposing of our property in the manner most agreeable to ourselves. However, as I find myself rambling into matters of mere speculation, shall only observe, that what I have done by way of entail may perchance hereafter secure a home for some yet unknown relative: and as the chief of my property was acquired by a long and perilous sea service, it is but natural to suppose that my feelings revolt at the idea of the same, hereafter, idly (sic) and foolishly squandered away. And

although, as I observed before, that the law may countenance the alienation of states tail, yet the simple and unhappy victim is ever after treated with scorn and contempt, shunned by their acquaintance, deserted by their friends, abandoned by all, left at last to drag out a miserable life, loaded with remorse, and full (though too late) of repentance. I could wish to impress these horrors so powerfully on young minds that they might never be forgot—at least, I have done my part by showing the rocks, and it remains with them only to avoid the danger.

A subject that towards the end of the last century and at the beginning of the present, engaged the earnest attention not only of the most compassionate but the most calculating and politic minds was the emancipation of the slaves: and all know how nearly, and, it may be added, how unfortunately Maryland failed to enact laws for the accomplishment of this wise and beneficent object. Col. Banning, who with an admirable candor confesses to have been a participant in the introduction of African slaves into this State, at a time when the moral, economical and political character of the act was not clearly appreciated, nor its consequences apprehended, shared at the time indicated with many of the most enlightened and benevolent citizens in the fundamental principle of the right of men to liberty; and the following extract from his will will serve to record his advocacy of that principle and the method he adopted to carry it into practical execution as far as it lay in his power.

Since the late contest with Great Britain, our mother country, for liberty, I believe it hath led most Americans seriously to reflect on the impropriety of our conduct in holding others, at the same time, in the most abject bondage, that were clamoring for liberty. I mean negroes, and hope the period not far remote before, first in part, then totally, slavery will be abolished, and that the wrongs of this unfortunate and much injured people may at length be redressed. And as those of mine have been brought up under my own eye, and may say, daily fed by my own hand, and to which I may also add, though with regret, that I brought most of them, or their ancestors, from Africa, their native country, the justice of such traffic, at the time, seemed not in the least to have been considered—with this further inducement also to claim my commiseration and protection, that they have generally behaved with great honesty and faithfulness so as to interest my gratitude and friendship in their favor—and do most sincerely felicitate my county on the legislature repealing that most absurd and arbitrary law prohibiting the disposal of our property as we please, I allude to that of giving freedom to negroes by last will and testament. And now only it remains for a more enlightened period to follow the laudable example of our Northern fellow citizens to complete the work and to erase the inspection of future generations those horrid laws for shooting of negroes

and cutting off their ears, and for offences too, that would not now risque the life of a cat. But notwithstanding the savage and barbarous disposition which marked the darkened age giving birth to them, I must now in justice to my countrymen and with infinite pleasure to myself freely and with truth declare that the humane and benevolent treatment of that class of people for some years past stand first among our great reforms and improvements. With these sentiments (and which sentiments no man would dare to have published 40 years ago), it would seem strange and inconsistent, not in some degree to alleviate the situation of those negroes, which chance or fortune hath placed in my power. My will therefore is &c. He proceeds to manumit and set free at his death six old servants, and provides for them comfortable support upon his home plantation and at the expense of his son Robert. The remainder of the servants were, all, to be free at certain specified ages, and so was their issue. Certain of the younger boys were to be taught trades of the carpenter, but were to become free. He further directs that if any of his slaves should desire to be taught trades they should be so taught, but were to serve a short term of years in compensation for such instruction. He provides that if any of his heirs should abuse or ill treat any of the slaves, while in servitude, they should be deprived of the services of such slaves. He further says: "So much do I feel myself interested in the future welfare and happiness of my negroes, there issue and offspring, forever hereafter, in having every part and clause herein relative to them, strictly and literally fulfilled and complied with, that should any, claiming hereunder, attempt to evade or counteract my will, not only in respect to my negroes, but in all things relative thereto, I do absolutely hereby revoke and disannul (sic) every part and clause herein made in favor of such, and that all property by them possessed in consequence hereof pass in reversion, as if he had died." In this will, there are many other curious provisions, but as they illustrate no phase of society or opinion they need not be here quoted. His fondness for the observance of old customs is exhibited in the following: "I give and bequeath to my much beloved niece, Mrs. Catharine Chew, (daughter of his brother Anthony), of Philadelphia, a gold enamel mourning ring, and though such mementoes have in the revolution of customs, like many other things pretty well gone out of fashion, yet I flatter myself she will accept of it merely for my sake."

Col. Banning left three children, Robert, Freeborn and Clementina. Robert his eldest son and principal heir was born at the Isthmus Jan. 16th, 1776. Receiving such education as was at that time to be obtained in the county, he early became the assistant of his father in his discharge of the duties of the Custom House, and in 1795, was appointed "Inspector of the Revenue for the several ports within the District of Oxford," by Gen. Washington, whose commission dated Feb. 3rd is still preserved by a member of the family as a valued memorial and almost

sacred relic. After the death of his father in 1798 he was appointed Collector by President Adams, a post which he held until removed by Mr. Jefferson in 1804. He was an active politician of the old and reputable school, identifying himself with the Federal and then the Whig party. He represented this county in the lower house of General Assembly in 1812, 1816, 1817, 1825, and 1826, and was a candidate for the place of delegate in other years when his party was in minority. He was also at one time Collector of taxes. He commanded a company of dragoons in the war of 1812 and 1815, and performed most efficient service, when the county was threatened at various points by the enemy then in control of the Bay, and committing depredations along its shores. He was for many years a vestryman of Saint Michaels' parish and a trustee of the poor of the county. He was one of the earliest members of the Maryland Agricultural Society, and having been chosen a trustee of that association, he remained such, long after it had lost its original character and had become a dining club of most respectable gentlemen—in fact, until his death. As a member of this club and a *bonvivant* he was well known in the county for his luxurious entertainments, to which the hearty good will and geniality of the host gave that fine zest which even his superlative *cuisine* could not impart. He was a great sportsman with the rod and gun. In early life fowling divided his affection with fishing; but when, by reason of age, he could no longer bear the exposure incident to the former, he became quite a devotee to the "gentle craft," the recreation of the contemplative man, as old Walton hath it. He was urbane in manners, guileless in character and amiable in disposition. He cherished old friendships, and harbored no enmities. After leading a long and happy life, such as is the lot of but few, content with himself, and enjoying and deserving the respect and affection of neighbors and kinsmen, he died Sept. 17th, 1845, and was buried near his honored father. It is worthy of being noted, at least as a curious incident, that being prostrated by a stroke of paralysis he was visited by an intimate associate, Mr. Samuel T. Kennard, of Easton, who a few minutes after taking the hand of his departing friend, was stricken down by the same affection, and the two died in the same house within a few hours of each other, and the funeral services of both were solemnized at the same time. Mr. Banning left a numerous family; to his youngest daughter, Miss Mary E. Banning, the writer is indebted for those extracts from her grandfather's day book, which make up the greater part of this contribution, and for other assistance in compiling this memoir, this lady inheriting from her father a fondness for the pleas-

ures of the forest and field, but in her case it is manifested in her devotion to the study of Botany, in one department of which, the most difficult and neglected, mycology, she is recognized as scientific authority. The second son, who according to family traditions, received the name of Freeborn, because his birth occurred soon after the assumption of freedom by the State of Maryland, namely in 1777, for a short time in youth served in the British Navy, but subsequently secured a place in the navy of the United States, and acted as Lieutenant under Capt. Henry Geddes, whose daughter he married. His place of residence was Bailey's Neck, and after an interval of many years his grandson, Mr James Latimer Banning, son of Henry Banning, Esq., banker of Wilmington, Del., has returned to take possession of the old homestead, thus restoring to the county a name that had entirely disappeared. Mr. Freeborn Banning died in 1826. The third child of Col. Banning was Clementina, who marrying Mr. ——— Hopkins of this county, has descendants living within the State, of the second, third and fourth generations.

HON. JOHN DICKINSON

1732-1808

Primo inter paucos, dein propalam in vulgus, pro cunctatore segnem, pro cauto timidum, affingens vicina virtutibus vitia, compellabat

LIVY.

Of the family stocks that were transplanted from the ancient nursery of old England to this new soil of Talbot, in Maryland, one of the most vigorous was that of the Dickinsons. From this stock, here taking root, has sprung numerous scions, some of which, under favoring conditions, have developed greatness, symmetry and worth of such an order as to have drawn to them the admiration of their own and later times; while others growing to no eminence, perhaps through their having been planted with less advantageous environments than their congeners that flourished in the grand forest of public life, have become, as it were, but the humbler shrubs whose modest charms have adorned, or whose hidden virtues have enriched the social and domestic close. This family has presented many examples of superior intelligence, of purity of character, and of extensive usefulness, but its most prominent member, and the one that has illustrated all its excellencies, was the Hon. John Dickinson, the wise statesman and the unselfish patriot of Revolutionary memory. Of him it may also be said that he was unquestionably

the most considerable personage born in Talbot county, as he was one among the most eminent men born in America. One of his biographers thus speaks of him:

Mr. Dickinson deserves to be ranked among the most distinguished men of the age in which he lived. Whether we consider the extent of his participation in producing the Revolutionary war, and urging it to a prosperous termination, the steadiness of purpose which directed his path, the inflexible spirit with which he adhered to the cause amidst the numerous discouragements which beset his career, the lustre which his admirable compositions shed upon his country, his accomplishments as a scholar, the purity of his character and elevation as an orator and a statesman, an exalted station must be assigned to him in the highest rank of our most illustrious countrymen.¹

Of the man who is thus eulogized, and who with all abatements for his hesitancy during the early period of the controversy with the mother country, which preceded the Declaration of Independence, is deserving of such eulogium, it is now proposed to give a brief account; and although the subject deserves and invites a more extended and elaborated biography, the fact that he spent far the greater part of his long and full life in the neighboring commonwealths of Delaware and Pennsylvania must serve as a justification of the brevity and exility of the following sketch of his career.

The author of this contribution had proceeded thus far, and even farther, in the preparation of a memoir of Mr. Dickinson, when, through seeking information of his subject from members of the family, he was brought into correspondence with Wharton Dickinson, Esq., of Scranton, Pennsylvania, a grandson of General Philemon Dickinson, distinguished in the war of the Revolution, and therefore a great nephew of the Hon. John Dickinson. Mr. Wharton Dickinson has been for some years engaged in searching into the history of his family, with a view, probably, of preparing an extended and critical biography of his distinguished uncle, and hardly less distinguished grandfather. With a courtesy for which he cannot be sufficiently thanked he kindly and promptly consented to furnish the writer with all the information that he possessed of the subject of this contribution; and he has increased the obligation under which he has placed the writer, by contributing the promised information, not in the form of disjointed memoranda, but embodied in a connected memoir so excellent in itself that there is

¹ National Portrait Gallery—a biography by T. A. B., said to be Sally Norris Dickinson.

no need to modify it in any particular except one, which does not affect its value as a historical document, presently to be noted. It is therefore, virtually, published entire, with Mr. Wharton Dickinson's consent, and to him is wholly due the credit for the collection and collation of the materials for their orderly arrangement and for their lucid expression of presentation. It will be perceived that he has purposely avoided elaboration of his statements and all rhetorical refinements of style, being content to relate with simplicity, directness and fullness the story of his kinsman's life. There is very good ground for claiming that this is the most correct, complete and comprehensive biography of Mr. Dickinson that has ever been prepared. One cannot but admire that temperateness of praise which its author has shown in speaking of his distinguished relative, when a little extravagance of eulogium might have been pardoned to family pride, and justified by the merit of the subject. However, in this case, the plain truth simply told is the best panegyric, both in matter and form, of one whose life was so full of worthy deeds and noble words,—words which in fact were deeds.

The importance of ancestral records has never been undervalued in these contributions which deal so largely with private and family history; nor has the pride which leads to their collection and preservation been derided, though it is very possible the value of these records may be exaggerated by their possessors, and pride of birth may become ridiculous in those who have inherited nothing from their forefathers but their names or perhaps their acres. But such records and such pride have their uses. These uses, however, will not be subserved by making these biographical papers the registers of pedigrees or the ministers to a vanity founded upon them. Of their preparation it was never a part of the scheme, to trace descents and tabulate lineages—to tell over *Et nati natorum et qui nascentur ab illis*. To follow the labyrinthine intricacies of genealogies, often without the clue of a single thread of truth to guide the wanderer amidst the mazes in which he is soon involved, would have required an amount of labor quite appalling, and have drawn out these papers to a length almost interminable. It is therefore due to Mr. Wharton Dickinson to say that the family genesis as given in his memoir is merely an abstract of that furnished by him, full, minute, authentic and evidently prepared with so much care and labor as to be a guaranty of its accuracy. But as it is chiefly interesting to those who claim connection with the original stock the greater part, with his expressed approbation, has been omitted from this paper. It may be, and very properly, included in that more elaborate biography

of his great kinsman, which, it is believed, he has in contemplation, or in that of his ancestor, General Philemon Dickinson, of honored memory.

The family of the Talbot Dickinsons, of which there are branches in many of the states of the Union, traces its descent, in the male line, from (I) William Dickinson (tempora Henry VIII) through (II) Richard, (III) Symon, (IV) Charles, to (V) Walter, the emigrant and founder in America, all of Bradly, Staffordshire, England. It claims by the marriage of Symon (III) with Catharine Dudley to share in the blood of the Plantagenets, through Edward III of that royal house. Charles Dickinson (IV) removed from Bradly to London in 1620, where he married and entered into a mercantile business. Dying in 1653 or 4, he left three sons, all of whom came to America and settled in Virginia. These were Walter (V) from whom the Talbot Dickinsons derive, Henry from whom the Virginia Dickinsons, and John from whom the Pennsylvania Dickinsons (those of them not of the Talbot branch) have descended.² Walter Dickinson (V) with whom alone we have any concern, born in 1620, with the brothers just named came to Virginia in 1654, and settled on the Rappahannock in Lancaster county where he took up land under patent, and married the daughter of one of his neighbors. In 1659 he patented land in Maryland at North Point at the mouth of the Patapsco, in Anne Arundel county (Baltimore county was organized in the same year) to which he removed with his family. Apparently he remained at North Point a very short time, removing to Talbot at an unknown date. He purchased land upon Reeds Creek in close proximity of the land which became the seat of the family many years and has continued to be, of one branch, to the present time. Later he received land by patent in Kent county, Delaware. Dying in 1681, Walter Dickinson (V) left four children of whom William was the eldest and heir. He was born in Virginia, December, 1658, before the removal of his father from that province, but grew up to manhood in this county where he married Elizabeth, the daughter of Howell Powell, a wealthy and prominent member of the Society of Friends, and a resident of his neighborhood.³ He became a merchant and planter—then a common union of avocations—and amassed wealth. Dying in 1707

¹ The intermarriage of the descendants of John, with those of Walter, gave that branch representatives here in the Kerseys.

² It may be interesting to some to note, on the authority of Mr. Dickinson, that Howell Powell was from Brecknockshire, Wales. He was the son of Hugh Powell, of Castle Madoc, in the same county, the representative of an honorable family.

he left children, sons and daughters, of whom Samuel, the first of that name which has been perpetuated in the family to the present, was the eldest and heir to the homestead on Crossiadore Creek, in Trappe district of this county, where he was born March 9th, 1689, or 90. He enjoyed such advantages of education as the province afforded, and was subsequently sent to England where he read law at the Temple, and returning home about 1707-9, practised his profession in the provinces of Maryland, Delaware and Pennsylvania. He married for his first wife Judith Troth, a Quakeress, daughter of William Troth, of this county. "Departing this life in sweet peace with her Maker," as the family chronicle relates in the language of her people, in August 1729, she left a number of children, one of whom, Henry, is the progenitor of the Dickinsons now resident of this county, and others of this stem. Samuel Dickinson married for his second wife, in 1731, Mary, the daughter of John Cadwalader, Esq., of Philadelphia. By this lady, who survived her husband many years, three sons were born to him: John, the subject of this memoir; Thomas, who was killed in London, by being thrown from his horse, and Philemon, who subsequently became honorably known as General Dickinson, of New Jersey. All of these were born in Talbot.⁴ In 1740 Mr. Samuel Dickinson (first of the name) removed from this county to Kent, in Delaware. There he was appointed President Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and in 1754 he was commissioned an Associate Judge of the Supreme Court of Delaware. He died in 1759, leaving an immense estate in lands, in the counties of Queen Anne, Talbot and Dorchester, in Maryland, and in Kent county, Delaware, besides much personal property in England and America. Of this land he bequeathed more than three thousand acres to his son John Dickinson—a fortune which enabled him to live with ease, comfort and independence, and to indulge those tastes for literature and society which through life were to him sources of unfailing pleasure. And more: it was this fortune which releasing him from the necessities of providing for the wants of life, enabled him to devote his great abilities to the interests of his country. Judge Samuel Dickinson is represented as having been "an enlightened and liberal man, extremely desirous of giving his children the best education in his power." His second wife is described by the same hand as "a distinguished woman, of fine understanding and graceful manners, who had enriched her mind by an

⁴ It is common for biographers to designate Delaware, or even New Jersey, as the State of the nativity of General Dickinson. The investigations of Mr. Wharton Dickinson has settled the question definitely.

acquaintance with the best authors." This may be regarded as not an unmerited eulogium of one who was the mother of two sons, distinguished the one in the forum and the other in the field. Portraits of this worthy couple, Samuel and Mary Dickinson, by Hesselius,⁵ a pupil of Sir Godfrey Kneller, are still in the possession of the family in New Jersey.

Before concluding this account of the Dickinson family, it may be well to say, what already has been hinted, that those of the name, residing in this county and State, are the descendants of Judge Samuel Dickinson through the gentle Judith Troth. To her only surviving son, Henry, the lands on Crossiadore passed by the will of her husband, and in the hands of his lineage the homestead has remained to the present. The house now occupied by Mr. Overton Dickinson, the son of the late Samuel Dickinson, whom many remember as a most amiable and courteous gentleman, is one of the oldest in this county, and, before the late changes and "betterments," one of the most curious to the local antiquary. Through the pious care of Mr. Samuel Dickinson, now of New York, it has been recently renovated and improved, to the loss of much of its ancient picturesqueness, but to the gain of much of its modern comfort. Several members of this branch of the family are entitled to be ranked among the worthies of Talbot, and among them may be mentioned General Solomon S. and Doctor Philemon Dickinson. Collaterally John Leeds, the mathematician and John Leeds Bozman, the historian, are connected with this branch. Some of these have already been and others may yet be commemorated in these contributions.⁶

John Dickinson, LL.D., was born at "Crossiadore," the seat of his father, Judge Samuel Dickinson, Nov. 13th, 1732. When eight years of age, his father removed from Talbot county, Md., to Kent county, Del., where he became the first President Judge Court of Common

⁵ An evident error of Sept. 22d

⁶ In this compilation of the descent of the Dickinsons, chief reliance has been upon Mr. Wharton Dickinson's account, because he had made the most thorough study of the family history. The writer is indebted to Mr. John Sharp Dickinson, of Baltimore, for a copy of an old manuscript of Mrs. Mary Gordon, a venerable lady connected with the Dickinsons. This differs from Mr. Dickinson's in some particulars, but as he has drawn his information chiefly from written memorials, while Miss Gordon has derived hers largely from tradition, what he says seems to have the greater authority. But on the other hand, Miss Gordon was able to speak with many who had personal knowledge of the facts they related, and she recorded. This serves to exemplify the difficulties and obscurities attending genealogical investigations.

Pleas, of that county serving from 1740 to the time of his death, July 6, 1760, aged 71. Chancellor William Killen, then a law student in Judge Dickinson's office, was the tutor of John. It was his father's original intention to have him sent to Oxford, but the death of his eldest son, William, who died of the smallpox, at London, deterred him from so doing. In 1750, John entered the law office of John Moland, Esq., a distinguished Barrister of the Philadelphia Bar. Among his fellow students, in this office, were George Read and Samuel Wharton. All three were subsequently members of the Continental Congress. George Read was one of the "Signers" and Messrs. Read and Dickinson were framers of the Federal Constitution. The intimacy thus early formed between the three, lasted through life. In 1752 Mr. Dickinson set sail for London, where he entered the Middle Temple. Among his fellow students at the Temple were Edward Thurlow, subsequently Lord High Chancellor of England, Lloyd Kenyon, subsequently Lord Chief Justice King's Bench, and William Cowper, the poet. He returned home in 1755, just before hostilities broke out between France and England. In Sept., 1755, he was admitted to the Philadelphia Bar, and immediately commenced a successful practice of his profession. In the year 1760 he was elected to a seat in the General Assembly of the three lower counties, now Delaware, and of this body he was chosen the Speaker, a fact that has been overlooked by his biographers. (Penna. Archives, 2nd Series.) In July, 1756, he accompanied Samuel Morris, Sr., (an uncle by marriage) to Easton, and was present when the Treaty was signed between the Government of Pennsylvania and Tedeguscung and other Indian Chiefs. Sept. 7, 1762, he took his seat in the Pennsylvania Assembly, a fact which he announces to his friend George Read, in the following playful manner.

You may congratulate me on my salvation, for I am certainly among the elect, and may enter into the assembly of righteous men.

After a considerable discussion of the leading topics of the day he says:

I confess I should like to make an immense bustle in the world, if it could be made by virtuous actions. But, as there is no probability of that, I am content if I can live innocent and beloved by those I love, in the first class of whom you are always esteemed by, dear sir, your most affectionate friend and very humble servant: John Dickinson.

Mr. Dickinson soon gained an enviable notoriety as a ready, earnest, and eloquent debater, and in his long term of service in the Assembly

(1764-1776), was always one of the master spirits. May 27, 1764, he delivered his great speech against the change of the Government of Pennsylvania from Proprietary to Royal. Joseph Galloway replied to it; both were published, Dickinson's, with a preface, by William Smith, D. D., Provost University of Penna., and Galloway's with a preface by Benjamin Franklin. In May, 1765, appeared his article entitled "The late Regulations respecting the British Colonies on the Continent of America considered in a letter from a gentleman in Philadelphia to his friend in London." September 11, 1765, he, with Joseph Fox (speaker), George Bryan, and John Morton, were sent as delegates to represent Pennsylvania in the "Stamp Act Congress," held in New York from October 7 to 21, 1765. Mr. Dickinson was the author of the "Resolves" of that body. November 7, 1765, he, with his brother Philemon; uncles, Thomas Cadwalader and Samuel Morris; cousins, Lambert and John Cadwalader, and Samuel Cadwalader Morris, signed the famous "Non Importation Resolutions." In 1766 he opposed the proposition offered at a meeting of the Phila. Bar to conduct business without the use of stamps. Only three votes were recorded in the affirmative. This same year appeared his article entitled, "An Address to the Committee of Correspondence in Barbadoes, occasioned by a letter from them to their agent in London. By a North American." In 1767 appeared, what are considered by many, his greatest political work, viz.: his celebrated "Farmers Letters," for which he received a vote of thanks of the citizens of Boston, through the hands of a committee composed of Samuel Adams, John Hancock, Dr. Benjamin Church, Dr. Joseph Warren and John Rowe, Esq. In this address they say:

To such eminent worth and virtue the inhabitants of the town of Boston, the capital of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, in full town meeting assembled, express their gratitude. Though such superior merit must assuredly in the closest recess enjoy the divine satisfaction of having served and possibly saved this people, though veiled from our view, you modestly shun the deserved applause of millions, permit us to intrude upon your retirement, and salute the Farmer, as the friend of Americans and the common benefactor of mankind. In May, 1768, an association in Philadelphia, called the Society of Fort St. David, presented an address to Mr. Dickinson, in a box of "heart of oak."

The following inscriptions were done upon it in gold letters. On the top was represented the cap of liberty on a spear, resting on a cipher of the letters J. D. Underneath the cipher, in a semi-circular label, the words *Pro Patria*. Around the whole the following:

The gift of the Governor and Society of Fort St. David to the Author of The Farmers Letters, in grateful testimony to the very eminent services thereby rendered to this county, 1768.

On the inside of the top was the following inscription:

The liberties of the British Colonies in America asserted with Attic eloquence and Roman spirit by John Dickinson, Esq., barrister-at-law.

This society is better known as the "Governor and Colony in Schuylkill." Mr. Dickinson was once its Governor. The "Farmers Letters" were republished in London in 1768, with a preface by Dr. Arthur Lee, and in Paris in 1769, with a preface by Dr. Benj. Franklin. There was also a Virginia edition published in 1769 with a preface by Richard Henry Lee.

In 1769 Mr. Dickinson visited Boston in company with Joseph Reed (then on his way to Europe). They stopped at Princeton college, to attend the commencement exercises, and Mr. Dickinson received the degree of LL.D. from the hands of the Faculty, through President John Witherspoon. While in Boston he made the acquaintance of Samuel Adams, and renewed a former one with James Otis. February 4, 1771, he was chairman of a committee of the Pennsylvania Assembly, who drafted a petition to the King for the repeal of all acts placing duties on importations of any kind. This brings our record of Mr. Dickinson up to the time of the agitation of the "Boston Port Bill," and consequently to the threshold of the Revolutionary war. He was now forty years of age, had established a European reputation, and had an intimate knowledge of the events leading to the war, and the wants of the Colonies as any man in America. The eyes of his compatriots were upon him, let us see how he acquitted himself.

May 13, 1774, he attended the meeting at the city tavern to take measures regarding the close of the Port of Boston. It has been erroneously stated that Mr. Dickinson wrote the letter of the Committee of Correspondence appointed by that meeting, but although a member of the committee, the letter was from the pen of Provost Smith, of the University of Pennsylvania, June 18, 1774. John Dickinson, Thomas Willing and Edward Pennington, were joint chairmen of the mass meeting held in Independence Hall to take further measures in regard to the closing of the Port of Boston, and Mr. Dickinson was appointed chairman of the Committee of Correspondence which issued the call for the famous first Continental Congress. He was a delegate to the Provincial Convention held in Carpenter's Hall, from July 15th to 22d, 1774, and

was the author of the two important state papers issued by that body, viz., the "Resolves of the Committee of Safety of the Province of Pennsylvania" and the "Instructions of the committee to their representatives in the Pennsylvania Assembly." He also wrote a paper entitled "An Essay on the Constitutional powers of Great Britain over the Colonies of America." He was also chairman of the committee of three (Joseph Reed and Charles Thompson) appointed to communicate these instructions to the neighboring colonies. Mr. Dickinson's labors were fully appreciated by his colleagues of convention, as appears from the following record from the minutes.

Agreed unanimously that the thanks of this committee [Com. of Safety, Pa.] be given from the Chair to John Dickinson, Esquire, for the great assistance they have derived from the laudible application of his eminent abilities, to the service of his country, in the above performance, Thursday, July 21, 1774.

Mr. Dickinson being absent this day, on account of the funeral of a relative, the next day [22d], the chairman, in a very pleasing way delivered to him the thanks of the committee; to which he replied as follows:

Mr. Chairman: I heartily thank this respectable assembly for the honor they have conferred upon me, but want words to express the sense I feel of their kindness. The mere accidents of meeting with particular books, and conversing with particular men, led me into the train of sentiments, which the committee are pleased to think just; and others, with the like opportunities of information, would much better have deserved to receive the thanks they now generously give. I consider the approbation of this company as an evidence that they entertain a favorable opinion of my good intentions, and as an encouragement for all to apply themselves, in these unhappy times, to the service of the public, since even small endeavors to promote that service can find a very valuable reward. I will try, during the remainder of my life, to remember my duty to our common country, and, if it be possible, to render myself worthy of the honor for which I now stand so deeply indebted. I thank you, sir, for the polite and affectionate manner in which you have communicated the sense of the committee to me.

In Sept. 1774, Mr. Dickinson was nominated for the *then* high office of Speaker of the Assembly, but declined. On October 20, he took his seat in the famous first Continental Congress, and was at once added to the committee to prepare a petition to the King. The committee had just reported a draft, which Congress rejected. Mr. Dickinson drew the next one, which was after some slight amendments, adopted. Oct. 26, he drew the "Address to the inhabitants of Quebec." He was a

delegate to the Provincial Convention held in Carpenter's Hall from January 23 to 28, 1775, which ratified the work of the First Congress. April 24, 1775, he attended the great mass meeting held in the State House yard, where eight thousand freemen declared to defend their "lives, liberty, and prosperity, by a resort to arms." Several battalions of Associations were formed for this purpose, and Mr. Dickinson was unanimously elected Col. of the First Battalion. Their first public appearance was in May when they marched out of town to meet the delegates to the Congress, from the Southern states and escorted them into the city. A few days later they paid a similar compliment to the delegates from the Eastern States. May 2d, 1775, Gov. Penn transmitted the resolutions of the British Parliament known as "Lord Norths Olive Branch," to the assembly. But headed by Mr. Dickinson, the assembly refused to accept proposals therein contained. June 30, 1775, Mr. Dickinson was chosen a member of the newly organized Committee of Safety, and acted as chairman of the committee to inspect military store. October 20, he was elected a member of the Council of Safety, [same body, only name changed] serving until July 20, 1776. July 6 1775, he penned the famous "Address to the Armies." When read at the head of Putnam's division it was received with three huzzahs and a loud Amen! Nov. 29, 1775, he was appointed a member of the first committee on Foreign Affairs, ever selected in this country. His colleagues selected him as chairman [the others were Benjamin Harrison, Dr. Franklin, Thomas Johnson and John Jay]. June 12, 1776, the committee was remodeled, Messrs. Jay and Johnson were withdrawn, and John Adams and Robert Morris selected in their place. Mr. Dickinson was still chairman. As we had no secretary of Foreign Affairs, the Chairman of this committee acted as such ex-officio. Mr. Dickinson was, historically, our first Secretary of State, serving from Nov. 29, 1775 to July 20, 1776. In October 1775, he was chairman of a committee of the Penna. Assembly to which was referred the petition from the Committee of Defense for Northampton and Northumberland counties. In December he was appointed by Congress, Chairman of a committee of three to proceed to Burlington for the purpose of dissuading the New Jersey Assembly from granting further supplies for the support of the royal government, the other two members were John Jay and George Wythe. Mr. Dickinson, as chairman, delivered an able address before the Assembly, on Dec. 7. Said he, during the course of his remarks:

After Americans were put to death at Lexington without cause, had the Continental Congress drawn the sword and thrown away the scabbard, all lovers of liberty would have applauded. To convince Britain that we *will* fight, an army has been formed and Canada invaded; success attends us everywhere; the savages who were to have been let loose to murder our wives and children, are our friends; the Canadians fight in our cause and Canada, from whence armies were to have overrun us, is conquered in as many months, as it took Britain years; so that we have nothing to fear but from Europe, which is three thousand miles distant. Until this controversy the strength and importance of our country was not known; united, it cannot be conquered. The nations of Europe look with jealous eyes upon the struggle; should Britain be unsuccessful in the next campaign, France will not sit still. Nothing but unity and bravery will bring Britain to terms; she wants to secure separate petitions which we should avoid, for they would break our union, and we should become a rope of sand; rest therefore upon your former noble petition [that of the New Jersey Assembly to the King] and that of United America.

At the time of the address there were strong hopes that Canada would join us; these hopes were subsequently doomed to disappointment. His other predictions proved true. In May 1776 he was chairman of a committee of the Pennsylvania Assembly to draft new instructions to their delegates in Congress. June 12, 1776, he was appointed chairman of a committee consisting of one delegate from each state to draft Articles of Confederation for the Colonies. The committee was constituted as follows: Bartlett, of New Hampshire; Sam Adams, of Mass.; Hopkins, of Rhode Island; Sherman, of Conn.; R. R. Livingston, of New York; Witherspoon, of New Jersey; Dickinson, of Pennsylvania; McKean, of Delaware; Stone, of Maryland; Nelson, of Va.; Hewes, of N. C.; E. Rutledge, of S. C.; and Gwinnett, of Ga.

Mr. Dickinson was the author of the 2d petition to the King, adopted in June, 1776. His opposition to the Declaration of Independence is the one blot, if blot it can be called, in Mr. Dickinson's life. No pen had been busier, during the last two years, than his, in asserting the rights and liberties of America. The following extract from his speech, delivered June 20, 1776, will explain his motives, as far as they can be explained. Said he:

Prudence required that we should not abandon certain for uncertain objects. Two hundred years of happiness, and prosperity, resulting from English laws and the union with Great Britain, demonstrated that America could be wisely governed by the King and Parliament
* * * Shall the transports of fury sway us more than the experi-

ence of ages, and induce us to destroy, in a moment of anger, the work that has been cemented and tried by time? * * * Even when supported by the powerful hand of England, the Colonies had abandoned themselves to discord and sometimes to violence, from the paltry motives of territorial limits and distant jurisdiction. What then might they not expect when their minds were heated, ambition aroused, and arms in the hands of all?

Hildreth in his History of the United States says that "John Dickinson's opposition to the Declaration of Independence was one of the greatest acts of moral courage that history makes mention of." In connection with this subject we give, as an historical fact, that he was the only member of the Congress which *adopted* the Declaration that took up arms in the defence of their country. July 22, '76, he accompanied his regiment to Amboy, N. J., where he remained until Sept. 1st. Sept. 3d he and his cousin, John Cadwalader, were appointed special Justices of the Peace for Philadelphia. Sept. 23d he was appointed special Atty.-Gen. of Penna., to try several important cases on behalf of that commonwealth. In January, 1777, Delaware selected him as a delegate to Congress, but his health was in such a condition as not to admit of his accepting the position. For the next two years he was absent from the State and National councils. At the battle of Brandywine, Mr. Dickinson served as a private in Capt. Lewis' company of Cæsar Rodney's Del. Brigade. Acting Pres't McKean, of Del., commissioned him Brig.-Gen. in Oct., 1777; he served as such until the following Dec. His house at "Fairhill" was burnt by the British Nov. 22, 1777. John Adams speaks of this place in his diary:

Monday Sept. 12, 1774—Returned and dined with Mr. Dickinson at his seat at Fairhill, with his lady, Miss Thompson, Miss Norriss, Miss Harrison. Mr. Dickinson has a fine seat, a beautiful prospect of the city, the river and country, fine gardens, and a very grand library. The most of the books were collected by Mr. Norris, once speaker of the House here, father of Mrs. Dickinson.

The party who burned the house were commanded by Col. Twistle-ton, subsequently Lord Saye and Sele; not a very creditable performance for an English peer. When Dickinson College was erected the part of the library not burned was presented to it. In April, 1779, Delaware sent Mr. Dickinson to Congress, and in May of that year he penned his famous "Address to the States." This same year he was elected a Trustee of the University of Penna., serving until 1791; Chief Justice High Court of Appeals of Penna., 1779-'80; Member Delaware

State Council, 1780-'81; President of Delaware, 1781-'82; President of Pennsylvania, Nov. 7, 1782, to Oct. 17, 1785. He was elected by a majority of 9 votes over Gen. James Potter [41 to 32]. In Dec., 1782, the Council ordered the Treasurer to pay Gov. Dickinson £150 for necessary repairs to the "Mansion House." In March, 1783, the Council drew an order in his favor for £1,000 loaned by him to the State for recruiting purposes. His salary was £1,250 per annum. Sept. 23, 1783, the Legislature chartered a college at Carlisle, which they named Dickinson College.

In memory of the great and important services rendered to his country by His Excellency John Dickinson, Esquire, President of the Supreme Executive Council of this Commonwealth, and because of his very liberal endowment of £5,000.

He was President of the Board of Trustees for life, 1783-1808. In the execution of his office of Governor, he was, ex-officio, a member of the Board of Property. In 1784 he was elected the fourth honorary member of the General Society of the Cincinnati [he was the first one so honored from Penna]. He was chairman of the Constitutional and Commercial Commission which met in Annapolis, Md., in Sept., 1786, and as chairman signed the letter to Congress recommending the calling of a Federal Constitutional Convention. Of this body which met in Philadelphia in May, 1787, he was a member from Delaware, and took no small part in the framing of that body. The manner of electing U. S. Senators was his proposition. He supported the adoption of the Constitution by three very able letters, under the nom-de-plume of *Fabius*. He was a member of the Delaware Constitutional Convention in 1792, and wielded an overshadowing influence in that body. This was his last public service, and after an active political life of just thirty years (1762-'92) he retired to private life. In 1797 he wrote his second series of "Fabian Letters," fourteen in number, on the subject of the troubles between France and the United States. In one of these letters he styles Christianity "the divine religion of our blessed Savior." Of Mr. Dickinson's ability as a writer, the following tribute from the lips of the great Earl of Chatham (Pitt) bears ample testimony.

When your Lordships have perused the papers transmitted to us from America, [1st and 2nd Petitions], when you consider the dignity, the firmness and the wisdom with which the Americans have acted, you cannot but respect their cause. History, my Lords, has been my favorite study, and in the celebrated writings of antiquity, have I often

admired the patriotism of Greece and Rome; but, my Lords, I must declare and avow, that in the master States of the world, I know not the people or the Senate, who in such a complication of difficult circumstances, can stand in preference to the delegates of America, assembled in Philadelphia. I trust, it is obvious to your Lordships, that all attempts to impose servitude upon such men, to establish despotism over such a mighty continental nation, must be vain.

Of his personal appearance John Adams says:

he is a shadow; tall, but slender as a reed; one would think, at first sight, he could not live a month, yet upon a more attentive inspection, he looks as if the springs of life were strong enough for many years.

The late William T. Read thus speaks of Mr. Dickinson in his old age:

When I was a mere boy, Mr. Dickinson was my father's guest for a few days, during the trial of a suit in which I think he was defendant, my father being his counsel. I have a vivid impression of the man—tall and spare, his hair white as snow, his garb uniting with the severe simplicity of his sect, a neatness and elegance peculiarly in keeping with it, and his manner, beautiful emanations of the great Christian principle of love, with the gentleness and affectionateness which, whatever be the cause, the Friends, or at least individuals of them, exhibit more than others, combining the politeness of a man of the world, familiar with society in its most polished forms, and with conventional canons of behavior. Truly he lives in my memory as the realization of my beau ideal of a gentleman.

Of his course in life the words of his speak for himself. Said he to a friend:

Two rules I have laid down for myself throughout this contest, to which I have continually adhered, and still design to adhere. First, on all occasions when I am called upon as a trustee for my countrymen, to deliberate on questions important to their happiness, disdaining all personal advantages to be derived from a suppression of my real sentiments, and defying all dangers to be risked by a declaration of them, openly to avow them; and secondly after thus discharging this duty, whenever the public resolutions are taken, to regard them, though opposite to my opinion, as sacred, because they lead to public measures, in which the common weal must be interested, and to join in supporting them as heartily as if my voice had been given for them. If the present day is too warm for me to be calmly judged, I can credit my country for justice, some years hence.

Portraits of Mr. Dickinson are in existence, painted by Peale and Trumbull. He married, July 19, 1770, Mary, youngest daughter of Hon. Isaac Norris the younger, for many years speaker of the Penna. Assembly

[1735-'56]. They had two daughters, Sarah Norris and Maria, the latter the wife of A. C. Logan, of Shuton, Phila. county, now represented by his grandson, Albanus Charles Logan, of Phila. His youngest son, John Dickinson Logan, M.D., died in Baltimore in 1877, leaving an only son, Algernon Sidney Logan, of Phila.

John Dickinson died at Wilmington, Del., on Saturday, Feb. 14, 1808, aged 75 years, 3 months and 1 day. He was buried in the Friends' burying ground at Wilmington. No headstone marks his grave. Congress wore mourning for him thirty days. His political writings were published in two volumes at Wilmington in 1801. At the annual meeting of the Society of Fort St. Davids held in Philadelphia at their club rooms on the banks of the Schuylkill, in response to the toast, "John Dickinson, the Farmer of Pennsylvania," the orator replied:

This shadow, rather than man; slender as a reed; pale as ashes; this great writer, has been suffered to elapse almost into oblivion. Yet it was in him God first lighted the fires of the Revolution; his letters first made the cause of the Colonies heard before the Throne of Great Britain; and it is his name, and his only, that is associated with Jefferson's as the writer of the first official assertion of grievances, which preceded the great "Declaration." His words were the battle cries of the Revolution, on these grounds they gave evidence of their power. Although gentle blood ran through the veins of the peaceful inmates of Fort St. David, and their meats were set before them on heraldic plates, and the flag of English George floated o'er their house, yet Dickinson's words swept through its hewn logs like a storm—the flag went down—they answered his appeal with the sword. Here he might be fitly honored as he was in his day and generation. The historic troop, four of whom have been governors of Schuylkill, and the bar of Philadelphia, of which he was so honored a representative, might unite and place upon these grounds his monumental stone; and the words once written in his honor might well be graven thereon: *Pro Patria, John Dickinson of Philadelphia, the author of the 'Farmers Letters.' Ita quique eveniat, ut de republica meruit.*

The learned Samuel Miller, D.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Church Government in Princeton Theological Seminary, 1813-'49, in dedicating to Mr. Dickinson his great work, entitled "A Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century," says:

I know not to whom I can dedicate such a work as this with more propriety than to an elegant scholar, a comprehensive observer of a large portion of the century attempted to be reviewed, a master of so many of its literary and scientific improvements, a conspicuous actor in so many of its memorable and important transactions, an able and eloquent defender of his country's rights, and a munificent patron of American literature.

HON. WILLIAM TILGHMAN

Judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania

1756-1827

*"Cum receditur a litera, judex transit in legislatorem."**"Pessima tyrannis lex in equuleo."*—BACON'S *Antitheta*.

Emigrating in 1660 from Kent in old England to Maryland, Richard Tilghman, "chirurgion" settled first upon Canterbury manor, in Bailey's Neck of what is now the county of Talbot, and then at the Hermitage upon Chester river, in what is now the county of Queen Anne. He became the founder in America of the most respectable family which bears his name, and which was most worthily represented as well as greatly illustrated by that member who makes the subject of this biographical sketch. The son of this first Richard, the immigrant, was succeeded in the ownership of the Hermitage by his son of the same name, a gentleman who held many positions of honor under the proprietary and royal governments in this province, having been a member of the governor's council, one of the justices of the provincial court, chancellor and keeper of the great seal of Maryland. He had a large family, and one of the sons was James Tilghman, Esquire, who removing from Maryland to Philadelphia became the attorney general for the proprietary of Pennsylvania, a member of the provincial council, and Secretary of the Land office, which department of the government "by the accuracy of his mind and the steadiness of his purpose, he brought into a system as much remarked for order and equity as, from its early defects, it threatened to be otherwise." This office he resigned upon the outbreak of the revolutionary troubles, he being a loyalist, and returned to his native state, making Chestertown, in Kent county, his home, where he died. He was the father of six sons, several of whom rose to distinction. One of these was William Tilghman, the subject of this sketch, who was born at Fausley, near Easton, in Talbot county, Maryland, then the residence of his father, on the 12th of Aug. 1756. His father removing to Philadelphia in 1762, it was there he received his academic education. He was entered at the Academy of that city and thence he passed into the college which subsequently became known as the University of Pennsylvania, and from which he received his degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts, and at a late day, when he had arisen to eminence, the degree of Doctor of Laws. He had for his teachers such capable men as Beveridge, Wallis, Davidson, Smith

and Allison. Under their tuition, which with the last named continued after he had passed out of the school, he became very proficient in the Latin and Greek languages, the literature of which, but more especially of the latter, was his delight throughout his life. In 1772 he began the study of law under Benjamin Chew, Esq., afterwards the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. He remained in his office until 1776, when he accompanied his father to Chestertown, and there under his direction continued his studies, until 1783, when he was admitted to practice in the courts of Maryland. In this interval he desired to prosecute his studies in England, and requested his brother, Lieutenant Col. Tilghman, then at headquarters, that he would secure for him a pass to that country from the commander in chief. This request was refused for reasons that commend themselves to every patriotic and honorable mind, and that were entirely satisfactory to the applicant. He entered upon the practice of his profession at Chestertown, and soon began to take a part in politics, which at that time engaged the best minds, and purest characters of the State. He was elected to a seat in the house of Delegates from Kent county for three years in succession, 1788, 1789 and 1790. In 1791 he was chosen one of the Senators for the Eastern Shore, the other members for that section in the 4th Senate, being William Perry, William Hindman, Edward Lloyd, Esqs., all of Talbot County and Gustavus A. Scott, Esq., of Dorchester county. During the time Mr. Tilghman served in the General Assembly of Maryland, many of those measures of early legislation were perfected which proved so salutary to the State, and particularly may be instanced, the change in the judicial system of the county courts which was made in 1790, and changes in the constitution and jurisdiction of other courts. In this legislation he participated. In national or general politics, he was an earnest advocate of the adoption of the Federal Constitution, and was a member of the Convention of Maryland, which in April, 1788, adopted that great charter, as he was also a member of the Legislatures which framed measures for carrying it into practical operation. In the year 1789 he had the honor of being chosen one of the electors for the State of Maryland to choose the first President of the United States, and of casting his vote for Washington. But politics, except as the science of Government, were never congenial with his tastes and habits. The contentions of parties, even before he resigned his place in the Senate, had already begun to betray that violence which a few years later blazed out with an intensity not since surpassed, and gentlemen already began to show a reluctance to participate in them. After Mr.

Tilghman assumed judicial duties, he was scrupulous in his abstinence from any expression of political sentiments further than was declared by the regular deposit of his vote, which was generally in support of the Federalists.

He resigned his seat in the Senate of Maryland in 1793. Having married Margaret, the daughter of James Allen, Esq., for whom Allentown, Pa., was named, of Philadelphia, he again made that city, the place of his residence, and there commenced the practice of his profession. As an advocate he was held in great respect by the courts, the bar and the community. His law arguments are said to have been remarkable for

the distinctness with which he presented his case, and for the perspicuity and accuracy with which his legal references were made to sustain it. But the force of his intellect resided in his judgment.

This quality of his mind directed attention to him as one eminently fitted for the judicial station, and accordingly in 1801, he was appointed by President Adams Chief Justice of the Circuit Court of the United States for the circuit embracing the city of Philadelphia. But this position he held for but a brief season, for a year after the organization of this court, it was abolished by law, and the judges were deprived of their places. Mr. Tilghman returned to his profession which he continued to practice with such success as his conceded abilities and probity entitled him to win, until the year 1805, when he was again raised to the bench, by being appointed presiding Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for the first district of Pennsylvania. In this position he remained but a few months, for Governor McKean, appreciating his qualifications, commissioned him Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania to succeed Judge Shippen, who from the infirmities of years had been compelled to retire. This appointment had been tendered to Mr. Edward Tilghman, a native of Queen Anne's county, but then a distinguished lawyer of Philadelphia; but he declined in favor of his kinsman, being better assured of his fitness for the judicial station than of his own, eminent as he was at the bar. Chief Justice Tilghman retained his seat on the bench until a few months previous to his death. Horace Binney of the Bar of Philadelphia, his eulogist and one every way capable of estimating his qualities as a Judge, speaks of Judge Tilghman's conscientious industry—conscientious as distinguished from the industry of mere habit, or the industry of reward, even when the reward is reputation. He examined every case that came before him and prepared

every decision he rendered with great care, lest injustice might be done to an individual, or some wrong precedent be established. The number of his decisions pronounced during his service of twenty-one years on the bench, great as it is, is not the measure of his labors. He is said to have venerated the law, and above all the fundamental common law. "Judicial legislation," that is to say, the practice of some honest Judges of changing the clear meaning of the law into something which they think should be the law, he is said to have "abhorred or dreaded as an implication of his conscience. His judgments were distinguished for perspicacity, precision and singleness. They were remarkable for their admirable common sense, and their adaptation to the common understanding. But that quality which most exalted them was the ardent love of justice that ran through them all. Law was his master; he yielded implicit obedience to its behests. Justice was the object of his affections; he defended law with the devotion of a lover. The occasions were rare when he did not bring law and justice into harmonious coöperation. His opinions were not burthened with authorities, indeed he was sparing of references, not through poverty of such resources, but from his ability to select and preserve in memory only those that established principles of law and to dismiss from his mind the vast mass which was of no value and that added nothing to his legal treasures. Even the great weight of his own authority which few would have disputed, was never used as a substitute for the weight of reason, but he delivered his opinions without self assertion. The language of these opinions was in keeping with their character; it was transparent without involution, parenthesis or complication, the language of earnestness and honest conviction.

The same writer, whose estimate of Judge Tilghman the above is but a brief and imperfect abstract, says:

If ever the labors of a judge approach the merit of discovery, it is when he reforms or brings to light what had a previous existence, but had been perverted or obscured. Judge Tilghman certainly reinstated a statute of indispensable use, and which was imperceptibly giving way to judicial legislation, the statute of Limitations in actions of assumpsit.

This same authority attributes to him the merit of having led the way to the great work improving the large rivers of Pennsylvania, by defining the claims of riparian owners, contrary to the generally received opinions as to those claims. But it is said this most important service was the "thorough incorporation of the principles of scientific equity with the

law of Pennsylvania" a service which however valuable to that estate, need not be enlarged upon in this memoir. His knowledge of the penal law was quite as accurate and extensive as of the other departments, but was not so often called, by reason of his office, into requisition. In this connection it may be mentioned as illustrating his fine sensibility and sympathy for those suffering under criminal accusation that

it was invariably effort, without regard to his own health, to finish a capital case at one sitting, if any portion of the night would suffice for that object, in order to terminate as soon as possible the harrowing solicitude which a protracted trial brings to the unhappy prisoner. He never pronounced the sentence of death without severe pain; in the first instance it was the occasion of anguish.

His education had been the best the country afforded, and a mind naturally receptive and finely if not robustly organized, was thus made appreciative of the best literature of the ancient languages and of his own tongue. He continued through life to indulge his tastes for polite letters, while avoiding any pretense to harmony. While shunning the use of quotation, lest it might seem he was pretending a degree of knowledge he did not possess and as savoring of pedantry, he was in the frequent habit of repeating to himself, in an undertone some apposite passage from the Latin, particularly of Horace, his favorite author and companion, suggested by the occasion. Later in life he acquired a fondness for philosophic, or what is now called scientific speculation and inquiry. He became a member of the American Philosophical Society, of which after being for some time one of the vice presidents, he became president in 1824. It was while holding the place of vice president of this body he delivered a eulogium upon Doctor Carper Wistar, the late president of the society. He was the first president of the Atheneum library society of Philadelphia. He was also one of the vice presidents of the society for the promotion of agriculture, and in 1820 by invitation, he delivered an address before this body, which was published by its order. This address and the eulogium of Dr. Wistar, are the only known products of his pen that have survived him, except the vast body of judicial decisions which are on record. The same clearness, directness and simplicity of style which characterize his opinions delivered from the bench, are to be found in these two addresses, which also reveal the character of the author. Judge Tilghman was long a member of the Board of Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania and his deep interest in education was shown by his regular and constant attendance upon the meetings of this Board.

The manners of Judge Tilghman when upon the bench were such as not only to command the respect, but to win the affection of the members of the bar, and officers of the court. This natural dignity so befitted his position that there was no need of the assumption of an official demeanor: while his constant and uniform kindness and courtesy conciliated all who came within his sphere of influence. He was never known to have yielded, under the many provocations to which he, like all judicial officers, was subjected, to even momentary lapses of temper. When off the bench he was retiring and reserved, not from hauteur or moroseness, but from a sensitiveness of feeling and a conscientious duty which he owed to his position. He avoided all occasions for the expression of opinions on matters of public interest and he was scrupulous to shun positions where an unguarded word might affect individual interests he was appointed to guard. Great kindness marked his intercourse with his fellowmen, and his benevolence was shown by his frequent but unostentatious charities: while his humanity was especially exhibited by his emancipating all his slaves, of whom he had many, long before his death. His life was singularly pure, in act and word. No one of his contemporaries could remember to have heard, in the most unrestrained conversation, one word or allusion to offend the most fastidious delicacy. His piety was sincere, as was exemplified by a simple, modest and blameless life. He was long a vestryman and warden under the pastorate of his friend Bishop White, of sacred memory.

Judge Tilghman continued to exercise his judicial functions up to within a few months of his death, which occurred April 29, 1827. He lies buried in Philadelphia, and has left no descendants. His eulogist, so often quoted in this memoir says of him:

It will be long, very long, before we shall open our eyes upon a wiser judge, a sounder lawyer, a ripper scholar, a purer man, or a truer gentleman.

National Gazette, Phila., May 3, 1827.

DIED

At midnight, on Sunday, the 29th of April, the Hon. WILLIAM TILGHMAN, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, in the 71st year of his age.

The Reverend the Clergy, the Honorable the Judiciary, the Members of the Bar, the members of the several Societies to which the deceased belonged, and his friends in general, are particularly invited to attend the Funeral, which will take place on Wednesday afternoon next, at 4 o'clock, from his late residence, in Walnut above Ninth street.

At a Meeting of the Bar of Philadelphia, held on Monday, the 30th ult., in the Supreme Court Room, immediately after the adjournment

of the several courts, on the public announcement of the death of the Hon. WILLIAM TILGHMAN, late Chief Justice of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania,

On motion of William Rawle, Esq., it was unanimously *Resolved*, That, feeling the deepest regret for the loss that has been sustained, not only by the profession of the law, but by this state, and these United States, in the death of a man so eminent for his learning, talents, and usefulness in the discharge of every official function, and so endeared to all by his amiable deportment and personal virtues, as the late Chief Justice Tilghman, the Bar of Philadelphia will wear the usual badge of mourning for sixty days, and will, as a body, attend his funeral.

It was *Resolved*, also, That a Committee, consisting of the chairman and secretary of this meeting, Mr. Rawle, Mr. Condry, and Mr. Chauncey, be appointed to communicate to the surviving relatives of the deceased, the sympathy of the Bar in the affliction of his family, their reverence for his memory, and sorrow for his death.

It was further *Resolved*, That the members of the Bar will cause their office window shutters to be bowed until after the funeral.

It was further *Resolved*, That the chairman and secretary of this meeting be directed, with the approbation of the several Courts of Philadelphia, to cause these proceedings to be entered in their records, respectively, and to have them published in the newspapers of Philadelphia.

HOR. BINNEY, Chairman.

C. J. INGERSOLL, Secretary.

LAW ACADEMY OF PHILADELPHIA.

Special Meeting, April 30, 1827.—The Provost in the Chair.

The death of the Honourable William Tilghman, patron of the institution, having been announced, Antony Laussat, Esq., after a few remarks, submitted the following resolutions, which were adopted unanimously.

Resolved, That while the Members of the Law Academy of Philadelphia, in common with their fellow citizens, and particularly with those of the legal profession, are deeply sensible of the loss sustained by the death of *William Tilghman*, late Chief Justice of this commonwealth, they have an additional cause for regret in losing a zealous patron of their institution, who delighted in encouraging their labours, and promoting their improvement, and who was ever willing to give his aid and countenance, to everything tending to further that object, and to raise successors to those whose talents now adorn the *Bar of Philadelphia*.

Resolved, That in testimony of the respect of this association for the memory of their illustrious patron, they will attend his funeral as a body, and wear crape on the left arm for sixty days.

On motion of E. L. Carrell, resolved that the proceedings of this meeting be published. Adjourned.

PETER S. DU PONCEAU, Provost.

WM. T. SMITH, Sec'y.

AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

At a special meeting of the Society, held this day, *Peter S. Du Pont*, one of the Vice Presidents, in the chair; *Dr. Chapman* rose and announced the death of Chief Justice TILGHMAN, President of the Society; and submitted the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the members shall assemble at their Hall, on Wednesday next, at 4 o'clock, p.m., in order to proceed in a body, to attend the funeral of their President.

Resolved, That according to the ancient usage of this Society, in relation to their deceased Presidents, a public discourse, in commemoration of Chief Justice TILGHMAN, be delivered by a member to be appointed for that purpose.

April 30—

CLEMENT G. BIDDLE, Sec'y.

JOHN LEEDS BOZMAN

THE HISTORIAN

1755-1823

On Tuesday the 21st of April 1874 was sold by Mr. Robert B. Dixon, Trustee of David Kerr, Jr., Esq., that farm or plantation at the head of Trippe's creek, in Oxford Neck, called "Belleville," which was the birthplace and residence of John Leeds Bozman, the Historian of Maryland. This property was purchased by Mr. Kerr from the estate of his father the Hon. John Leeds Kerr, in his day a distinguished lawyer and statesman, who was a member of both the national and state legislatures and an encumbent of other high and responsible positions. He was the nephew, through his mother, and heir of the historian. Mr. Bozman was the son of Mr. John Bozman, and the grandson of Colonel Thomas Bozman, who was successively Deputy Surveyor General, High Sheriff, Commissioner and Justice of the Peace of the county and Deputy Commissary General of the Eastern Shore, and Deputy Commissary of Talbot county 1731-33. The wife of Col. Thomas Bozman was Mary Lowe, the daughter of the first Col. Nicholas Lowe, who was at one or another time Clerk and High Sheriff of the county and member of the House of Burgesses of the Province. It was he who owned the land upon which Oxford was built, and through whom Col. Thomas Bozman, by marriage with his daughter, derived large estates in Oxford Neck.

The mother of John Leeds Bozman was Lucretia Leeds, the daughter of John Leeds, Esq., who was first one of the Commissioners and Jus-

tices of the Peace for the county of Talbot, and then Clerk of the Court, which last office he held from the year 1738 to the outbreak of the Revolutionary war, and the adoption of the State Constitution; when he either resigned or was removed, on account, as it is believed, of his sympathy with the cause of the royalists. John Leeds, besides being a most capable clerk, of which our court records give excellent attestation, was a man of large scientific acquirements, and as such was selected one of the Commissioners of the Provincial government to superintend or supervise the settlement of the boundary line between Pennsylvania and Maryland, commonly known as "Mason and Dixon's Line." It is traditionary that many of his mathematical and philosophical instruments were purchased by the State for the use of St. John's College at Annapolis, though what remained of them were bequeathed by his will to John Leeds Bozman, his nephew, from whom they descended to John Leeds Kerr. John Leeds was a resident of Bayside, his home being Wade's Point, now in the possession of John W. Kemp, Esq. He was a near neighbor of Matthew Tilghman, the revolutionary patriot, between whom and the tory John Leeds, tradition says there was many a warm, wordy contest. John Leeds was trained up under Quaker influence, his mother, Ruth Ball, being of that society. Having imbibed Arian opinions from this source, it was common to attribute to him sentiments of an atheistical character. But whatever may have been his religious views, he retained the respect and confidence of the Clergy of the English church, the special guardians of orthodoxy, and was the intimate friend of Parson Jackson, of St. Peter's Parish.

**THE STORY OF THE MARRIAGE OF JOHN LEEDS OF WADE'S POINT TO
RACHEL HARRISON, QUAKERESS.**

John Leeds, Jr., of Wade's Point, Bay Hundred, was born in 1705 and died in 1790. He is buried at Wade's Point.

John Leeds married, according to the notation of the Friends, on the 14th of the 2d month, 1726, Rachel Harrison.

This marriage was formally ratified, according to the simple ceremony of the Friends, at the Quaker Meeting House on Dividing Creek, near the town of Trappe—consecrated in the memory of these good people by the fact that near by, at the house of William Stevens, George Fox preached when in America in 1673, having among his auditors "the Judge of the County, three Justices of the Peace and the High Sheriff, with their wives. Of the Indians one was called their Emperor, an Indian King, their Speaker, who sat very attentive and carried themselves very lovingly."

The certificate of this marriage may be here inserted as a curious relic of a primitive time:

Maryland ss Where as John Leeds, Jr. and Rachel Harrison, Boath of Talbot county in the Province of Maryland, have Declared their Intentions of Marrying Publickly before severell Meetings of the People call'd Quakers in the aff'd County of Talbot, according to the good order used among them, whose proceedings thare in were approved By the said Meeting, thay appering clear of all others: Now, these are to Certify all whome itt may Concern that for the full accomplishment of their said Marriage, They the said John Leeds and Rachel Harrison appeared in a Publick meeting of the afforesaid People, att their meeting house att Choptank this fourteenth day of ye Second Month In the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and twenty six, and In a Solemn Manner He the said John Leeds, taking the S'd Rachel Harrison by the hand Did Publickly Declare as followeth: Friends, in the fear of the Lord and Praying for Divine assistance, I take my friend Rachel Harrison to be my Wife, Promesing to be to her a True, Loving & Affectionat Husband untell itt shall Pleas allmighty God by Death to separate us. And then and thare the said Rachel Harrison did in like manner declare as followeth: Friends, in the fear the Lord and Praying for Divine Assistance, I take my friend John Leeds to be my Husband Promising to be to him a True Loving and Affectionat Wife untell itt shal Please all mighty God by death to separate us. And the said John Leeds and Rachel Leeds, she now according to the Custom of Marriage, Assuming the name of Her Husband, as a further Confirmation did then and thare to these Presents sett their Hands, and we whose names are here unto subscribed being Present Att the solemnizing of the said Marriage and Subscription afore said, as witnesses, Have to these presents sett our hands the Day and Year above written.

John Leeds Junr.,
Rachl Leeds.

Samuel Dickinson,
Ruth Richardson,
William Harrison,
Henry Troth,
Wm. Dickinson,
Peter Sharp,
Danl. Powell,
Howell Powell,
Walter Dickinson,
John Gorsuch,
Wm. Sharp,
Wm. Edmonson,
John Kemp
Rebeckah Dickinson,
Elizabeth Harrison,
Ann Harrison,
Susanah Powell,
Suffiah Dickinson,
Sarah Powell,

John Powell,
Will. White,
William Lewis,
Chas. Dickinson,
Solomon Edmondson,
Christopher Birkhead,
Joseph Wray,
Solomon Sharp,
Henry Sharp,
John Stevens,
Howell Powell, Jr.,
Peter Webb,

Susanah Powell, Jun.,
Sarah Webb,
Ester Edmondson,
Sarah Webb, Jun.,
Mary Horney
Magdalen Stevens.

Under the name of his wife upon this certificate John Leeds wrote with touching simplicity: "She died 10th May 1746 having well and faithfully performed her covenant."

Three daughters were the issue of this marriage; one of whom, Lucretia, became the wife of John Bozman, the father of John Leeds Bozman, the historian of Maryland.

Col. Nicholas Lowe and his brother, Col. Henry Lowe, of England, settled first in Calvert county on large tracks of land patented to them by the Proprietary. Lord Baltimore promptly appointed Col. Nicholas Clerk of Talbot county, thus giving him an office of importance within reach of his distinguished kinsman. Here he married Elizabeth, the widow of Major William Combes, of Talbot county, and had a large family of sons and daughters, all of whom intermarried with prominent Talbot county families. Their daughter Mary, born July 7, 1691, married three times, the last husband being Thomas Bozman, through which alliance, she became the ancestress of the historian, Hon. John Leeds Bozman. The descendants of this Col. Nicholas Lowe are to be found among the Harrisons, Paddisons (Pattisons), Prices, Longs, and Eastons, of the Eastern Shore.

In the year 1609 the name of one Vincent Lowe appears as an incorporator of the Virginia Company. Whether he ever had a more personal connection with the Colonies other than venturing his money is neither apparent nor particularly pertinent, excepting that his grandson emigrated to Maryland and became the Surveyor-General of the Province, and that a granddaughter, the Lady Jane Lowe, became the wife of the Lord Proprietary and has now many descendants among the representative people of the State. Col. Vincent Lowe of England the brother of Henry of Park Hall and younger brother of John, heir to the Denby estates, was a son of Vincent Lowe, Sr., and Anne Cavenish. In his will he devises land in the parish of Denby, England, and mentions, besides his mother, Anne Lowe, his brother, Nicholas Lowe, merchant, of Philphot lane, London.

He arrived in Maryland about 1672, when he received his first 1,000 acres of land, patented to him under the name of "Stratton" and situated in Queen Anne's county. The estate with which the Lowes of Talbot county have been identified for over two centuries is Grafton Manor, which contained 1,000 acres also, and which is recorded as having been given by "My Lord to Vincent Lowe," no date mentioned.

Through his marriage to the daughter of Seth Foster, Choptank Island, now Tilghman's Island, passed into the possession of the Lowes, as Eliza-

beth Lowe received this tract of 1,000 acres from her father as her inheritance. Col. Vincent Lowe was one of the commissioners to lay out the town of Oxford, and tradition says that Elizabeth Lowe gave the land for the site of that important town. This lady had the distinction of being buried with military honors. Whether it was because of her husband's rank, both in the Province and in England, or for her own act of public service is not quite certain.

Lady Jane Lowe, sister of Col. Vincent, married, first, Henry Sewell, of Mattapany, Secretary of Maryland, and at his death became the bride of his Lordship Charles Calvert, Governor of the Province. The records bear testimony to the wealth and importance of the several Lowes, of Talbot, Calvert and St. Mary's, of this line.

Col. Vincent Lowe was High Sheriff of Talbot county in the year 1675, and was commissioned Surveyor-General of the Province on April 3, 1679. His widow, who married William De Courcey, was daughter of Thomas Hawkins' widow, of Poplar Island, Talbot county, the ancestor of the late George Hawkins Williams.

It would thus appear that John Leeds Bozman had descended not only from most reputable ancestors, but also from those who exhibited evidences of mental qualities of no ordinary kind, and of a culture not commonly enjoyed by people of a new and sparsely settled country. The talents that were shown by the subject of this sketch afford additional confirmation of those doctrines of the hereditary transmission of mental qualities, which have lately acquired fresh interest from their intelligent discussion by the students of the new science of anthropology.

John Leeds Bozman, the son of John and Lucretia (Leeds) Bozman, was born at "Belleville" on the 25th of August, 1755. Of his early life little or nothing is known. His father dying, when he was but ten years of age, his education fell under the direction of his maternal grandfather. His academic instruction was obtained at the Back Creek Academy, in Somerset county, a school of high reputation in its day. At a suitable age and when he had made proper progress in his primary studies, he matriculated at the University of Pennsylvania, from which school he was graduated in 1783. It having been determined that he should make the profession of law his calling, he was sent to England and entered as a student at "Middle Temple," London, his grandfather advancing the money to his mother to defray the necessary expenses. After pursuing for a considerable time his legal studies, he returned to Maryland and Talbot, was admitted to the bar, and for many years practiced

in the various courts of the State and county. He served as Deputy Attorney General, under Luther Martin, his warm friend and associate, from the year 1789 to 1807, but it is believed he never held any other office of profit or trust. He does not appear to have acquired any great distinction as an advocate, but he was held in high esteem for the extent of his legal erudition, and for the soundness of his professional judgment. His abilities and his tastes fitted him for the calm and quiet duties of the counsellor, rather than for the stormy contests of the pleader. Some law papers of his presented to the Court of Appeals are said to be of extraordinary acumen and research. He was always glad to escape from the turmoil and disputation of the courts, to follow the tranquil pursuits of literature and science. Cut off as he was from those resources for literary culture which are enjoyed by the residents of the cities, he spent the income of a moderate fortune and professional practice in accumulating a library, which, for the day, might be called extensive. This library, bequeathed to his nephew, Mr. John Leeds Kerr, now, 1874, in the possession of his son, the Hon. John Bozman Kerr, of Washington, indicates the wide scope of his reading, embracing the best productions of all times, and not rejecting the current literature of his day. He is said to have been "respected as a man of learning by learned men." He appears to have been an accomplished classical scholar, and to have been possessed of a fair knowledge of the French language and literature. The sciences, too, claimed his attention, and of these botany seemed to possess for him the greatest interest, allied as it is to the art of agriculture, of which he in common with most gentlemen of his day, in this county, was a practitioner.

But Mr. Bozman was not content to enjoy the productions of others, without attempting to add something to the repast that is spread for the mental refreshment of all. He exercised his pen industriously. He did not disdain, as did many literary men of his day, to write for the papers; and in the *Eastern Shore Herald*, the little weekly journal that was first published in 1790, in the town of Easton, by James Cowan—the third newspaper printed within the bounds of the State—may be found many of his communications, over the signature of "Hortensius" and other pseudonyms. He was a contributor to other papers in the large cities, and particularly to the *Port Folio* of Philadelphia, founded by Joseph Dennie, a personage quite celebrated in his time, and known under the title of the "Lay Preacher." Beside these fugitive articles he wrote several pamphlets, on political, civil and social subjects. One of these, printed in 1802, and entitled "A New Arrangement of the Courts

of the State," attracted much attention to the evils and inefficiencies of the system of the judiciary established by the statute of 1790. His suggestions as to the reorganization of the courts, a subject then engaging the attention of the best jurists of the State, were regarded as valuable, and though novel, were not revolutionary. Beside Orphan's Courts, and a Criminal Court for the city of Baltimore, he advised the establishment of "Hundred Courts," "County Courts," "General Courts," and "Appeal Courts," and gave a proper definition of what should be their several jurisdictions. No pretence is here made to pass judgment upon the merits of Mr. Bozman's scheme for the reformation of the judiciary; but an extract from this *brochure* will serve to illustrate the character of the county courts, which he wished to have changed in their organization; to present some of the social phases of the time, and also to exhibit the style of the writer in his lighter moments. It will be remembered that the bench of the county district court at the period of which he is speaking, was occupied by one Chief Justice, always a lawyer, and two associates, not always of the legal profession. There is little doubt that the picture he paints in this excerpt was a portrait and not a caricature. The gentleman who, in 1802, held the seat of Chief Justice of the District to which Talbot belonged was the Hon. James Tilghman, and the associates were Sam'l Dickinson and Jacob Gibson.

To illustrate this part of our subject the author solicits the reader's indulgence in supposing for a few moments, that one of the chief justices of our district county-courts may be of the following character. Born of parents descended from the most ancient and wealthy families of the state, he was consequently nursed in the very lap of our provincial aristocracy, and educated in the aristocratic principles of our ancient provincial gentry. Thus descended and thus educated, it may naturally be supposed, that he affixes high consideration to the recommendations of wealth and birth. We will suppose him possessing numerous family connections. If any one of his near relations, illustrious both for his wealth and birth, shall be summoned to the vulgar discharge of the vulgar duties of a juror, he is released from that troublesome office and permitted to return home to the more gentlemanlike and agreeable recreations of fishing or hunting. But this judge, so highly prejudiced in favor of an aristocracy, will oftentimes most absurdly display a partiality on the side of democracy. It is true, that this partiality is not the result of affection. Like the Indian in his adoration of a *dæmon*, he worships through fear. If a powerful popular democrat comes before him to be fined either for an offence or contempt, he is discharged *sub silentio* with the slightest possible fine, or perhaps without any. If the like character happens to be a suitor in a cause, and the judgment

of the court on a point of law becomes necessary, the like subserviency is exhibited by him. But it is not with suitors and offenders merely, that his *prejudice* and *partiality* prevails. He extends them to the attorney at the bar. He dispenses justice on a system of *favoritism*. One or two in every court of his district are always listened to with the most partial attention. If any who does not bask in the sunshine of his favour, happens to be concerned on the contrary side, he is not looked at or listened to when he speaks. All his arguments, however forcible or pertinent to the subject, are treated as nothing to the purpose. He is interrupted by doubtful queries, without the slightest foundation. If he is addressing the jury, and his remarks are likely to have effect with them, he is stopped as wandering from the evidence, particularly if one of the favourites is so uncandid as to intimate a wish for it. Still consistent with those aristocratic principles inbred in his youth, his favorite attorney is most commonly his relation, and fortunately for his permanence in office these consist of both federal and anti-federal characters. While one drop of that highly rectified fluid, which flows in the veins of his family-connections, can be traced, they may boast one of the attributes of royalty,—they never can be wrong. It is proper, that the low-bred attorney, lifted from among the swinish multitude, should return to his filth and dirt, in order that the high-born lawyer may live in luxury. Thus the discerning suitor soon discovers the most successful counsel to whom he must commit his cause. He whispers to himself, this judge will not be bribed by money, I know; but what is tantamount, if I employ one of his favorites, I am sure of success. Meanwhile this righteous judge sits with looks so mild, so placid, and so gentle, that he would not hurt a fly, so he would not. And yet so deeply rooted are his prejudices in favour of wealth and birth, and so shameless and lost is he to every sentiment of delicacy on this subject, that he does all this beyond the ability of any spectator, even with microscopic assistance, to discern the slightest crimson on his cheek. Thus are those canker-worms of justice—bribery and corruption, from their detestable vermicular state, changed by an invisible transmutation into the less odious and apparently less noxious forms of partiality and prejudice. Should I be told, that such a character is a fiction, and no where exists; I say, it is immaterial to the present purpose, whether it be true or fabulous. It is sufficient, if these courts, constituted as they are, admit the existence of such a creature, especially when by an amendment such an existence may be annihilated.

But where are the associates all this while, it may be asked? Mute as alabaster busts on each side of a clock over a chimney-piece. The middle machine, it is true, tells the time, but it may tell it wrong. The silent figures, though moulded into the human face divine, are yet insensible of its errors. Under the old system of the county-courts, when the justices of the peace were the judges thereof, it has happened, that diffident and modest men have refused to qualify under a commission, because thereby they would be under the necessity of acting as judges in a court of law.

* * * * *

Placed upon a perfect equality of understanding, they had no superior among themselves, on whose judgment they might repose a greater degree of confidence than their own. But now, the associates absolutely resign themselves and their consciences to the entire disposal of the chief justice. He is the Pope among the Cardinals. His doctrines are infallible. As in the Athanasian creed of the Trinity, although there are three persons, yet they make but one judge. In short, it has always appeared extraordinary, that any man of any delicacy would accept of such a situation. But this is of trifling consideration, when compared to that of its importance to the public.

This essay, beside showing that Mr. Bozman had a very distinct appreciation of the evils of the judiciary system, then in operation, and a due comprehension of the means of remedying them, serves also to indicate that his mind was well stored with the best legal learning of the old country, and that he was a jurist in the best sense of that term.

He was a warm advocate of the colonization scheme, and he conceived that he saw in the efforts of the philanthropic society which had been formed for the transportation of the African race from America to their original seat, a solution of these two great problems—the extinction of slavery, and the destiny of the negroes on this continent—of which we in this day, by a most bloody culculus, have solved only the one, while the other remains as inscrutable as ever. In 1822 he wrote and published at Washington an essay upon this scheme of colonizing the blacks, in which while advocating the measures of the society, he took occasion to declare explicitly his belief in the natural inequality of the races and their distinctness of origin—an opinion which shocked the religious susceptibilities of many more in that day than would now be affected by a similar declaration. He also advocated the retention in a state of slavery of the negro, as long as he should remain in contact with the white man, and regarded any interference with the relation of master and slave, either by individual intermeddling, or governmental intervention, as calculated to render the condition of the negro less tolerable, the conduct of the master less kindly and considerate, and general well-being of society less secure and happy. Emancipation he argued would be followed by an internecine war of the races, which would terminate with the destruction of the weaker. Clearly Mr. Bozman upon this subject was not materially in advance of a majority of his fellow citizens, and was cherishing those illusions which he shared with the most comprehensive and benevolent minds of the time, that nothing but evil could result from a freeing of the blacks, and that the transportation of the whole race to the shores of Africa was a practicable scheme.

In truth, political science was only then advancing to that position, and political art was only then receiving that development it has since attained, in which justice is regarded as the only sure basis of public policy, and equality of rights the best security for social order. The doctrine of a higher law of morals, as dominating statutory provisions or customary regulations, had not received such confirmatory arguments as the events of the last fifty years have afforded. Nor had the suffused eye of benevolence perceived, nor does it yet seem to see, that the best assistance it can give to the weak is to afford a fair opportunity for the free exercise of their own unaided efforts. Slavery has been abolished without being followed by the evils prognosticated by Mr. Bozman, and colonization has failed, though suggested by the purest morality, advocated by the best intelligence, and sustained the most liberal beneficence. If anything can excuse him for his retrogradation from the position assumed by the first men of the nation in the latter part of the past century and the first part of the present, it would be that he wrote when the public mind was inflamed by the great contest, which terminated with the adoption of the Missouri Compromise, and he could not but feel the heats that were engendered in that fiery debate. Yet, after all, it must be said the eye of a philosopher, such as his, should not have been dazzled by the glare of great reputations, nor affected by the glamour of a psuedo-philanthropy.

The literary reputation, however, of Mr. Bozman must depend not upon his fugitive contributions to the press nor upon such *libelli*, as have just been noticed, but upon his *History of Maryland*—a work which will prove a monument to his memory, and is a most precious legacy to his fellow citizens. It remains incomplete, but it must be regarded as a torso—a finished fragment—of a greater work which he had projected. As early as 1805 a purpose had been framed in his mind to attempt the giving form and order to the chaos of our State records. After proceeding so far in the execution of this purpose as the writing of an Introduction to the *History of Maryland* and a single chapter embracing the events of three years only from its settlement in 1634, he learned that Mr. Kilty, the compiler of the *Land Holder's Assistant*, was engaged in a similar work, and knowing Mr. Kilty's superior facilities, as clerk of the Land Office, for its execution, he abandoned his scheme, and contented himself with the publication in 1811, of this Introduction, and a short sketch of the early settlement of the province. Mr. Kilty dying, while this Introduction was passing through the press, Mr. Bozman resumed his interrupted labors. He soon found however that

in order that he should perform his self allotted task satisfactorily, it would be necessary for him to visit England, and to examine the records in the Colonial and State paper offices. This journey was accordingly undertaken, and he industriously applied himself to ferreting out the long hidden records relating to Lord Baltimore's province. The fruits of these researches he brought home with him, and with the results of similar researches among the archives of the State, at Annapolis, he incorporated them into a history of inestimable value to every citizen of Maryland. It was the intention of Mr. Bozman to write the history of the Province from its earliest settlement until 1776, when it became an independent State, and one of the Confederation, but declining health prevented the full accomplishment of this purpose, and he was compelled to limit his task, by continuing his account no later than 1660, the date of the restoration of the royal authority in England and the Colonies; so that we have from him the history of Maryland from its settlement, for only twenty-six to thirty years. After the death of the historian in 1823, his manuscript was found in such a state of perfectness that his executor, and nephew, Hon. John Leeds Kerr was enabled to offer it without revision or emendation to the General Assembly of the State, for publication, which generous act was performed by him in 1834, coupled with the conditions that the work should be printed in a style worthy of its merit, creditable to the State, and with due regard to *correctness*. It was accepted upon these terms, and the Governor and council were authorized and empowered to contract for its printing. It was published in 1837, with such corrections and additions as Mr. Bozman had made to the original Introduction since its first publication in 1811. There is no purpose here to enter into any criticism of this the most important contribution to the history of the province. Its value is recognized by every student, on account of the extent of its researches, the accuracy of its statements, and the acuteness of its philosophical reflections. It is appealed to as authority, unimpeached, upon all matters relating to the settlement of the province, during the time of which it gives an account, and it is a mine from which annalists draw their most valued materials. The style is lucid, full of dignity, and without inflation or undue ornamentation. Whatever may be the labors of subsequent historians in the same fields, it must be confessed that Bozman has not simply gathered the sheaf, but gleaned the scattered straws of the provincial annals so closely as to leave but little to be collected of the early years of our State.

Though Mr. Bozman may be said to have been wedded to History,

it is to be confessed that he occasionally dallied with Poetry. He was fond in his moments of relaxation of exercising the gentle art of versifying, and there are still extant some of his effusions that evince more than a skill in making verse—a sensibility of feeling, if not the possession of the divine afflatus. But these poetical efforts, were only an amusement, never a part of his serious work. As associated with these inclinations or propensities to rhythmical expression of thought, it may be mentioned that he was possessed of musical tastes, which he cultivated in hours of relaxation when he would recreate himself from his labors with performances upon the violin and possibly other instruments. His well-worn note books are yet extant.

He was an earnest promoter of education. The Easton Academy which dates from about the year 1796, was an object of his interest and solicitude. One of the most pungent of his articles, contributed to the *Eastern Shore Herald*, was written in deprecation of the employment by the trustees of that institution of an ignorant pretender to learning and to skill in the pedagogical art, as the principal teacher, to the disregard of the merits of so ripe a scholar and so capable a preceptor as the Rev. Doctor Bowie.

Reared up in the faith and practices of the Church of England, Mr. Bozman became a nominal adherent of its successor, the Protestant Episcopal Church in America. It does not appear that he was a man of strong religious convictions or warm religious sentiment. Indeed there are traditions that he had imbibed some of the views of the French deists of the past century. But it is so usual to attribute an impious and defiant scepticism to those who cannot accept the prevalent belief—so common to charge even with atheism those who only reject the superstitions of the day, that it is not wonderful Mr. Bozman was accused of the one and the other; for his was of that order of mind that takes its complexion not from its immediate environments, but from the light of an always dawning philosophy. Being taught in early life to regard the Church as a part of the organization of the State, he seems never to have dissociated religion and politics in his own mind. And yet he was not without a share of that kind of illiberality which is most commonly felt by persons possessing a warm attachment for, and an earnest belief in some religious faith. His antipathies to the Puritans, both in England and America, he takes no pains to conceal, and in his history the conduct of those of them who made Virginia and Maryland their home, and who acted in those provinces so conspicuous a part during the very period of which he writes, received his severe condemnation. His

injustice to Claiborne, who held a Puritan commission, may possibly be traced as much to his prejudices against this people, as to his conviction of the baseless foundation of his claims to priority of settlement. It is likely, therefore, his prejudices against the Puritans were of political rather than religious origin. Towards the Roman Catholics he manifested the utmost liberality, and accords to them freely the credit of establishing religious toleration in the infant province,—a credit to which the more recent researches and investigations of others seem to show they are not justly or at least not wholly entitled.

In politics he was a Federalist of the school of Washington, Hamilton, and Adams. He ably supported with his pen the administrations of the first two Presidents, while the democracy of Jefferson was the object of his alternate vituperation and ridicule. A Government by an aristocracy, that is, by the best, is the dream of the philosophic statesman in every age—a dream he never ceases to believe will at some time be realized. He was essentially an aristocrat in his opinions and feelings, and witnessed with no composure the spread of sentiments which he deemed to be those of agrarianism, and the elevation to power of people whom he thought only fit to be governed by their superiors in character and intelligence; and yet no one could despise more heartily that bastard aristocracy, of which he saw so much in his native country, which

Folded in
The ragged purple of its Ancestors,

aped a dignity and a merit to which it could lay no just claim. He is said to have written an essay entitled a "History and Philosophical Sketch of the Prime Causes of the Revolutionary War," in which Washington was lauded and Franklin anything else than praised. This essay was suppressed,—for what reason is not apparent, probably because of the severity of his animadversions upon the essential democracy of the Quaker, and his too warm commendations of the essential aristocracy of the Virginia planter. Those who have seen this production say that Bozman even denied to Franklin the credit which has been accorded to him for his scientific discoveries. It is not believed that Mr. Bozman ever aspired to any political place.

Of the personal habits of Mr. Bozman it may be said in general they were those of the student rather than those of a man of society or of affairs. He was reserved in his manners, except when in intercourse with intimate friends; when he loved to unbend from his dignity and relax from his silence. He had an air of hauteur which is common with

those whose communion is with the best minds of all ages through their books, and who, as a consequence, cannot tolerate the ignorance, the frivolity and vulgarity of ordinary men. If he had felt a desire for society he would have been debarred from it by the seclusion and remoteness of his home as "Belleville." Never having married he was deprived of the pleasing companionship of wife and children, to none more necessary than to the man of letters. In his library and with his pen he found the best compensation, if anything can compensate, for freedom of intercourse with his fellow men and for the endearments of wedded life. He is represented by those who remember him as melancholy in his disposition, but not morose; very sensitive, but not misanthropical. His treatment of his dependents was kind and indulgent. Indeed such was his leniency towards his slaves that at one time he was suspected, by those of his neighbors who were unable or unwilling to imitate his mildness and kindness, of favoring the views of the emancipationists, and this suspicion was not effaced until after the publication of his essay upon the colonization scheme. In personal appearance he was large and well proportioned, with light hair and prominent eyes, which last was the expressive and characteristic feature of his face.

For some years previous to his death his health was but poor, which interrupted his literary labors. He died on Sunday evening the 20th April, 1823, and was buried at "Belleville," where his remains still lie in an undistinguished grave, unmarked by epitaph or monumental stone; and yet he is more secure of lasting memory than if over his dust there arose a stately obelisk, or than if in some grand cathedral there were erected a sculptured cenotaph that should couple his name with praise.

HON. JOHN LEEDS KERR

1780-1844

Si quareretur, quisnam jurisconsultus vere nominaretur, eum dicere, qui legum et consuetudinis ejus, qua privati in civitate uterentur, et ad respondendum, et ad agendum et ad cavendum peritus est.

Jan'y 27, 1880.

—CICERO, *De Oratore*.

The family to which the subject of this memoir belongs traces its origin to a Scottish ancestry. Mr. David Kerr, the founder of this family in America, and the father of Mr. John Leeds Kerr, emigrated from Gallaway, Scotland, at a very early age and settled in the year 1768 as a merchant at Fredericksburg, Virginia. Here he remained

until 1773 when he removed to Anne Arundel county, Maryland, and established himself as a tobacco planter at Greenbury's Point, on the Chesapeake bay, at the mouth of Annapolis roads. He continued to reside upon this estate until a few years after the Revolutionary war, and then removed to Talbot county, upon the Eastern Shore, where he had married his second wife. In 1789 he embarked in a successful mercantile business in the town of Easton, having for his copartners Messrs. Robert Lloyd Nicols and Thomas Chamberlaine. His Scottish thrift and diligence were attended by the usual reward of competence and wealth, so that he was enabled not only to live in great comfort, but to settle his children respectably in life, after having given them the advantages of a liberal education and refined associations. Soon after coming to Talbot he enlisted actively in politics. His intelligence and integrity of life won for him the esteem and confidence of his fellow citizens, so that he was elected a delegate to the General Assembly of Maryland for seven successive years, namely, from 1788 to 1794, and again in 1797. After the parties had assumed form, he became identified with the Federalists. In 1789 he was commissioned one of the Justices of the Peace for Talbot county, and after the change in the judiciary, by the law of 1790, he was appointed by the Governor, in 1801, one of the associate or puisne judges for the county, an office which by reason of a political change in the State administration he held for one year only. In 1802 he was appointed a Judge of the Orphan's Court, a place which he held for an equally short term. He was a member of the Church of England, and after its organization of the Protestant Episcopal Church. He was for years a vestryman of St. Peter's Parish, and a lay delegate to the Convention. Mr. David Kerr was twice married; first, to a Mrs. Hamutel Bishop, née Hammond, daughter of Charles Hammond, Esq., for some years Treasurer of the Western Shore, of Annapolis, who died early, leaving no children; and secondly, to Miss Rachel Leeds Bozman, of Talbot county, the mother of his children. This lady was the daughter of John Bozman, Esq., of Belleville, Oxford Neck, and sister of John Leeds Bozman, Esq., the historian of the earlier years of the Province of Maryland. She was also the granddaughter of John Leeds, Esq., of Wade's Point, Bay Side, the "astronomer and mathematician." He was one of the Commissioners of the Lord Proprietary to supervise the work of the survey of Mason and Dixon upon the boundary line between Pennsylvania and Maryland. Gov. Sharpe, under whose administration the line of Mason and Dixon was run, said of him:

There is no person in all the colonies who could be found Mr. Leed's superior in the higher branches of the mathematics.

He occupied many civil positions under the provincial government, and was the clerk of Talbot county court from 1738 until the outbreak of the Revolution, an office he was constrained to resign on account of his adherence to the crown, being a loyalist. He was born in this county in 1705 and here he died in 1790. By his second wife several children were born to Mr. David Kerr, of whom John Leeds, the subject of this memoir, was the eldest son, and David the younger. The last named appears from tributes that were paid to his memory, to have possessed many amiable traits of character, and to have given promise of distinction and usefulness; but he died early in life only a few months before his father who passed away November 2nd, 1814, at a very advanced age, universally esteemed for his eminent good sense and sterling integrity.¹

John Leeds, the eldest son of David Kerr and Rachel Leeds Bozman, was born at Greenbury's Point, Anne Arundel county, Maryland, January 15th, 1780. A party of gentlemen walked across the Chesapeake bay on the ice from Annapolis to Wade's Point plantation on Eastern bay in Talbot County to inform the Hon. John Leeds of the birth of his great grandson and namesake. His earliest years were, therefore, spent in that county, but the remainder of his life belonged to Talbot. Of his primary education, until he was ten years of age nothing is known, but in 1790 he was placed under the care of the Rev. John Bowie, who at that date had become rector of Saint Michaels Parish, and had established a school of a high order at Oak Hill, near Easton, but which was subsequently removed to Fausby Wood,² not remote from the same town. There is yet in existence a letter from the Rev. Dr. Bowie to the father of young Leeds Kerr, in which he speaks of him as "the most promising of his pupils." The school of Dr. Bowie fell under the care of Mr. Chandler, of the University of Cambridge, England, and then under that of the Rev. Owen Fitzgerald McGrath,

¹ A portrait of Mr. David Kerr, Sr., is in the possession of Ex. Gov. Philip Francis Thomas, who married his grand-daughter.

² Dr. Bowie was rector of St. Peter's parish, in 1780, and then he had a school near Easton. He removed from the county in 1785, but returned in 1790 as Rector of St. Michaels Parish, succeeding the Rev. John Gordon, deceased. He re-established his school. The authority for the statement that the school was at Oak Hill and then at Fausby Wood, is the MS. history of the Parishes by Dr. Ethan Allen, recently dead.

of the Dublin University. Young Kerr was removed from the tuition of these capable teachers to matriculate at St. John's College, Annapolis, or perhaps he followed Mr. McGrath to that institution, in which this gentleman was made professor of ancient languages in 1795. This school was then enjoying a high repute in the State, and had for its pupils those who became distinguished in the various departments of civil life. Mr. Kerr was graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1797. It does not appear that the higher degree of Master was ever sought.

Returning to his home in Talbot he entered upon the study of that profession for which his education had prepared him, to which his father had destined him, and in which his native talents and his acquirements subsequently distinguished him. His course of law was directed by his uncle, Mr. John Leeds Bozman, under whose immediate care he was placed, and by whom he was virtually adopted. While pursuing his professional studies, he was appointed in 1800, by Mr. James Price, Deputy Register of Wills, and thus he acquired a practical acquaintance, under a most competent master, of testamentary law. In the year 1801 he was admitted to the bar of Talbot county, of which he became an ornament, and to which it may be said without exaggeration, he gave distinction. Possessing the patronage of his eminent relative, enjoying the favor of a large, wealthy and influential circle of friends and connections and, finally, aided by the reputation for abilities and acquirements, which as usual had far outstripped the evidence of their possession but which was ultimately overtaken and surpassed by his actual accomplishments, he speedily acquired legal business, and during the remainder of his life the leadership at the bar of this county was freely, as it was justly, accorded to him. The limited sphere within which he was called to act, prevented his devoting himself to any particular department of the law. He was a general practitioner. He was a safe counsellor, and an earnest advocate. Extensive learning and a sound judgment made him the one; and an impulsive and sympathetic nature made him the other. In the year 1806 he was appointed Deputy State's Attorney for Talbot county by the Hon. John Johnson, Attorney General for the State. In this place he succeeded his kinsman John Leeds Bozman, Esq. In this capacity he served during 1809-10, and was succeeded in 1811 by John Seney, Esq., son of the Hon. Joshua Seney, John Montgomery, Esq., being then Attorney General. Again in 1831 he was appointed to the same place, Josiah Bailey, Esq., being Attorney General. This office he resigned upon taking his seat in Congress,

to which he was this year elected. It is very safe to say, in the absence of any testimony, that the discharge of the functions of this position was marked by the same traits that distinguished his performance of every official duty, fidelity and ability.

In the year 1813 a military episode interrupted the current of his life. He was called upon to exhibit his patriotism and courage by marching at the head of his company of uniformed volunteer militia to St. Michaels, in his own county, to repel an attack of the British upon that town. Capt. Kerr, although a Federalist, and therefore opposed to those measures of the general government that had resulted in war with Great Britain, and although he held at the date the rank of Inspector of the troops, which would have exempted him from active military duty, promptly offered himself and his command to General Perry Benson for immediate service. The result of the affair at St. Michaels need not here be related. It is customary to ridicule it for no other reason, apparently, than that it was bloodless upon the part of the Maryland troops and harmless to the town and people; but before its occurrence and during its progress it was viewed with solicitude both by the defenders and the defended. The feelings of Capt. Kerr, any other than those of timidity, but equally far from bravado, were expressed in a letter still in existence addressed to his uncle, Mr. John Leeds Bozman, on the eve of his marching to St. Michaels, commending to his care his wife, whom he had but recently married, and her infant child in case of calamity to himself. This conduct of Mr. Kerr, and other Federalists under like circumstances, of promptly marching to the point of danger to meet the enemy, effectually silenced those calumniators who accused men who condemned the war of lacking a proper love of country.

Unlike most young lawyers in the rural districts, Mr. Kerr, in the earlier years of his professional career, gave small attention to politics farther than to study the principles of government and to observe the conduct of parties. He imbibed from his father and his uncle the political opinions of the Federalists, and with them or their lineal successors he continued to act through his life. In the year 1816 Mr. Kerr was for the first time a candidate for political position. He was put forward by his party for a seat in the college of electors whose duty it was to select the State Senators. Talbot being entitled to two electors, Mr. Kerr had Mr. Allen Bowie as his associated candidate: with Mr. Solomon Dickinson and Mr. John Bennett as their opponents upon the Democratic ticket. Mr. Kerr and Mr. Bowie were successful in the

canvass. It may be well enough to say that among the Senators chosen for the Eastern Shore at this time was Mr. Henry Hollyday, of Ratcliffe, in this county, father of the Hon. Richard C. Hollyday, the present Secretary of State. Mr. Kerr was subsequently reproached during one of his political campaigns, when Federalism had become even more unpopular than then, for having voted for so "high toned" a Federalist as Mr. Hollyday—a reproach which he cared little to remove.

During the late war with Great Britain the State of Maryland had expended very considerable sums of money, which she claimed should be reimbursed by the United States. Difficulties had arisen in the adjustment and settlement of these claims. In the year 1817 it was resolved by the General Assembly that an agent be appointed "to liquidate and settle with the General Government the necessary expenditures incurred by this State in providing for the common defense during the late war." Mr. Kerr was appointed by the Governor to this responsible trust. After negotiations protracted through several years with Mr. John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, he succeeded in adjusting these claims, collecting and promptly paying over to the Treasurer of Maryland large sums of money. In the year 1821 he made his report to the House of Delegates, and asked compensation for his labor in effecting the settlement. The committee to whom his memorial was referred in its report thus speaks of the character and value of his services:

Your committee are fully satisfied that the statements contained in the memorial of the Agent present a just and true representation of the intrinsic difficulties, both as to the principles and detail of his negotiation and adjustment of the State's claim, but by no means an adequate view of his anxious, expensive and responsible services, nor of his private sacrifices necessarily incurred, by the devotion of so much of his time and attention to this public concern during the last four years. * * * When the committee * * brought unto their mature consideration the importance and the responsibility of the trust reposed in him, in being charged with the prosecution of a doubtful claim, actually deemed hopeless by a large portion of the citizens of the State; the whole course and proceedings of the Agent in the management of the business confided to him; the real difficulties and obstacles which have been obviated and removed by his exertions and representations of the peculiar nature of the case; the actual personal expenses which must have been necessarily incurred by him in pursuing the business of his agency abroad, and the successful event of his actual payment into the treasury of so large a portion of the claim as \$273,710.21, they cannot hesitate to report their opinion that the Agent has a just claim upon the State, for a liberal reward of his services.

After the very free expression of the favorable opinions of other members, the House declared by vote its appreciation of "the zeal, ability and success of the Agent." The amount of compensation however, caused much discussion, in which one of the members from Talbot, Mr. Samuel Stevens, Jr., participated, favoring the smallest pay, and undervaluing the services rendered. The remarks of Mr. Stevens only served to afford Mr. Kerr's friends, particularly Mr. Lecompte, of Dorchester, the opportunity of presenting in bolder relief the character and worth of his services. The question was finally determined by voting to Mr. Kerr a commission of one and three-quarter per centum on all moneys that had been collected through his agency. Viewing the whole matter at this distance of time there can be but one opinion that Mr. Kerr performed the task assigned to him with most commendable skill, and that his compensation was anything but excessive.

Up to about this time Mr. Kerr had never been an active politician, though a man of decided views upon political questions. He had been content with the distinction which was given him by a successful practice of his profession, and the emoluments of office were not then such as to invite him to abandon a lucrative business at the bar. If he had political aspirations they were curbed by the consciousness that the opinions he had espoused, or rather which he had inherited, were not the opinions which had the popular favor. He was born a Federalist and nurtured in the school of Federalism by his distinguished uncle, Mr. Bozman. The principles of that party he never abandoned, even after that party had become extinct and its very name a term of reproach. At last, however, he seems to have caught the infection which to country gentlemen seems inevitable, of political ambition. In the year 1824 at the time when there was a complete disorganization of the old parties and when men had not arranged themselves anew, Mr Kerr was impelled to offer himself as candidate for Congress for the 7th District, composed of Queen Anne's, Talbot and Caroline counties, to succeed Mr. William Hayward. He had for his competitor Col. Thomas Emory of Queen Anne's. Mr. Kerr declared himself "a candidate independent of all party views," and therefore solicited the votes of both Democrats and Federalists. This year was the year of the Presidential election when there were four candidates in the field, and as Mr. Will. H. Crawford was the nominee of the "Congressional Caucus," the electors in Talbot were divided as far as there was definite division into Caucus and Anti-Caucus parties, the favorite candidate of the latter being Mr. John Quincy Adams. If Mr. Kerr favored the election of either of

these gentlemen, it was the latter. He opened the campaign in a speech at Easton on the 14th of September, and followed it up with addresses to the people throughout the district. At the same meetings, the two congressional candidates frequently spoke. But these oratorical appeals were supplemented by newspaper addresses and handbills which afford curious reading to the local antiquary, as showing with what trifles a spirited campaign could be fought. It is difficult to determine how or upon what these two respectable gentlemen, the candidates, differed. One feature of the campaign is an prominent as it is admirable—the perfect courtesy with which the opponents spoke of each other. The result of the canvass was the election of Mr. Kerr by the handsome majority of 494 in his own county, which was somewhat reduced in the whole district. It may not be amiss to say that at the presidential election in the same year, Mr. Daniel Martin, the anti-caucus, or Adams elector received a majority over Mr. James Sangston, of Caroline, the caucus, or Crawford elector, in this county, but Mr. Sangston was chosen in the district at large. There was practically no Jackson elector, Mr. Daniel S. Haddaway, named for that functionary, having withdrawn. The vote for the President being thrown into the House of Representatives, as is known to all, Mr. William Hayward, then the representative from this District, cast his vote for Mr. Crawford. Again Mr. Kerr offered himself as a candidate for Congress in 1826 having Mr. Philemon B. Hopper, of Queen Anne's, as his competitor. Again he took an independent position, receiving the votes of both the Democrats and Federalists. At this date, however, the new lines of the parties began to be distinguishable, the election of Mr. Adams by the House of Representatives and the defeat of General Jackson before the same body being the occasion of the drawing of such lines. An independent position is apt to be regarded among party men as an equivocal one. There is always a suspicion of the sincerity of one who attempts to occupy such a relation to opposing bodies. Mr. Kerr did not escape the penalty which partisans inflict upon one who attempts to placate old foes while he aims to retain old friends. He was accused of vacillating and hedging—terms which most are too ready to apply to public men when their relations to no one measure before the people suffice to indicate their party preferences, and when intelligent men differ who once agreed, and agree who formerly differed. That Mr. Kerr should have been accused by the Federalists of having turned Democrat, and by Democrats of never having abandoned his "high toned" Federalism, is very conclusive evidence at this day that neither was correct, and

that he maintained his position of independence with great tact and doubtless with perfect integrity of mind. In truth while retaining all his old party attachments which in his case, as in many others, was founded more upon mere sentiment and long association than upon deliberate conviction of principles, he had lost much of his old party hostility which had no firmer basis, it may be, than the feeling or the habit of antagonism. He had discovered that the old Federalists had not always been in the right and the old Democrats not always in the wrong. It must be remembered that the times now referred to were a period of calmness of the political passions and of coolness of the political judgment. It was the famous "era of good feeling," though it was near the close of that era when as yet no one saw how near was the time when those passions were to glow with new and even unwonted intensity, and when that judgment was to be shrouded by intense partisan prejudice. Thus in the absence of any great question of public policy to divide the candidates, they sought to gain advantage one of the other by discussing matters almost personal. Even the subject of religion was dragged in, and as the opponents were representatives of the two prevailing denominations, attempts were made to secure support for one or the other by appeals to religious prejudices. Mr. Kerr was no zealot though a member of the Protestant Episcopal church, which was thought to embrace most of the so-called aristocracy of this county and district. Mr. Hopper was a very earnest Methodist and fancied that the older church looked rather superciliously upon the younger. Mr. Hopper in a public speech intimated that Mr. Kerr had made his Methodism "an objection to him." Mr. Kerr deftly parried this charge by saying that if he had made any such intimations, which he had not, he would have been acting a very foolish part to arouse any religious prejudices in a community where the Methodists were in the majority, but that Mr. Hopper had shown himself the very *adroit* politician by exciting the impression that he, Mr. Kerr, had shown his illiberality towards these people by objecting to the religious profession of his opponent. This introduction of denominational differences was the survival of a custom prevalent in the early part of the century when the lines of the two churches in this county were very nearly coincident with those of the two parties. It may be very well to note, too, that the Socinian opinions of Mr. Adams were in 1824, and again in 1828, made the ground of objection to his election to the presidency. These petty disputes between these notabilities would not be worth their recording but that they serve to characterize the local politics of the day. Perhaps their

omission would be better than the illusion, harmless or wholesome, might not be dispelled of the lofty dignity of our predecessors, and of the weightiness of those questions which exercised their powerful minds, or agitated their capacious breasts. The result of the campaign of 1826 was favorable to Mr. Kerr, he receiving a majority in the district over his opponent of 210 votes.

By an Act of Assembly of the session of 1826, a change was made in the time for holding elections of members of Congress, so that the next election for this purpose after the passage of the Act took place in October, 1829, on the first Monday of that month. In this year Mr. Kerr was again a candidate. During the time that he had served in Congress the new parties had become defined. He had given a cordial support to the administration under Mr. Adams, but his course had not been that of a strict partisan. The fact that in casting his votes in Congress he had sometimes acted with the opposition, gave umbrage to many who thought it was his duty to act otherwise than in this independent manner. At a convention held at Hillsborough, in Caroline county for the naming of a candidate for Congress from the 7th District, by the Anti-Jackson party, Mr. Robt. Henry Goldsborough was selected.³ This gentleman thought it his duty to decline the nomination, on the grounds that the convention was not properly organized and did not represent the whole district, Talbot in fact having no delegates present and Caroline being only partially represented. But anterior to the assembling of this convention, namely in June, Mr. Kerr had published a brief address, offering himself a third time as a candidate for Congress, and soliciting the suffrages of members of all parties. In this address there is no announcement of the relation he held to the then existing administration, although it was known to Mr. Kerr's friends that he was of the opposition. This silence was used by his antagonists who were not confined to the Jackson party to his detriment. One of his former most intimate friend and co-partisans was the most severe in his condemnation of his alleged neutrality, and this led to an estrangement which was never healed. In a long address to the electors of the district published in the newspapers of the county and in handbill, he defended himself with great ability from the charges of a want of frankness in the avowal of his political relations to the two parties which at this date were marshalled in full array, and a want of consistency in his

³ The Jackson Convention had met in Hillsborough on the 10th Sept., and had resolved to make no nomination.

conduct while in Congress. The following extract from this address will serve to define his position, and display his motives of action.

I am not called on to vindicate myself against specific charges of improper votes: it seems that my general sentiments and conduct in relation to the late struggle for the Presidency [between Jackson and Adams, in 1828] are called in question, and I am represented as a man who expresses no opinion with decision, nor gives support to that which he professes, as becomes one in the responsible public station which I had lately the honor to hold at your hands; nay it has been in effect insinuated by some that my opinions could never be ascertained; and that in Congress and elsewhere they have been cautiously concealed. * * * At the earliest period of the first contest [in 1824] which resulted in the election of the late President Adams, when but few of those in this district who have since so warmly advocated his election, had ventured forth in his support, my preference for him *solely* on the score of eminent talents and appropriate knowledge and learning was openly expressed; and at all subsequent periods, and in every competition, the same opinion was unreservedly maintained. * * * In the late contest, my opinion remained the same; and although from the cross purposes of politicians—to say no worse of the movements of some Adams' partisans towards me—I had such motives and cue to *change*, as might have had a tendency to seduce an unsteady or selfish politician, my real opinion was freely given to every man of every party, with whom I conversed upon the subject. So far from preserving a politic silence, not only on the approach of the crisis of election, but long before, I felt it to be a duty I owed to myself, on so great a public question to express my unequivocal opinion, and this too I sedulously communicated to those leading advocates of the present Chief Magistrate, who had liberally supported me in my own election. Still my determination had been early formed, and had irrevocably fixed not to enter the lists as a partisan or leader,—if I could have so aspired—on the *public stand*: and this is

“The very head and front of my offending.”

* * * I had been chosen by the people as their Representative in Congress, * * * and I did consider it derogatory of the station of direct responsibility which I held to them, should I exhibit myself, during my term of actual service, in the character of a violent and subservient partisan electioneering for any candidate for the Presidency. * * * He who takes upon himself the sacred duty of representing the People ought to hold himself free from all influence, and all entangling party connections with either the incumbent in the executive chair, or any other candidate for that high office, who may be able to hold such a mighty struggle for it as that which lately convulsed the nation. The immediate representatives of the people are the proper checks to the encroachments or unpatriotic measures of the executive department, and that kind of zealous warfare in which a *thorough-going* partisan

must necessarily engage, is but ill calculated to preserve the independence of his mind in any subsequent judgment upon the measures of his favorite. * * * To my associates in the House of Representatives I think I may safely appeal as to the fearless independence of my votes upon every question.

Mr. Kerr proceeds to say that he voted against Gen'l Jackson, and that the earliest measures of his administration had not met with his approval; but

should it be expected of me by any man, at this stage of the new administration to enlist myself under the banner of an indiscriminate opposition—right or wrong—to him I say that I cannot adopt such a course * * but in the fullness and sincerity of truth I pledge myself, in case I am honored with a seat in Congress, that * * I will give a fair and just support to every measure of this administration I may think right and will oppose every one I disapprove.

There are few persons at the present who would not, after reading this able paper, be willing to concede that he had made a satisfactory defense of his course: but it was not satisfactory to many men of his day who in the midst of the heat of political contests of that time, and they were never warmer, demanded that every one who aspired to official position should enroll himself in one or other of the opposing parties—should be either Greek or Trojan. Mr. Kerr's conception of the duties of a Representative were lofty—so lofty, perhaps, as to be above the appreciation of the larger part of those upon whom he depended for support. Those who are acquainted with the history of parties in this country know that the election of Jackson inaugurated a new era in political morals as well as in political methods, when sentiments which once might have been received with applause, were looked upon as the conceits of idealists and unbecoming the practical statesman.

It was thought Mr. Kerr would have no competitor, as a convention of the Jackson party had adjourned without making a nomination. But a few weeks before the day of election, Mr. Richard Spencer, a gentleman of most respectable character and abilities and a native citizen of Talbot county, announced his intention to contest the campaign with Mr. Kerr. Mr. Kerr treated the candidacy of Mr. Spencer cavalierly, but he evidently misconceived the strength of his opponent, as regards his capacity, popularity, or political following, as was proven by the result of the canvass. Though the district was conceded to be strongly Federal, or National Republican, as the opposition claimed to be called, yet Mr. Spencer, the Jackson candidate, was successful in his

election over Mr. Kerr by the small majority of six votes. Mr. Kerr attributed his defeat, and probably with justice, to the disaffection of the friends of Mr. Robert H. Goldsborough.

Again in 1831 he was a candidate for Congress having been regularly nominated by a convention of delegates at Hillsborough, representing the National Republican or Anti-Jackson party. In this convention Mr. Robt. H. Goldsborough competed with him for the nomination. Mr. Kerr's friends contended that Mr. Goldsborough retained too much of his old Federalism to be an available candidate for the new party, composed largely of seceding Democrats, while Mr. Goldsborough's friends insisted that Mr. Kerr was not sufficiently pronounced in his opposition to the executive to represent the same party whose strongest sentiment was its Anti-Jacksonism. The defeat of Mr. Goldsborough in this convention gave rise to an angry controversy conducted through the papers, but as the details of this would serve no good end it need not be further noticed. Mr. Kerr had for his Democratic competitor, his former opponent, Mr. Richard Spencer. He had to encounter the old charges which he repelled in the same manner as has heretofore been related. Now, however, Mr. Kerr's anti-Jacksonism was more distinctly announced, as Jacksonism had become more distinctly displayed. Indeed, that great wave of political sentiment which was pouring over the country, the final ebbing of which we have hardly yet seen, was then at its flood. Mr. Kerr had to encounter this wave, and besides had to withstand the concealed undertow of opposition in his own party. He, however, was successful, beating Mr. Spencer by the small majority of eighteen votes, with his own county voting against him.

In 1833 Mr. Kerr did not stand for Congress. The National Republican, or Anti-Jackson Convention, after first nominating Mr. Robt. H. Goldsborough who declined serving, named Mr. Daniel C. Hopper, of Queen Anne's. This gentleman, however, was defeated by Mr. Richard B. Carmishael of the same county. A change of the Congressional district by the addition of Kent and Cecil had destroyed the supremacy of the opponents of the administration.

After the expiration of his term in Congress, Mr. Kerr returned to his practice at Easton, yet taking an earnest interest in the politics of the day which were of as an absorbing a nature during the incumbency of Gen. Jackson as at any other period in our history. But he was a candidate for no office, though identified with the Whig party after it had been organized under the leadership of Mr. Clay, of whom he was the warm personal as well as political friend. On the occasion in 1836

of the refusal of nineteen of the electors of the state electoral college to unite in the election of senators, when there were apprehensions of revolutionary violence, Mr. Kerr in offering a series of resolutions addressed a meeting of the citizens of Talbot, in condemnation of the course of the recusant electors; and in compliance with the sixth of these resolutions he was made one of a committee of vigilance and correspondence "for obtaining and communicating timely information to the people of the actual state of public affairs and to hold correspondence with their fellow citizens in other counties." In 1839 he was one of the delegates to the great national convention that assembled at Harrisburg and nominated Gen. Harrison as the candidate of the Whigs for the presidency, and in the extraordinary campaign which followed he took an active and prominent part. He, however, had been sent to the convention as the friend of Mr. Clay, whose nomination he favored until it was seen to be hopeless. He rendered loyal service to the candidate of the party, though not esteeming him the most fitting man for the position. He was selected as one of the presidential electors for the state at large, and as such aided in securing the vote of Maryland for General Harrison. The opportunity which this canvass afforded to him of exhibiting those abilities which had never had their due recognition, secured the notice of the leaders of the party in this State which led to his being chosen (Dec. 31st, 1840) by the legislature to fill the vacancy in the United States Senate, caused by the death of the Hon. John S. Spence. He immediately took his seat in this august body and he continued to fill it with like honor to himself and his State, until the expiration of the term for which he had been elected, March 4th, 1843. He was succeeded by the Hon. James Alfred Pearce, of Kent, who not less worthily represented Maryland in this our highest national council.

From this recital, which needs apology for its length, it will have been seen that Mr. Kerr served three full terms in the House and part of a term in the Senate: that is to say he was a member of the XIXth, XXth, XXIIInd, and XXVIIth Congresses. He took his seat in Dec. 1825 at the first session after the seating of President Adams whose election, as he himself says, he was among the first in his county and State to advocate, before more violent partisans had determined to support one who from having been a Federalist, had long acted with the Democrats. He entered the public service when the old parties that had divided the country were either dead or moribund, and when the discord, confusion and tumult attendant upon the formation of new

ones, were at their height. It was his misfortune to experience the jealousies, the suspicions, the misrepresentations and recriminations that arise in all periods of revolution, most so in the pacific revolutions of party, and that follow those, especially, who would avoid the extremes of either side. The administration of Mr. Adams had a generous but not a servile supporter in Mr. Kerr. His relations to the executive branch of the government were those of friendliness but also of entire independence, as was shown by his votes which were cast sometimes with those of its friends, and at other times with those of its opponents. There were really no great questions of national policy upon which parties could divide. The question of the succession to the Presidency was the one that absorbed the most attention. On this his opinions were pronounced—decidedly in opposition to Gen. Jackson, whom he did not consider fitted for the chief magistracy either by political experience or by personal character. After the election of this great military and party leader, and parties acquired defined limits, Mr. Kerr was found in the opposition. The part taken by him in the proceedings of the House was not a conspicuous nor was it an obscure one. He was neither obtrusive nor retiring. Leaving the debates to be conducted chiefly by the great orators and parliamentarians, of whom the two houses during his time contained a larger number than have appeared in that arena before or since, he contented himself with the performance of the less prominent duties of legislator and only occasionally claimed the floor and occupied the attention of the houses. His first, or maiden speech, was made Jan. 24, 1826, upon a resolution to amend the judicial system of the country, with a view to extend the system into sections inadequately served. This was a subject in the treatment of which his professional knowledge and experience stood him in good stead. He had the satisfaction of seeing the bill become a law. He again addressed the House Feb. 7, 1826, upon the occasion of his presenting a Resolution of the Legislature of Maryland, on the subject of establishing a naval school. Mr. Kerr said:

the purpose of the Resolution is to present to the consideration of Congress the propriety of fixing the site of such a school at Annapolis.

He then supported the claims of Annapolis by referring to the beauty and healthfulness of the situation, and its proximity to the seat of government. Whether anything he may have said determined the selection of the site, it is impossible to say, but similar arguments resulted, as all know, in the locating the school, some years later, at the

place suggested. It would seem that for the remainder of this term and for the succeeding, the part taken by Mr. Kerr in the debates was small. He, however, served on one of the most important of the standing committees, that of "Rules and Order." But in the XXIIInd Congress he took a more prominent part. He was made chairman of the Committee on Territories, and as such in June, 1832, delivered an extended speech in favor of the establishment of the territory of Wisconsin. Previously, in January, he had spoken upon the new apportionment bill, favoring a large house of Representatives, and small congressional districts, as a protection against the control of cliques, coteries and caucuses. In February of the same year he advocated with fervor the bill appropriating money to the widow of Com. Decatur, and the officers and the crew of the "Intrepid," in consideration of the gallant feat of destroying the ship Philadelphia in the harbor of Tripoli, after she had been captured while aground by the Barbary pirates, in 1803. He gained most credit, however, for two extended speeches which he made in April and May, 1832, upon a question of "Privilege," occasioned by the violent assault of Mr. Samuel Houston, then notorious but afterwards famous, upon Mr. Stanberry, a member of Congress, for words used by this gentleman in debate, reflecting upon the integrity of Mr. Houston. This discussion excited great interest throughout the country at the time, and occupied the House for many days. Mr. Kerr took the high ground that no member of the House should be held accountable for what was said on the floor, except to the House itself, and insisted that Mr. Houston, not then a member, should be punished for his violation of this privilege. After an exciting debate, Mr. Houston was called to the bar of the House and censured by the Speaker, a most inadequate punishment for an act of great atrocity. In the speeches made by Mr. Kerr on this occasion he showed a very intimate acquaintance with the rules, orders and precedents of legislative assemblies: his previous service upon a committee of the House, whose duties related to this subject, having enabled him to perfect himself in a knowledge of parliamentary law and practice. On the great questions of the customs, of finance, and of internal improvements, which arose before the conclusion of Mr. Kerr's third term, he appears not to have spoken, but he was known to have favored the American system of protective duties, the recharter of the United States Bank, and the appropriation of the public funds to the construction of ways of inter-State commerce. Although a strenuous opponent of Gen. Jackson in most of the measures of his administration, he gave a hearty approval to his

celebrated proclamation against those deluded persons who under the leadership of Mr. Calhoun were attempting the nullification of the laws in the State of North Carolina. Entering the Senate in 1841 as a pronounced Clay Whig, he gave the measures of that party the weight of his votes and his advocacy. When Mr. Kerr entered the Senate, the administration of Mr. Van Buren was drawing to a close. He participated in the hopeful exultation of the Whigs upon their entry into power, and he also shared with them the chagrin and indignation which followed the desertion by Mr. Tyler of the party that had elected him to the vice-presidency and secured his elevation to the presidency of the nation. During his term of service he continued to follow the leadership of Mr. Clay whose political wisdom he never misdoubted, and from whose fascinations he never escaped. He favored with his voice and vote these leading measures of his party, the chartering of a national bank, the establishment of a protective tariff, and the formation of a general bankrupt law. But soon after taking his seat in the Senate his health began to fail, so that he was unable to assume as prominent part in the debates as his abilities justified his taking; but his position, though not conspicuous, was eminently respectable, and his voice when heard did not fall upon inattentive ears. In a eulogium pronounced after his death it was said without any exaggeration of praise, "He was but among his equals when in the highest legislative body of the nation." There is authority for saying that Mr. Kerr could have been re-elected to the Senate, as his party was in the ascendancy in the legislature, but he declined the honor and as before stated Mr. James Alfred Pearce was chosen his successor.

A space has been given in this memoir of Mr. Kerr to his career as a public man out of proportion to the time and attention bestowed upon him on politics. He, in truth, was not adapted by tastes, character, manners or ability for the work of the partisan. Perhaps he was not qualified to be a great statesman: certainly his pride would not allow him to be a small or pretended one. It is doubtful whether politics in any other than its higher and better sense ever deeply interested him. It cannot be said that he contemned political honors, but evidently he was more avid of professional distinction. The greater part of his life was given up to this profession, and in its study and practice he derived a satisfaction never equalled by any success he may have won as a candidate for popular favor in the political arena. His ambition was to be an able and accomplished lawyer, and in this his ambition was in a good and substantial measure attained. It is not pretended

that Mr. Kerr ranked with the great lights of legal lore, or that he shone at the bar as brightly as the great meteors of forensic eloquence. He was confessedly at the head of the profession in this and the adjoining counties, and in the State at large he had few superiors. He was a safe counsellor, and an ardent if not an eloquent advocate. He possessed the best order of genius—the genius of industry. He was most laborious in the preparation of his cases. He never left to accident or emergencies what could be accomplished by deliberation and forethought. It is known that many of his arguments were written out in full, and perhaps delivered in the very words, certainly in the very form, in which they had been committed to paper. His opinions were held in repute by the courts which were able to appreciate the extent of the research upon which they were founded, and they were of weight before the juries because of the high character of the person presenting them. He is represented as having been quite an effective speaker, whether on the hustings, in the legislature, or in the courts. His oratory has been characterized by one who knew him, and is capable of appreciating its distinctive qualities, as vehement. His vocabulary was rich; his utterance fluent; his manner earnest and full of action. He was much given to quotation, in which his acquaintance with the best literature of his native language, as well as with the Greek and Latin classics, enabled him to indulge. But his favorite author from which to cull these flowers was the great dramatist. The point in which his oratory was most liable to unfavorable criticism was in his tendency to discursiveness by which the minds of his auditors were apt to be confused by thoughts and images which, if not entirely irrelevant, did not add anything to the distinctness of the impression sought to be made or weight to the argument meant to be enforced. But in justice to him it must be said this was not attributable to exility but to exuberance of resources.

One trait of Mr. Kerr deserves mention in this connection, his unvarying courtesy in court. Not only was this shown to the bench, the bar, and the panel, by all of whom could this courtesy be, as it were, exacted, but to the witnesses upon the stand who are too often the helpless victims of coarseness or brutality, and even to the parties to proceedings who are commonly considered the proper quarries for every kite of a lawyer. This courtesy of manner in the courts was but a part of his habitual demeanor towards all with whom he was thrown in social or business life. His politeness was not that which is prompted by vanity or policy, but proceeds from a proper self-respect, and due regard for

the rights and feelings of others. That this trait of Mr. Kerr was such as to distinguish him from most others, it may be mentioned that John Randolph, of Roanoke, that political and social cynic whom few could please and none could satisfy, said in debate:

I have been informed by a gentleman, who is not only so by the courtesy of this house, but is in fact, a gentleman, &c.

In this he referred to Mr. Kerr.

Mr. Kerr found time amidst the exactions of a busy life to gratify his taste for polite letters. His academic education had nurtured in his mind what indeed was native to the soil, a love of literature; and his distinguished uncle, a man of broad culture, by his example and encouragement strengthened his fondness for books. At a time when libraries were scarce and books were costly, he had free access to the extensive and valuable collection of Mr. Bozman—a collection which subsequently, by bequest, came into his possession.⁴ It is not known that Mr. Kerr published anything of permanent value, unless certain state papers be so regarded. An occasional contribution to the newspapers of the county indicate the possession of literary facility, which might have developed into literary power, had it been cultivated. In the year 1834 he presented to the State that portion of the history of Maryland which had been left in manuscript by Mr. Bozman in a state of completeness. This was accepted, and Mr. Kerr was selected by the Legislature to superintend the publication of the whole work. This task he successfully and acceptably performed, and in 1837 there appeared the two volumes of that exceedingly valuable history of which the introduction only had been published by the author in 1811.

The character of Mr. Kerr as revealed in private life is said to have been most amiable. His manners were easy and refined, his conversation chaste and agreeable, his disposition even and cheerful and his feelings genial and kindly. Exceedingly sensitive to the slightest imputation he lived without just reproach. His home⁵ he made always pleasing to its constant inmates, and welcome to a large circle of friends

⁴ This library after the death of Mr. John Leeds Kerr, fell to his son Mr. John Bozman Kerr, and after his demise was sold by his brother Mr. Charles Goldsborough Kerr in settlement of the settlement of the estate, in the city of Baltimore in the year 1878.

⁵ Mr. Kerr lived in the brick house at the corner of Goldsborough and Aurora streets. His widow sold it to Dr. C. C. Cox, who sold it to John A. W. Powell. His heirs sold it to Dr. S. A. Harrison in 1887, who devised it to his daughter, Mrs. Oswald Tilghman.

who were glad to share its elegant hospitality. He was liberal in his charities to the poor and indulgent in his treatment of his dependents. In short, he is still remembered as having been an affectionate husband and father, a kind master and patron, a constant friend, a pleasant companion, a polished gentleman.

Born into, he was for life a member of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and for many years he was a vestryman of Saint Peter's Parish. Mr. Kerr participated in those benevolent enterprises which were undertaken from time to time in this country for the moral and intellectual improvement of the people. He took an active interest in African Colonization—the nearest approach that could then be made to emancipation—being the middle and safe course which conscientious men were then fain to take between the terrible Scylla of immediate abolition, and implacable Charybdis of indefinite perpetuation of slavery.

He was a member of the Masonic fraternity, by which body he was held in high esteem as was evinced after his death when a eulogium upon him was pronounced in Cambridge by the Rev. William Brown, a fellow craft, in which the distinguished services, the mental abilities and the masonic virtues, which are the virtues of the good citizen and upright man, of Mr. Kerr were commemorated with no inconsiderable eloquence.

He was one of the original corporators of the Farmers Bank of Md., of which the Easton National Bank is the successor in this county.

The personal appearance of Mr. Kerr was agreeable and attractive. He was of medium height, well proportioned and well developed, though not portly; of ruddy complexion, and light brown hair. His countenance was expressive of intelligence and refined feeling. He was quick in his movements, but without embarrassment. At a time when more attention was paid by gentlemen to their dress than now, he was remarkable for the neatness of his attire. He was exact and nice in his habits, fastidious in his tastes, and given to no sensual indulgences or excesses.

Mr. Kerr was twice married, and left a large family of children. His first wife was Sarah Hollyday, the daughter of Sam'l Chamberlaine, of Bonfield, Talbot county. By this lady were born to him John Bozman, a lawyer and diplomatist; Samuel Chamberlaine, a respected minister of the Protestant Episcopal Church; David, more than once a member of the Legislature of Maryland, now a resident of Virginia; Sophia, the wife of George Leigh, Esq., of St. Mary's county; Henrietta Maria, wife of Gen'l Tench Tilghman, late of this county; and Rachel Ann, wife of John H. Done, Esq., at one time superintendent of the

Illinois Central Railroad. His second wife was Elizabeth Greenbury, the daughter of Gov. Charles Goldsborough, of Shoal Creek, Dorchester. By this lady were born to him Chas. Goldsborough, who has most creditably occupied several civil stations, and is now State's Attorney for the city of Baltimore; Edward Leeds, a citizen of Baltimore city; and Elizabeth Goldsborough. Many of these have children who are or will be proud to trace their descent to so reputable an ancestor as Mr. John Leeds Kerr.

After a protracted illness Mr. Kerr died at his residence in Easton, February 21st, 1844, in his 64th year. He was buried at Belleville, in Oxford Neck, the seat of his maternal ancestors, and there a stone is erected to his memory. After his death resolutions expressive of the appreciation in which he was held were passed by members of the bar in this and the adjoining counties, and as before mentioned a formal eulogium was pronounced in the town of Cambridge. The public press throughout the State of both political organizations, paid merited tributes to his worth, but the papers of his own county, where he had passed a long life and where he was best known, in an especially laudatory manner gave expression to the estimation in which he was held by this people.

ROBERT HENRY GOLDSBOROUGH

THF CHESTERFIELD OF MARYLAND

1779-1836.

It is not intended to pronounce a mere eulogium upon this distinguished personage, for the plainest and fullest relation of his career will be the highest and fairest praise. But of him it may be truthfully said that in all the relations of life he bore himself so admirably, and that his services to his community with which he was identified by interest and affection and indeed to the country at large, for which he had a comprehensive love, were so valuable and so ably performed that he has placed those who have come after him, particularly every citizen of Talbot County, under the double obligation to keep alive his memory and imitate his example. He was a pure statesman and typical Eastern Shore gentleman.

Robert Henry Goldsborough, the subject of this memoir, was the son of Judge Robert Goldsborough of this county, and Mary Emerson Trippe, the daughter of Henry Trippe, Esquire, of Dorchester County, Md. He was born at Myrtle-Grove, the seat of his father, January

4, 1779. He was fourth in descent from Nicholas Goldsborough, the emigrant and propositus of the family in Maryland who, removing from Dorsetshire in England, settled in 1670 on Kent Island, where he died about 1671. He seems to have come from a strong stock for the family has multiplied largely and spread widely, and it has given to the state a number of most capable men in the various spheres of life and in all periods of our history. Of these Robert Henry Goldsborough was the very flower. The intervals of leisure which the life of a country gentleman afforded were by Mr. Goldsborough given up to an indulgence in those pleasures of society for which his cultivated mind, his vivacity of spirits and his elegance of manner especially fitted him. Moving in a social circle of the very first respectability and for a rural community of unusual refinement, he was the leader in and the life of every scene of festive enjoyment. His politeness was proverbial in his day and it is a part of the social traditions of the county down to the present. He has been called the Chesterfield of Maryland, and to this distinction he is justly entitled if by it is meant courtliness of manners founded upon a generous sensibility for the feelings of others.

He was educated at St. John's College, Annapolis, taking his degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1796, though then but little more than sixteen years of age. He received no professional education but engaged early in agricultural pursuits which he followed during the remainder of his life. His earlier years of manhood were given up largely to social enjoyments and the usual pleasures of the country gentleman of fortune. These, though never entirely abandoned, were of but secondary interest when compared with the excitements of politics into which he entered with great zeal. His political opinions were those of the Federalists and whether they were inherited or deliberately formed, they were persistently maintained through his whole life. In 1803, he enjoyed (or suffered) his first candidacy, standing for a seat in the House of Delegates and being defeated. He was more successful in 1804 when he was chosen, notwithstanding the remaining portion of the delegation were Republicans and Democrats. In 1805 he was again defeated. In 1808 he was a candidate for Congress but, though carrying his own county, he was defeated in his district. In the same year he was an independent candidate for a seat in the Electoral College for the choosing a President of the United States, favoring Mr. Monroe for that high position.

In 1807 when war with Great Britain was threatening, he raised a troop of horse in the county of which he was elected the captain.

In 1809, being a candidate for a seat in the House of Delegates, he was defeated. After war had broken out between the United States and Great Britain in 1812, although he had been a most strenuous opponent of it, he took an active part in defending the county from the incursions of the enemy occupying the Chesapeake, and was personally present in command of his troop at the affair of St. Michael's in 1813.

In 1813 he was appointed by Gov. Levin Winder, United States Senator, to succeed Genl. Philip Reid and this appointment was ratified by the Legislature at its next meeting. His term of service expired March 4th, 1819, when he was succeeded by the Hon. Edward Lloyd of Talbot. His career in the Senate was most creditable. In a house which has never been tolerant of weakness he could always gain a hearing, and in a body embracing some of the best minds the country has produced it was allowed that he held a most respectable rank. For some years after his retirement from the Senate he held no political position, but in 1825 he was elected to the House of Delegates from his county and was in the following year made one of the Board of Public Works for the Eastern Shore. In 1827 he was appointed one of a commission to confer with the authorities of the neighboring States with reference to the recovery of fugitive slaves. In 1832 he was upon the National Republican, or Clay ticket, as Presidential elector of the 4th District of Maryland and was elected.

In January, 1835, he was chosen by the Legislature to fill the unexpired term of the Hon. Ezekial F. Chambers in the United States Senate, Mr. Chambers having been appointed Chief Judge of the 2nd Judicial District of Maryland. He was in the occupancy of this distinguished position at the date of his death in 1836. During his short service in the Senate he more than sustained the reputation he had previously acquired in the same body as an able debater and an enlightened statesman.

In 1817 for the purpose of promoting his own political views and personal aspirations he was instrumental in establishing the *Easton Gazette*, a paper which still retains a vigorous and useful life. He not only contributed largely of his private means but was for years a constant contributor to its columns. He was as vigorous and ready a writer as he was an effective and fluent speaker.

It is a matter of tradition that Mr. Goldsborough was always listened to in the Senate when he rose to speak, with a deference which proceeded from an appreciation of his character and with an interest that indicated the estimate that was placed upon his abilities. The

elegance of his address conciliated those whom he would convince, and if it did not add to the weight of his argumentation it rendered that more plausible and insinuating. His courtesy to his opponents, a marked feature of his speeches, disarmed their hostility and thus his cause was well nigh half won before he had put forth his strength for his assault. The manner of his speaking before popular assemblies, of which more is known in this community than of his senatorial oratory, though doubtless the criticism will apply to the last as well as to the first, is said by those who remember it with distinctness to have been deliberate, temperate, without the extravagances of rhetorical flourish or bodily gesticulation. He was extremely fluent of speech, his words being well chosen and aptly applied. One who had many opportunities of hearing him has characterized his speeches as a happy mingling of lucid statement, logical argument, and pleasing declamation, delivered with a natural grace that was inimitable. He was never tedious, possessing the rare ability of being able to end his harangues before the interest of his auditors had abated and before his own powers exhibited signs of flagging. If the reports of his speeches in the Senate were full and accurate, as they confessedly are not, they would furnish a very inadequate idea of his oratory, of which the charm if not the strength consisted in the manner of their delivery.

Mr. Goldsborough was a man of great public spirit taking an active part in most of those great enterprises which were projected for the advancement of his native State. He was a friend to internal improvements to protection of domestic manufactures, to banking institutions, to popular education, to associations for benevolent or religious purposes, among which may be ranked the Masonic fraternity.

Brother Goldsborough was made a Mason in St. Thomas' Lodge, No. 37, Easton, about the year 1800. In 1807 this Lodge became dormant, but was revived again in 1823 as Coats' Lodge No. 76, Brother Goldsborough being one of the charter members. After the constitution of the Lodge and the installation of the officers, St. John's Day, Dec. 27th, 1823, he delivered an address on the "Principles and Practice of Masonry," before the brethren and "a large assemblage of ladies and gentlemen." On St. John's Day, June 24, 1826, he delivered an oration upon the advantages of the Masonic Institution, and in vindication of the Order from many unfounded cavils and objections that have been raised against it. He was elected Master in 1824 and served a number of terms in this position. Notwithstanding the inconveniences of travelling to Baltimore in those days he was a regular attendant

at the sessions of the Grand Lodge, taking a prominent and active part in its transactions. As early as 1804 and again in 1806 he was elected Junior Grand Warden. In 1824 he was elected Senior Grand Warden and was continuously re-elected to the same position for five terms. In social life he was the delight of every circle that was favored with his presence. His house was the very home of hospitality as it was the nursery of all the domestic virtues. Mr. Goldsborough died after a brief illness at his home, Myrtle-Grove, October 5, 1836, leaving a large family, many of whom illustrate the graces of his life. His descendants cherish the memory of his virtues as a most precious heritage. He was buried at "Ashby," the original seat of the family in Talbot county, in the burial ground of his ancestry of several generations. Here filial affection has placed a simple stone over his remains with no other inscription than his name and the dates of his birth and death. Though without epitaph of praise his memory is not likely to perish from the minds of the people of this country as long as gentle manners shall be admired and civic virtue shall be honored. After his death he was the subject of much eulogy. The newspapers of the county published tributes to his merits and his virtues. These couched in the common phrases of obituaries were eloquent only by their sincerity and truth. The *Easton Gazette* in its issue of October 8 said:

The death of this distinguished gentleman has thrown a gloom over the community of which he has long been the brilliant ornament. In all the relations of life, he has borne his part in a manner suited to the duties they inspired. As a politician he was ever remarkable for the firmness and perseverance with which he adhered to the cause which he believed sustained the best interests of his country. So long has he been distinguished in the public eye that the short limits allowed to an obituary notice will not afford a full exposition of his labor or his service. It must suffice for the present to say that what ever course his duty to his country indicated, he never faltered zealously to pursue it. Respectful to opponents, faithful to his friends, and uncompromising in his principles. To describe how faithfully he discharged all the varied duties of husband, father, friend and master, would be idle eulogy.

In another article in the same paper it was said:

A great man in Israel has fallen. Talbot has lost her pride, and the Eastern Shore one of her proudest boasts. He has died in the prime of life and in the midst of his usefulness. So far as can be learned there is but one sentiment pervading the Community, that of universal sorrow and regret.

In the *Eastern Shore Whig* of the same date there are these words of him used by a political adversary:

Mr. Goldsborough has filled a conspicuous station in the councils of his country, and his name will be interwoven with much of the history of the nation, as well as that of his native state. He was a gentleman of talent, and as a public man he stood consistently to his principles and his party. But it was in the private circle where the good qualities he so richly possessed shone the brightest. He was kind, charitable and affectionate. In manners he was bland and conciliatory; and he possessed in an eminent degree many of those attributes of the soul which so permanently dignify and adorn human nature.

At a meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Maryland Agricultural Society for the Eastern Shore held Oct. 27, 1836, a series of resolutions were passed upon the occasion of Mr. Goldsborough's death. At this time he was chairman of the board. One of these resolutions contained these words:

He was possessed in an eminent degree of social qualities which threw a charm around his society and endeared him to a large circle of friends. In him, too, were happily blended the virtues of the patriot, the accomplishments of the scholar and the polished manner of the finished gentleman. The Agricultural associations of which he was so prominent a member have sustained a loss in the death of an individual distinguished for his talents, his public spirit, and his hospitality.

Regarding religion as being something more than a mere sentiment, the indulgence or suppression of which imparts or destroys one of the pleasures of life, regarding it as the basilar principle of private and public morality, he made it the controlling influence of his conduct and conversation. He was a member of the Protestant Episcopal Church which he represented from time to time in the general and diocesan conventions. To the administration of the temporalities of his own immediate parish, St. Michaels, he gave laborious attention for the many years during which he was a vestryman. He was not enough of a devotee to feel and too much of a politician to express any illiberality towards people of other communions, for he lived through a time when religion and politics strangely intermingled, and when in this county the lines of churches and parties were too nearly coincident. He co-operated with pious men of all denominations in all measures which looked to the amelioration of the morals and to the well-being of the community in which he lived. He was at one time a Vice President of the American Colonization Society which was organized at Wash-

ington when he was in the Senate of the United States in 1817, and its benevolent purpose, which did not seem then so visionary and impracticable as now, had his hearty support. He was an officer of the Maryland Bible Society designed to promote one of those benevolent yet illusory schemes of good men, who thought or at least seemed to think a copy of the sacred scriptures placed in the hands or house of any person in this county was to act as an amulet to ward off a home from moral evil, or certain other charms were said to shield the possessor from physical harm. The exercise of his fine abilities as a ready and forcible speaker were often called into requisition to promote charitable enterprises, and they were seldom denied, and indeed it may be said that whatever graceful oratory was required to give *éclat* to any public demonstration, Mr. Goldsborough if within reach was the chosen speaker. In forming an estimate of his mental powers one is constrained to the conclusion that his mind was not of the first order, although the partiality of his political friends regarded it as phenomenal. It was more agile than vigorous, more elegant than capacious, more clear than profound. His information in no department of knowledge except that of politics seems to have been very extensive, but in this as far as relate to parties in our own and in other free countries, it seems to have been comprehensive and accurate. What is more, it was held so well in hand as to be readily available.

HON. JOHN BOZMAN KERR

1809-1878

The announcement has already been made in the *Gazette* of the death of the Hon. John Bozman Kerr, a native and for many years a citizen of this county, but of late a resident of the city of Washington. It is thought something more than this is due to a gentleman whose abilities and attainments as well as his public services reflected honor upon the place of his birth, and whose virtues, character and conduct are worthy of being remembered and imitated.

Mr. John Bozman Kerr came of a Scotch family which settled in America just antecedent to the Revolution. His grandfather Mr. David Kerr came to this country from the county of Galloway in Scotland in 1769, and seated himself at Greenbury's Point in Anne Arundel county, Maryland, upon the Severn river. From this place he removed to Talbot in 1790 where he engaged in a successful mercantile business, and where he filled many civil offices with credit to himself and useful-

ness to his fellow citizens. He married the daughter of Mr. John Bozman of Belleville, Oxford Neck, and sister of Mr. John Leeds Bozman, the able jurist and learned historian of the earlier years of Maryland. From this union was born Mr. John Leeds Kerr, a lawyer of repute and a statesman of distinction. He served in the Legislature of this State and in both houses of Congress, besides filling other posts of honor and responsibility. He married first a daughter of Mr. Saml. Chamberlaine of Bonfield and sister of the late James L. Chamberlaine, Esq., and secondly the daughter of the Hon. Charles Goldsborough of Shoal creek, Dorchester county. By the first marriage he became the father of the subject of this sketch; by the second of Charles Goldsborough Kerr, Esq., of Baltimore, a gentleman of recognized abilities. There were other children by each marriage. He died in the year 1844 honored and respected wherever known, and now lies buried at Belleville, the seat of the Bozmans.

Mr. John Bozman Kerr was born in the town of Easton, Maryland, on the 5th of March, 1809. His parents who occupied the highest social position in the county, who had participated in the best culture of the time, and were therefore appreciative of the pleasures and advantages of a liberal education, gave to their son the most careful training in letters and science that could be obtained. He became one of the pupils of the Easton Academy when that institution was under the care of such able teachers as distinguished its earlier years. At a proper age and stage of advancement in his studies he was matriculated at Harvard College, then as now the first school in the country. He accomplished a full course and was graduated in the year 1830 with the class that is said to have had as members such men as Emerson, Holmes and Sumner, of whom all the world knows something. After the completion of his collegiate studies he entered the law office of his father in Easton, and there secured such instruction and training in the profession of his adoption as a lawyer of extensive reading and large practice was able, and a parent ambitious of his son's advancement was anxious to impart. At the November term of 1833 he was admitted to the bar of Talbot county court—a court over which such jurists presided as Justices Earle, Hopper and Eccleston, and a bar which was then illustrated by such counsellors as Thomas I. Bullett, Theodore R. Loockerman, the two Messrs. Hayward, and not the least by his own honored father, Mr. John Leeds Kerr. He entered immediately upon the practical duties of his profession well equipped for their efficient discharge, for he had that mental discipline which is given by the best schools,

those stores of learning which are the accumulation of diligent study and that familiarity with details which is acquired by attendance upon the courts and by the performance of the routine duties of the preceptor's office. It may perhaps be said, paradoxical as it may seem, that the very thoroughness of his preparation impaired his performance. In truth the practice of law, that is the application of its principles and precepts to the common affairs of life, never interested him as much as its literature and philosophy—law in its genetic sources, in its historical development and its varied forms as manifested in organized societies or communities. The strifes and collisions of the courts, the arts and devices of the mere attorney, were always exceedingly distasteful to him; and this may account in large measure for that moderate success at the bar with which he was satisfied or at least forced to be content through life. The habit of his mind, founded upon a high integrity of weighing every case that was presented to him in the fair balance of right rather than in the unequal scale of a client's interest, often embarrassed him in his efforts in the client's cause and resulted in his being consulted only by those who had "their quarrel just," though not by all of these; while those who were in doubt of the righteousness of their case feared the decisions of his judicial fairness and unswerving candor.

While waiting for, or in the intervals of business, Mr. Kerr indulged his taste for literature. Memories of his great uncle, Mr. John Leeds Bozman, corroborated his own natural inclinations towards historical and antiquarian research. It is thought he indulged the hope of being able to complete the work of that uncle upon the history of Maryland. Irregularly, but perseveringly, for some years he devoted much attention to the annals of the province and State, and particularly to those of this county. The records at Annapolis of the courts of the several counties, of the churches, and of prominent families, underwent a thorough perquisition by him; and from them as well as from other sources both here and abroad he accumulated a vast fund of information, curious and useful, relating to politics and civil affairs, to religion and education, to society and industry from the earliest days of the colony of Maryland. Regarding the history of the province and State as intimately connected with family history, he gave particular attention to Maryland genealogies, those of his own county always having precedence, these being followed by those of the neighboring counties with which they were entwined. His acquisitions in this line of historical research caused him to be consulted by almost every one upon this shore or of Eastern Shore origin, who inter-

ested himself in tracing his descent; and it was rare that any who could claim a respectable ancestry among the early settlers upon this peninsula was disappointed in obtaining such information as he required, or in learning something more than he had known of his progenitors. For genealogy Mr. Kerr seems to have possessed a singular aptitude of mind. His love and memory of minutiae and detail was extraordinary. Names, dates and incidents in their multiplicity and lack of natural connection seemed never to confuse or embarrass him, but rather delighted. Yet in his attempts to give form and expression to his knowledge, the very profusion with which he displayed it, gave to his utterances upon any subject a seeming incoherent irrelevancy, and ambaginous prolixity. It required some mental effort and patience to follow him in his wanderings, but that effort and patience were sure to be well rewarded, for his excursion from the direct path was always full of revelations and wonderfully suggestive. However far he might deviate he always came back to the original line of his argument or his narration. It is matter for lasting regret that his accumulation of memoranda respecting this county and indeed the State at large, has not been preserved. It was his habit to note them upon the margins of his own and others' books or upon disconnected sheets. These books have been scattered and the scraps of paper lost or destroyed.¹ It is to be hoped, however, that an examination of his papers which is about to be made will reveal the fact that the fruits of his researches have not been so completely lost as his own indifference to their value has led his friends to apprehend. Although fond of exercising his pen, it is not known that beyond some brief contributions to Appleton's Cyclopedia, to newspapers or other periodicals and some historical papers which have never been printed, read before literary societies, Mr. Kerr has ever performed any literary work. It is known that at the date of his death he was engaged upon a memoir of Daniel Carroll of Duddington, a Revolutionary worthy and member of the Continental Congress, and that he had just completed a paper relating to the imperfectly duplex government of Maryland apropos of the abolition of the law requiring one Senator of Maryland in the Congress of the United States, to be chosen from the Eastern Shore.

¹ The Librarian of the Md. Hist. Soc. picked up at the shop of a dealer in waste paper, ready to be sent to the paper mill an old volume concerning the Friends, the margins and blank leaves of which were filled with most interesting historical and genealogical notes in the hand writing of Mr. Kerr. This book is now handsomely rebound, and carefully preserved. The writer of this sketch has another old much abused book similarly annotated.

Like most lawyers of this county, Mr. Kerr took a part in politics. He may be said to have inherited his opinions, for his father and grandfather were Federalists of a pronounced character. He became as was natural a Federal Republican, National Republican, or Whig, as the opposition to the Democratic party was variously called at different times. He acted with and adopted some of the opinions of the American or so-called Know Nothing party, but he was never in full accord with this organization. When the war of the Rebellion broke out he allied himself with the party of the Union as will hereafter be noticed. In the year 1836 he was nominated by the Whigs of Talbot for a seat in the Lower House of Assembly and was elected. He was again chosen in 1837 for the same position. During the term of his membership he interested himself especially in the cause of free schools. The many attempts to frame an acceptable law for the administration of such schools had hitherto met with imperfect success. The law then in force, commonly known as Spencer's law, had much to commend it but there were defects which were the subject of petitions from Talbot county for their remedy. These petitions Mr. Kerr presented and in compliance with them prepared a bill which was adopted by the Legislature. But some of the provisions of this Act of Assembly, in as much as they seemed to discriminate invidiously between the children of the rich and of the poor in the schools, provoked much animadversion and condemnation from his political opponents. Active partisans industriously propagated the opinion which this law seemed, but only seemed to justify, that Mr. Kerr was hostile to public education or absolutely free schools: and they revived an almost extinct notion that the Federalists and their lineal descendants, of whom Mr. Kerr was one, were aristocratic in their political sentiments and wished to legalize in some indirect way, as by this law, those distinctions which are inevitable in every civilized society but which should have no legal countenance. That Mr. Kerr was an enemy to public schools was a slander so preposterous as to furnish among those who knew his opinions its own refutation, but it served the purposes of politicians among those who did not know his devotion to the cause of popular education and to the principle of State support of free schools. In truth, the feature in Mr. Kerr's bill which was, or was made, so abnoxious was one designed to accomplish the very purpose which is the aid and labor of the most enlightened friends of education to secure, namely, the improvement of the character of the public free schools. The provision alluded to was that by which any school district in the county

that desired to have its school to be of a higher order than the common primary school, where only the merest elements of an education were imparted, might be allowed to collect a tuition fee from those people of that district who were able to pay for the support of such improved or higher school. This tax or fee being paid by the property holders only, it was alleged, distinguished the children of the rich from those of the poor. As for the other charge that was aroused against Mr. Kerr by his school law of his possessing aristocracy proclivities, it really had its foundation in his habitual reserve, dignity of bearing and loftiness of character. What his political opponents were fond of attributing to an insane desire for distinction and privilege that should have legal or customary acknowledgment was founded upon a repugnance to the rude, the coarse, the ignorant and the levelling. Of the wisdom of Mr. Kerr's plan for the improvement of schools of the county there may properly have been some doubt, but of his motives for its suggestion there should have been none. But the charges against him, ill founded as they were, sufficed to defeat him in the following year when he was again a candidate for a seat in the General Assembly. Indeed, it may be said that a memory of these charges was a serious embarrassment to him ever after in his aspirations for political preferment, so difficult is it to eradicate false impressions when once they possess the public mind, and when there are those whose interest it is to sow them afresh when they are like to die. Mr. Kerr's school law was abolished at the ensuing session of the Legislature and Spencer's law restored.

No where else better than here could a trait of Mr. Kerr be noticed namely, his patronage, in the best sense of that term, of young men, indeed all men, who manifested a desire for mental improvement. He flattered them with his notice, he aided them with his advice, he encouraged them with his companionship. His large library which he had inherited through his father from his uncle the historian, was always open to their use, and his own acquisitions of whatever kind were freely communicated when required. He regarded it as a duty never to be evaded, the advancement of young men in their pursuit of knowledge, and many there are who hold him in grateful memory for his kind words and ready assistance.

In the year 1845 he was appointed Deputy State's Attorney, under Geo. R. Richardson, Esq., the Attorney General of Maryland. The functions of this office he faithfully and acceptably performed from the year 1845 to 1848, when he was succeeded in that office by the Hon. Saml. Hambleton.

The Whigs of the 6th Congressional District of Maryland, then composed of Talbot, Dorchester, Somerset and Worcester counties, in the year 1849 nominated Mr. Kerr for a seat in the lower House of Congress. This was during one of those periodic quakings of our political structure caused by slavery, which preceded the great volcanic eruption that came ten years later. The issue was the extension of slavery into the newly acquired territories upon the Pacific. The 6th District was at this time decidedly Whig, so much so that the opponents of Mr. Kerr made no nomination. They nevertheless were diligent and strenuous in their efforts to entrap him upon this delicate subject with a view to ulterior success. On this it was well known that he entertained very liberal and very unpopular opinions. While conscientiously opposed to the existence and really favorable to the limitation of slavery to the territory where it was recognized, he, like many other men of his party and of the time, regarded its obligation as beyond the province of Congressional Legislation, and as being entirely within State control; and as for its extension he thought it should be restricted to that territory which had been set apart by earlier compromises for Southern colonization with its peculiar institutions. Like many others he found his moral convictions at variance with his political duties, and he suffered the unrest consequent thereon. During the canvass he was frequently put to the question as to what would be his course should he be elected to Congress upon the policy of appending the *Wilmot proviso*, then the great shibboleth, to any act for the admission of new States into the Union. His reply to these queries is still in existence and is curious, at least, as showing his dexterity in giving such answers to very proper questions as should at once content his own friends, elude the stares of his enemies, and satisfy the conscience of an honorable man who disdained equivocation even in politics. Mr. Kerr was elected of course, having no opposition. His career in Congress was that of a useful but not a conspicuous member. He sustained those measures for the pacification of the country, then threatened with disruption, which were inaugurated by Mr. Clay and which were successfully carried by his powerful support, called the compromise of 1850. But Mr. Kerr did not serve the full Congressional term, for he resigned his seat in 1851 upon receiving from Mr. Fillmore a foreign appointment.

From the very beginning of his political life it had been his aspiration to enter the diplomatic service of his country for which his tastes and, as he thought, his abilities prepared him. To this end he had also directed his studies so that if opportunity should offer, he might be

found fitted for the duties of such service. In March 1851 he was appointed *charge d'affaires* at Bogota, in New Grenada, by President Fillmore. This appointment he respectfully declined but was immediately appointed Minister resident to Nicaragua and the Central American States. Thus was realized the "dream of his youth," as he himself said, and though the realization was not perhaps as brilliant as the early vision, it in a measure satisfied the laudable ambition that suggested or inspired the young politician's reverie. While in Central America, during one of those recurring political convulsions with which those countries are more affected than by the great convulsions of nature to which they are subject, he was enabled to render most useful service to his own countrymen there resident, to certain foreign citizens, and besides, to many of the people belonging to the revolutionary states. For this service, patriotic and humane, as well as for his diplomatic skill, he was complimented in most flattering terms by the *Hon. John M. Clayton*, then Secretary of State and, in addition, he received from Congress a very handsome donative in the form of extra compensation.

He returned to the United States in 1853 upon the commencement of Mr. Pierce's administration. He then resumed the practice of his profession in the city of Baltimore and subsequently at Saint Michaels in Talbot county, Maryland. He was the first, and it is believed the only person who has attempted to prosecute the law elsewhere in this country than at the seat of justice, giving an example of a custom which is followed in other States and might be followed here with advantage.

It was while he was residing in St. Michaels that the war of the Rebellion began. Mr. Kerr followed his patriotic impulses rather than the solicitations of sectional partialities, and allied himself with the upholders and defenders of the integrity of the nation. To him as much as to any other person in that community is to be attributed that intense loyalty which through the whole of the dreadful struggle was manifested by the people of that town and its vicinity. While it was the part of other patriotic orators to appeal in glowing words to the noble sentiments of fidelity to the flag as the symbol of the Union and to love of country, it was his part with the calm astuteness of the lawyer to unravel the sophisms of States-rights, and to expose the absurdity of the asserted constitutionality of peaceable secession, with which some sought to bewilder the minds of the plain citizens of St. Michaels as they had bewildered those claiming to be wiser than these. Another service he rendered to that community during those dark years was the persuading its young men with whom he had much influence,

who had been smitten with the madness of joining the southern insurgents from giving their strength and perhaps their lives to a cause which, if victorious, could confer no honor, and if defeated would bring lasting regret and humiliation. It is worthy of being remarked that Mr. Kerr though firm and unyielding in the position he had taken of opposition to the secession of the States, a position which separated him from the large majority of his friends, associates and family connections, was able to retain by his uniform moderation and courtesy the esteem of those whom he most opposed.

In July 1862 he was invited to Washington and appointed one of the solicitors in the Court of Claims—a Court but recently established. This position he held until its abolition in December 1869, when he was appointed Solicitor in the office of the sixth Auditor in the Department of the Treasury. In the fulfilment of the duties of this place he continued up to the time of his death, enjoying the full confidence and esteem of his official superiors and the respectful regard of all with whom he was in business brought in contact.

In his domestic relations Mr. Kerr was singularly happy. He married rather late in life the daughter of Mr. John Stevens, a native of England, where he was most respectably connected. This lady and a numerous family of children survive him. In his home which was one of unclouded affection and unselfish devotion among his inmates, he found his greatest pleasures, and of that home his presence and companionship was the light and joy. As it is the privilege of few men to have inspired such warm attachments, so it has been the lot of few to have been so sincerely and passionately wept.

In his intercourse with men he was always courteous and kindly. Though sensitive, he was amiable and forbearing. He was honorable to the nicest point of honor. He lived through a long life without a strain or a suspicion of wrong doing. He was sincerely and rationally pious, and died after a painful but brief illness, Jan. 27th, 1878, in full communion with the Holy Catholic Church, of the English rite.

Omnium bonorum desiderio obiit.

Funeral services were held in Washington at St. Paul's Church, upon which a large number of resident Marylanders attended, and at which the following distinguished gentlemen acted as pall bearers: Governor Swann, Judge Richardson of the Court of Claims, Rear Admiral Stanley, U. S. Navy, General Horace Capron, Colonel Walson, President Welling

of Columbia University, Dr. C. C. Cox, Hon. Will. H. Trescott of S. Carolina, Dr. Will. Gunton of the Bank of Washington, and Beverly Tucker of Virginia. His body was brought to Talbot on Wednesday, the 30th, and was buried in the family burying ground of the Bozmans at Belleville, Oxford Neck.

HON. MATTHEW TILGHMAN

THE PATRIARCH OF MARYLAND

1718-1790

Matthew Tilghman, the subject of the following memoir, belonged to an ancient and honorable family of the parish of Snodland in the county of Kent, England. He was the youngest son of Richard Tilghman, of Queen Anne's county, Maryland, by Anna Maria, daughter of Col. Philemon Lloyd, of Wye, Talbot county. His grandfather was Richard Tilghman, surgeon, who emigrated from the old country in the year 1660, and seated himself at "The Hermitage" upon Chester river in what was then the county of Talbot. He also was the patentee of Canterbury manor¹ in Talbot county. It was from this Richard Tilghman that has sprung a numerous family, many of which have been men of much usefulness and some of great distinction. Matthew Tilghman was born at the family seat which is still possessed by one of the branches of the family, on the seventeenth day of February 1718. He received the best education which the Eastern shore of Maryland at that time afforded, having been the pupil of the Rev. Mr. Jones of Cecil county, a clergyman of the established church of some celebrity. He, however, at the early age of 15 was removed from the tuition of this gentleman and his paternal home to that of his first cousin, Matthew Tilghman Ward, of Ward's Point, Talbot county, by whom he was adopted and of whom he became the heir to an immense landed estate.² His education was continued under the direction of Mr. Ward who was a man of distinction in the colony, having been for many years a member of the upper or lower House of Assembly, of which he was often chosen the Speaker, and the incumbent of other positions of trust and responsibility under the proprietary government. From this gentleman,

¹ This manor was in Bailey's neck.

² "Ward's Point" is that point of land that is at the mouth of St. Michaels River and now commonly known as "Tilghman's Point," and the plantation as "Rich Neck."

therefore, Mr. Tilghman received that political training which was to render him so serviceable during a long life, not only to Maryland but to the confederated colonies. In the year 1741 he married a daughter of James, the youngest son of Col. Philemon Lloyd, by Ann, the daughter of Robert Grundy, a wealthy merchant of Oxford, Talbot county. To those to whom it is a matter of interest to trace the transmission of hereditary traits, it may be well to say that each of the people here mentioned occupied positions of eminence in the province, and were held in esteem for their moral worth and their intellectual abilities as well as for their wealth and high social position.

The first post of responsibility to which Matthew Tilghman was assigned was one of a military character, he having been placed in or about the year of his marriage in charge of a troop of horse, which was organized for the purpose of protecting the outlying settlements from the incursions of those Indians that remained upon the Eastern Shore. It is thought that his conduct while in this command laid the foundation of the confidence which ever after was reposed in him by his countrymen, particularly those of his own county; for his exposure with his men to the hardships and dangers of frontier warfare, more than his possession or anticipated possession of large landed wealth in the county, seemed to identify him in interest and feeling with the people in the midst of which he lived. This identification became the more complete as his life was prolonged, and the more manifest as his influence extended.

In the same year of 1741 he was appointed by the Governor of the Province one of the "Worshipful, the Commissioners and Justices of the Peace" for Talbot County—a position of such honor and responsibility at that time as does not attach to the office of the same name in the present; for the Justices of the Peace were actually the Judges of the County Court. He continued to exercise the functions of Justice until the year 1746 when his name disappears from the records of the Court.

In the year 1751 he was chosen by the freemen of Talbot their delegate to the Lower House of the General Assembly of Maryland, and he continued to be elected until the year 1757 when he seems to have gone into retirement. Again in 1767 he was sent to the Assembly from Talbot, and he continued to represent county in the Lower House until the overthrow of the Proprietary government and the formation of the Constitution of the independent State of Maryland in 1776-7. Of the Assemblies of 1773, 1774 and 1775 he was the Speaker of the House. It was the Assembly of 1767 which showed such persistent resistance to the

execution of the Act of Parliament imposing duties upon certain articles imported into the colonies, meant to be a substitute for the stamp tax repealed in the previous year, and which for this resistance was by order of the home government dissolved by the Governor who ordered a new election. Of this new Assembly, as of the previous one, Matthew Tilghman was a conspicuous member and was one of the most forward in opposing the execution of the offensive statute. When the circular letter of the General Court of Massachusetts was brought before the General Assembly of Maryland for consideration, he was appointed one of the committee to draft a petition to the King, remonstrating against the obnoxious taxes upon imported goods. For the opposition which was shown by this assembly it was again and again prorogued, but finally met for business in Nov. 1769, when as it would appear there were already anticipations of a collision with the mother country, for inquiry was ordered to be made into the condition of the public arms as if in preparation for war. There was a new election in 1771, when Mr. Matthew Tilghman was again chosen to represent his county in the Lower House of Assembly. It was this Assembly which opposed with so much vehemence the celebrated *Proclamation* of Governor Eden, by which he sought to accomplish an altogether desirable purpose, namely, the regulation of the fees of certain civil officers by purely arbitrary and very objectionable means. This Assembly it was that also called in question the validity of the act of 1701-2, called the "Vestry Act," regulating the stipends of the ministers of the established church. These two questions and the decisions upon them although of purely local interest were most influential in preparing the minds of the people of Maryland for the great protest which was uttered by the United Colonies a few years later. It was well known that upon these two questions Matthew Tilghman was adverse to the government policy; and that although belonging to the colonial aristocracy he was most liberal in his political views. With such views he could not do otherwise than place himself in opposition to the Governor in his attempt to accomplish by the exercise of an unusual if not illegal prerogative what should have been done by legislative enactment; and although he was a most dutiful son of the church, he regarded the establishment in Maryland as odious, oppressive, and even injurious to the best interests of religion itself. His opposition to the vestry act, as well as his known liberality of religious sentiment, gained for him the approbation and support of all dissenters, particularly of the large and wealthy society of Quakers. For this last assertion we have the testi-

mony of one who was intimately acquainted with his opinions and the estimate placed upon them—his own daughter, the wife of Col. Tench Tilghman. Upon the same authority it is allowable to say that in 1767, when the matter of the Stamp Act was still concerning the people of the Colony, the Lord Proprietary, possibly for the purpose of detaching him from the cause of the Colonists, tendered to him a position of great emolument and a seat in the Provincial Council. But perceiving with the foresight of true statesmanship, that a struggle with the mother country was fast approaching, he declared that no private interest, whether in the form of honors or wealth, could induce him to take a step which might embarrass him in his movements when the time should come for him to offer his services to his country. It will be seen in the sequel, that there was no hesitancy on his part when the supreme moment arrived. As an evidence of his popularity it is mentioned by his daughter, who has left a brief account of his life, that in the several elections by which he was chosen to represent the county in the General Assembly, the vote for him was always unanimous or so nearly so as to give assurance that he possessed the confidence of his entire constituency.

The passage in 1774 by the British Parliament of what is called the *Boston Port Bill*, in Maryland, as in the other colonies, created intense feeling. A Convention of deputies from each of the counties in the province was proposed as the first step towards a formal and effective opposition to the Act. Public meetings were accordingly held in Talbot and deputies appointed who were to assemble and did assemble at Annapolis in June. Of these Matthew Tilghman was one, the others being Edward Lloyd, Nicholas Thomas, and Robt. Goldsborough 4th of the name. Upon the organization of the Convention Mr. Tilghman was chosen chairman. At this assemblage a series of resolutions, temperate but decided, in condemnation of the recent acts of Parliament were adopted, and a number of deputies were chosen to represent the province in the general Congress of all the Colonies which, it was proposed, should be held at Philadelphia in September following. Of this delegation Matthew Tilghman was one and was therefore a member of that first Congress the centennial anniversary of which has been recently celebrated in Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia. His name in connection with those of Geo. Read and W. Johnson appears affixed to the articles of "*The Association*" of Congress, which were adopted at this date of that body. He was made by the Maryland convention which reassembled for the purpose of ratifying the acts of the Colonial Congress,

one of the "Provincial Committee of Correspondence," the duty of which was to communicate with the other colonies of the incipient confederacy. It may be well to say here that this convention assumed the powers of government, ordering the militia to be enrolled and appropriating 10,000 pounds for the purchase of arms. Before the adjournment of this convention Mr. Tilghman, who seems to have been regarded as the patriarch of the colony, was again chosen one of the delegation to the second General Congress which met at Philadelphia in May 1775; and he was again chosen for the succeeding and ever memorable one which adopted and published to the world the *Declaration of Independence*, though his attendance upon the Convention at Annapolis in 1776 for the formation of a State Constitution prevented him from being present at the time of its passage and ratification, and therefore he has been deprived of that fame which attaches to all the signers of that immortal instrument.

The Convention of deputies that assembled at Annapolis in 1774 as just mentioned assumed the duties and responsibilities of a Provisional Government, the authority of the Proprietary through his Governor being then totally disregarded. The General Assembly from frequent prorogations had ceased to exercise any functions—indeed had tacitly surrendered its prerogatives to the convention, though it was not formally dissolved until June 13th, 1776, when Gov. Eden issued his very useless proclamation to that effect. At the convention of 1775 a temporary form of government for the province was established and "Articles of Association" were framed setting forth the objects and obligations of that government. Supreme power was vested in the *Provincial Convention*, and the chief executive power was lodged in a *Committee of Safety* composed of sixteen members, eight from each shore. Of this committee Matthew Tilghman was one under its first organization; and as the President or Speaker of the Convention he may be regarded as the President of Maryland, an officer not unknown in her annals. There were also *Committees of Observation* for each of the counties, and of that for Talbot he is believed to have been the chairman. The "*Declaration*" of the Provincial Convention made July 6th, 1776, before any knowledge of the final ratification of the "Declaration" of Congress, terminated the ancient régime of the Colony. A new convention assembled on the 14th of August, 1776, for the preparation of a new form of government. Of this constituent assembly Mr. Matthew Tilghman was President. One of the first acts of this body was the election by ballot of a committee to report a "Bill of Rights" and a

"Constitution" for the new state. Of this committee, Mr. Tilghman was the chairman and to him, therefore, in some good measure, Maryland was indebted for that admirable code of fundamental laws which from the first gave form and symmetry to her political organization, and for more than fifty years imparted healthful vigor to its functional operations. The first Assembly of the State of Maryland under the constitution, convened the 5th of February, 1777. Mr. Matthew Tilghman had been chosen one of the Senators for the Eastern Shore. His acceptance of this position in the State government necessitated his surrender of his place in the Continental Congress. He continued to serve in this department of the State government until 1781, when he was again chosen Senator by the electoral College but he did not serve out his term. In this year the Chesapeake Bay was infested with British vessels of war so that communication from the Eastern Shore with the seat of government at Annapolis was frequently interrupted, and always hazardous. It became necessary, therefore, to organize a temporary government for the Eastern Shore peninsula. This was composed of a *Special Council* consisting of five gentlemen, of which Mr. Tilghman was one. This council assembled at Easton, in Talbot, and made Mr. Tilghman its President.

After the declaration of peace in 1783, Mr. Tilghman feeling the infirmities of old age, and longing for that quiet and relaxation from labor which had been denied to him for so many years, resigned all his public trusts and retired to his seat in Bayside of Talbot county where he devoted his few remaining years to those pursuits and pleasures which had been so much interrupted by his services to his country. The management of his large landed estates and numerous slaves afforded full occupation for his active and vigorous mind, while his great wealth permitted him to indulge himself in the pleasing offices of an elegant hospitality or the equally grateful task of a bountiful charity. Enjoying the pleasures that arose from a memory of high duties well performed, from the affectionate reverence of a numerous family of children and dependents, and from the respectful homage of a grateful people, he continued to live the life of a country gentleman, a character likely now to become extinct, until May 5th, 1790, when his useful career was brought suddenly to a close by a stroke of paralysis which spared him all the pains and his friends all the solicitude of a protracted dissolution. He was buried at his seat at Bayside where his tomb may be seen to the present day, a shrine to which all may pay a pilgrimage who honor public virtue or private worth, and feel their aspirations kindled and

their best purposes confirmed.³ The time will come when Maryland and her sons will do that justice to the memory of her departed worthies which she has hitherto withheld, or at least has neglected to bestow. While the sister States have builded monuments and erected statues commemorative of their distinguished sons; while their poets have sung the virtues, and their historians have filled their pages with recitals of the deeds of those whose merits are not greater than those of our unhonored and almost forgotten dead, Maryland carves no obelisk and casts no bronze, recites no ode and pens no eulogy in honor of

³ The following is the inscription upon the tomb of the Hon. Matthew Tilghman Ward, in the grave yard at Rich Neck:

[COAT OF ARMS.]

Here lieth the body
of the Honourable Major General
Matthew Tilghman Ward, son
of Matthew Ward, Gent., by Mary,
his wife, who was a daughter of
Doctor Richard Tilghman. He was
First married to Mabel Murphey
Widow of Captain James Murphey,
Afterwards to Margaret Lloyd,
daughter of Colonel Philemon Lloyd.
Departed this life the 25th of May,
A. Dom. 1741 [?] in the 64th year of his age.
He served his country in several
honorable stations both civil and
military, and Died President of the
Council of the State of Maryland.

Reader behold and tremble here to see

A pattern for thyself fulfilled.

The remainder of this inscription is illegible.

The following is a portion of the inscription upon the tomb stone of Mr. Ward's wife, in the same burying ground.

This was the second partner of my bed,
With whom a long and happy life I've led.
Tho' without children to assist in years,
Yet free from parents cares and parents fears.
In love and friendship all our years were spent
In moderate wealth and free from want—content,
Our pious souls with pious thoughts inspired
To worship God and profit man desired;
Religious laws and customs to pursue,
Nor slighting old ones nor too fond of new;
But choosing such, as since they first began
Best served of praising God and common good of man.

those who have made her name illustrious in the nation's annals. Of these the subject of this memoir was one, whose name is known hardly beyond the limits of the county of his home; whose patriot services have had no other recognition than the casual mention of the annalist; and for whose neglected grave, marked only by the simple slab of marble which filial affection has laid, no other chaplet has been woven than that the wild vines and flowers have wreathed.

Mr. Tilghman left three children: Richard, who settled in Queen Anne's County; Lloyd, who inherited the homestead of his father; Margaretta, who married Mr. Charles Carroll of Mount Clare; and Anna Maria, who married Col. Tench Tilghman, the Secretary, Aide-de-Camp and intimate friend of General Washington. From Lloyd descended through James his son, Gen. Lloyd Tilghman who, educated at West Point, served in the C. S. Army. He commanded at Fort Henry on Tennessee river in 1862, and was killed at Champion's Hill, Miss., in 1863 in the Confederate service.

The custom of Governors and other dignitaries and candidates attending county fairs and races is not of very recent origin in Maryland.

In June, 1771, there were races at Oxford, this county, and following is an exact copy of a letter referring to them and to the fact of Governor Eden being there, written by Matthew Tilghman, who was then a plain country farmer in Talbot, but who afterward became the celebrated revolutionary patriot, to his daughter, Mrs. Carroll, wife of Charles Carroll, barrister, of Mount Clare, who was then in London. The letter is copied in its entirety, as it is all interesting.

June 15, 1771.

My Dear Child: We have had the satisfaction once to hear that you were spoke with at sea and all well, and we have the pleasure of being fully persuaded that you are now safe in London, where I hope you will meet with every advantage and every enjoyment you may have in view. Dick and Peggy are comfortably, if not advantageously, fixed at Tuckahoe, where we have all been to see them, and we have been at Oxford races, which were honored by the company of the Governor and Mrs. Eden and Miss Darby. Our ladies gazed, but except a very few did not approach W. H. (William Hayward). J. D. (John Dickinson), H. H. (Henry Hollyday) and W. Thomas had the pleasure of entertaining the grandees, and much bustle there was. Nanny and I made a short visit to W. Hayward's, and are to be honored the next time of coming over as much as we could expect.

In August we shall be expecting to hear from you. I wrote Charles by way of Philadelphia relative to a report about Lloyd, but I have since a letter from him assuring me the report was groundless. Thank

God we are all well and join most heartily in prayer for your health and happiness. I pray God prosper you, and remain, with the greatest tenderness, your aff. father,

MAT TILGHMAN.

Mrs. Margaret Carroll, in London.

Extract from a letter of James Tilghman to the widow of his son, Col. Tench Tilghman, on the death of her father, Matthew. It is dated Chester Town, May 6, 1790:

You will believe me when I say that I am most deeply affected by the loss of my dear Brother, the last companion of my youth, closely connected by the ties of blood and long warm and uninterrupted friendship. Yet I am sensible that the nearer relation of your mother and yourself must make your feelings more pressing than mine. I who have so much need of a comforter myself, would make but an indifferent one. All that I can do for you or myself is to place and view objects in their proper light. I consider death as an event in the course of nature and the dispensations of Providence and the inevitable lot of all men and soon to be my own. I view my dear departed Brother as having lived a long and happy life, always prepared for the sudden call which he and all of us had reason to expect and in which I really think he was happy. I consider him also as having left his family in easy circumstances and blessed with good dispositions. These were his blessings and are such as fall to the share of few, very few, indeed and afford us reflections which must comfort us amidst that grief which nature demands. We cannot avoid feeling the weight of sorrow but we must not let sorrow run into despair, nor grieve without hope. To those who are prepared I esteem sudden death, when it is the termination of a long life a favour of Providence. We pray against it because few men are prepared for it but to a good man and his friends it is certainly a favour.

Copy of letter from Hon. Matthew Tilghman to Chas. Carroll addressed:

To Charles Carroll, Esquire,
Baltimore County,
By the post. Maryland.

Phila., June 20, 1775.

Dr. Charles:

Yours of 16th received by the post. I am and long have been in the same state of uneasiness which you express. I will tell you some part of our doings which I am at Liberty to communicate and which tho' you may have probably heard of, it may be a satisfaction to have from me. By a grand Committee of the whole Congress two Resolutions have been formed: 1st, that 15,000 men be raised for the defence and preservation of American Liberty, 10,000 whereof to be stationed near Boston and 5,000 in the City and province of New York. 2nd, that two

millions of Paper dollars be struck for their support to be sunk in the four last years of seven by each province according to their respective Quotas, which are not yet finally adjusted—and on Friday or Saturday last Coll. Washington was appointed General and Commander in Chief and will probably set off in four or five days for the Army. This is as far as I can go and it may lead you to conjecture what is become of Lee and Major Gates. R. G., L. and J. H. have found excuses to go home. They talked of returning, but we do not expect it; I have long flattered myself with the hope of pacific measures that might avail something but that hope has almost vanished; some without doors talk of sending somebody home; in my judgment 'tis the only step that affords the least glimmering of peace. It is thought Gen'l Gage when the troops all arrived will be 11 or 12,000 strong. The Provincials now about 18,000. It is supposed they will not attack but it is generally thought that Gage will, indeed from all circumstances, I think it probable and dreadful slaughter there will be. I wish I could have entertained you more agreeably, but I fear this is the subject on which we must speak and write for some time to come. May Heaven protect us; pray don't fail ment'g the rec't of my letters; you do not in your last—give my love to Peggy and be assured that I remain,

Most aff'ty yrs,
Mat Tilghman.

Robert Goldsborough
John Hanson.

DR. TRISTRAM THOMAS

*Sunt verba et vices, quibus hunc lenire dolorem
Possis, et magnam morbi deponere partem.*

—HORACE.

1769—1847

The services which the physician renders to his fellowmen are those of the first value, but they are not those that bring the first distinction. Thus in England where the social grades are definitely marked, the sovereign deems the most eminent surgeon or medical practitioner sufficiently rewarded by the bestowal of a Knighthood, while theologians, or mere preachers, are raised to Bishopricks, with seats in the house of lords, and successful lawyers, soldiers, and even authors are made peers of the realm. So in this country, where there are no such methods of recognizing merit, the popular estimate ranks the physician below the members of all the other professions. The reasons for this are not difficult to discover. Omitting what might be said of the disrepute of the profession which came to it on account of its employment of mystical agencies, and its appeals to superstitious feelings, and which caused

it to be confounded with magic, sorcery, witch-craft, thaumaturgy, astrology, alchemy, conjuration, and the like pseudo arts, agencies and appeals which some even yet do not hesitate to use, though in forms different from those of old, there are other reasons for the low estimate in which the physician's services are held, that are now and ever shall be operative. Some of these may be mentioned. These services cannot be measured by those sensible standards, nor can they be calculated by the computation of numbers such as the common mind employs. Nor do they astonish by any exhibition of great power, now that spiritual agency is disowned. They are rendered to individuals and not to great societies as are the services of the statesman. They do not protect the recipient from wrongs, personal or pecuniary, threatened by others, as do the services of the lawyer; they do not console the mind under trouble with hopes, amuse it in the hours of calmness with a graceful ritual, nor raise it out of its trivialities by eloquent words, like those of the clergyman. Besides the performance of these services are not attended by that *éclat* that is won by the politician, the jurist, and the priest, by their great public efforts. The cure of a patient of some terrible malady is not heralded like a great speech made in Congress, like a great forensic effort, or even like a great sermon. The physician's acts, for which he deserves and should receive the highest applause, are not performed upon any wide conspicuous stage; not in the halls of legislation, not in the courts of justice, not in the thronged temples of worship, but in the quiet and solitude of the sick-chamber and in the presence of attendants or friends only, with minds preoccupied by the suffering of the patient, and not prepared, if able, to appreciate the value of the services rendered. The arts which the physician practices were aptly characterized by the ancient poet as "mute" and "inglorious" arts. Nay, more, the application of even the profoundest knowledge and the employment of the highest skill by the physician are often called in question by those who have received the benefits of them in their own persons, or in the persons of those bound to them by ties of affection and kindred; for that is attributed to the unaided efforts of nature—as if nature were an entity and capable of effort—or to the result of a happy conjunction of circumstances, or to coincidence, or to accident, which has been the result of the deepest study of law and the wisest employment of means and methods. Indeed physicians themselves are guilty of a self-depreciation and are prone to attribute to other agencies than their own what they should claim as the result of their well directed efforts. Finally, the memory of the services

of the physician is the soonest effaced from the mind of all those rendered by man to his fellow. As physical suffering, which he is called upon to relieve, of all the evils of life are the soonest forgotten—sooner than the loss of property, or than injustice and wrong, which the lawyer is called upon to prevent—sooner than the pangs of a violated conscience, or the agonies of bereavement, which the priest comes in to assuage; so the memory of the physician is the first to fade from the mind, at least such a memory as manifests its existence and permanency by the bestowal of honors. He is fortunate if his pay is not grudged; he is thrice fortunate if he obtain praise with his pay. But of the whole body of physicians, those whose lot is cast in the rural districts have the smallest share of the meagre honors and rewards that are doled out to the profession. Of one of these "country doctors" who rode his weary round for more than half a century within this county; of one upon whose ears there never broke any more inspiring tones than the weak plaudits of a small community, and upon whose eyes there never dawned a vision of the shadowy pinnacles of the temple of fame, it is now proposed to give a brief account. Brief it must be, for the life of the physician, and particularly of the country physician, treads a monotonous path of duty, undiversified by incidents of interest such as mark the careers of men of prominence in other spheres of labor.

DOCTOR TRISTRAM THOMAS,

1769-1847

the subject of this memoir, was born at Roadley, the seat of the family for several generations in Bolingbroke Neck, Trappe district of Talbot county, on the 25th of December, 1769. His father bore the same name and was of a family long seated upon the Eastern Shore of Maryland. His mother was of the family of the Martins, a yet more ancient stock. His father dying previous to his birth, in July of the same year, the mother, by advice of her brother, Mr. Thomas Martin, was induced in 1775 to remove to Wilmington, Delaware, in order that her children might have those educational advantages in the schools of that town which were not afforded by her own retired neighborhood and county. In Wilmington she remained until 1777 when, alarmed by the approach of the British army under Gen'l Howe which had landed at the head of Elk in Maryland, and was marching northward for the capture of Philadelphia, she removed to that city. Here she remained until after the battles of Brandywine and Germantown and witnessed the marching in of the victorious general. Her brother dying soon after she was left without protection, and resolved to return to her former home in Talbot; which she did under the safe conduct of Thomas Parvin, a

worthy Friend of that county then attending a yearly meeting of the people of his Society in Philadelphia. Here she employed a private tutor for her children there being no public school in her vicinity worthy of being patronized. But five years later she again returned to Wilmington that she might enter her son Tristram, whom she destined for one of the liberal professions, in the excellent academy established in that town. In this school he remained until he had arrived at the age of sixteen years, following the usual curriculum in the Latin and Greek languages and the Mathematics. Having determined that her son should be trained for the medical profession, he was at this early age placed in the office of Dr. Nicholas Way of Wilmington, where he not only acquired a knowledge of the elements of medical science but also of the beginning of the medical art and especially of practical pharmacy—so necessary to the physician of that day, when apothecaries were not as numerous as now and as accessible by the practitioner of medicine. After an apprenticeship of several years, in the autumn of 1788 he was sent to Philadelphia where he attended the lectures in the Medical College of Philadelphia, a school which founded in 1765 by Doctors Shippen and Morgan, and the first of its kind in America, subsequently became organized as the Medical Department of the University of Pennsylvania. At this time and in this school Doctors Rush and Shippen were professors, at the very height of their great reputations. The limited means of Tristram Thomas would not allow his continued residence in Philadelphia, so he returned during the summers of his course to Wilmington. He attended lectures during the winters of 1789 and 1790. During his attendance upon the lectures he had the honor of being elected a member of the Medical Society of Pennsylvania, after having read and defended a thesis agreeably to the rules. At the close of the term in 1791 Tristram Thomas had expected to receive his degree, but after his examination had been passed yet before his diploma had been bestowed he returned to his old home in Talbot on a visit to his friends. Here he was most unexpectedly called upon to inoculate for the smallpox a large number of persons—as many, as he himself has said, as one hundred—an epidemic of that loathsome disease having broken out in the vicinity of the village of Trappe.¹ Attention to this

¹ Before the introduction of vaccination into this county inoculation was resorted to very generally. For the accomplishment of this operation, it was customary for physicians to advertise that they would at a specified time and place give their attention to inoculating persons desiring to be impressed. The summer season was selected, and a building remote from any habitations, usually a large tobacco barn, was set apart for the purpose. The infected spent the season

professional duty required that his graduation should be postponed until the following year which was done with the consent of the faculty of the medical school. In 1792 he appeared in Philadelphia, presented his thesis, which had for its subject *Pneumonia Stethnica* and written in the Latin language according to the usage of the day. This thesis he was called upon to defend or in other words he was required to pass an examination upon the subject of which it treated, which he accordingly did with such satisfaction to the faculty of the institution that the degree of Doctor of Medicine was conferred upon him, an honor of which his subsequent course indicated that he was entirely deserving.

After his graduation Doctor Thomas returned to Trappe the scene of his first labors, where he commenced the regular practice of his profession which was never interrupted for more than fifty years. But believing that the county town and its vicinity presented a wider sphere of labor than the smaller village and its restricted neighborhood, he removed in August of the same year, 1792, to Easton, and there he remained ably, faithfully and acceptably discharging the duties, patiently, courageously and perseveringly undergoing the hardships of a country practitioner until removed by death.

But few incidents diversify the life of this estimable physician. In the year 1793 he was selected to be one of that Board of Health of the town of Easton which was formed for the examination of all persons coming from the city of Philadelphia, then infected with yellow fever. At that date the merchants of Talbot made the most of their purchases in that city so that the intercourse between Philadelphia and Easton was intimate and frequent. The other members of the Board of Health were Dr. John Coates, Dr. John Troup Dr. Ennalls Martin and Dr. Stephen Theodore Johnson.² Dr. Thomas was one of the original cor-

of the incubation and maturity of the disease in these temporary hospitals; and so little apprehension of ill consequences was felt, that the time was passed in jollity and merriment, always subject however to the regimen established by the attending physician.

² Of these gentlemen it may be well enough to say that Dr. Coates served in the Revolutionary army, having been one of Arnold's men in the expedition against Canada; he served as a soldier, not as a surgeon; he was register of the land office for the Eastern Shore for many years. Dr. John Troup was a member of the Committee of Observation in Talbot during the first years of the Revolution, and it is believed was a surgeon in the army. Dr. Ennalls Martin was a hospital surgeon at Bethlehem, Pa., for several years of the war of Independence, and for many years a successful practitioner at Easton. Dr. S. T. Johnson was son of Henry Johnson, Esq., of Talbot, and brother-in-law of Gen'l Perry Benson. He had no service in the army, but was for many years a most respectable practitioner of medicine in this county.

porators under the act of 1798 of the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland. In 1802 he was made one of the executive committee of the society for the Eastern Shore, and in 1803 he was chosen one of the board of examiners for the same section. Of this board he was for many years a member and for the greater part of the time, up to the date of his death, its president. In this year also he was instrumental in connection with other enlightened physicians of the county in dispelling the fears that many experienced as to the dangers, and overcoming the incredulity that possessed the minds of many as to the efficacy of vaccination, which was introduced into the county in 1803. Publications in the newspaper over his signature with that of others were made, and he added his own opinions to those of distinguished physicians of Philadelphia as to the harmlessness and prophylactic virtue of cow-pox.

In or about the year 1816 a Medical District Society composed of the physicians of Talbot, Queen Anne's and Caroline counties, was formed, of which Dr. Thomas was made the President and Dr. Rob't Moore, of Easton, the Secretary.³ At a meeting of this society in Easton, May 18th, 1818, the rates of charges for medical services were established. In the year 1810 Dr. Thomas associated himself with Mr. Thomas H. Dawson in the drug and apothecary business, establishing a house which is still in existence, conducted by the sons of Dr. Dawson who in the year 1808 came from Philadelphia and settled in Easton. Although Dr. Thomas' name did not appear in the style of the firm, it was well known that he had an interest in the business. He soon learned what every physician who makes the adventure discovers, that a practitioner of medicine must have no connection with the dispenser of medicine; so the copartnership was dissolved. At one period in his professional career Dr. Thomas associated with himself his son Dr. William Thomas, a gentleman of amiable traits of character and most respectable abilities as a physician. Dr. William Thomas died on the 11th of Sep., 1851, when tributes of respect were passed to his memory by the members of the profession in Talbot, and a eulogium pronounced Nov. 11th by Dr. Ninian Pinkney, of the United States Navy, at the request of the Talbot County Medical Society.

In the year 1845 a most pleasing episode diversified the monotonous life of Dr. Tristram Thomas. As a faithful servant of the community

³ Dr. Robert Moore died in Philadelphia on the 29th of Dec., 1844, aged 81 years. He was for a long time a practitioner of medicine in Easton.

in which he lived he had labored constantly and assiduously during many years, seldom leaving his home except on professional business and finding almost his sole pleasure in his devotion to beneficent duty. He had shown himself more than the servant. The care of his patients and the solicitude for their welfare which he so constantly exhibited, taken in connection with his most amiable disposition and gentle manners had endeared him to all within his sphere, and he was regarded as a personal friend by young and old. As growing years admonished these that he must soon pass away though he was enjoying a vigorous old age, it was suggested privately that some testimonial of the reverence and the affection in which he was held should be given to him; and that this testimonial should take a form that would serve to perpetuate the memory of this "beloved physician." Accordingly a number of the citizens of the county including some of the physicians, addressed a letter to Dr. Thomas containing a request that he would consent to stand for his portrait. With a modesty entirely natural to him he at first declined acceding to this request, but was finally prevailed upon to consent. It was determined to have a full length portrait painted, and a fund was collected for the payment of the artist. Mr. Thomas C. Ruckle of this State was invited to Easton to paint the portrait, which he accomplished to the entire satisfaction of everyone, producing a picture which was not only valuable as a likeness of the subject, but as a superior work of art. This portrait after completion was suspended for a while in the court house for the inspection and the gratification of the citizens of the county. At a meeting of the subscribers to the fund it was resolved that the most appropriate place for this portrait was the building of the Medical Department of the University of Maryland, in Baltimore. These gentlemen were authorized to present the picture to the faculty of that institution: Doctors C. C. Cox, A. M. White, W. Hemsley, with W. H. Groome, W. H. Tilghman and Matthew Tilghman Goldsborough, Esquires. It was accompanied by a brief biographical sketch of the subject and a list of subscribers to the fund, to be filed among the archives of the University. The picture and the accompanying papers were acknowledged October 21st, 1845, by Dr. W. E. Aiken, Dean of the faculty of physic to have been received and the names of the donors to have been recorded upon the records of the Faculty. One of the conditions of the gift was that in the event of the dissolution of the medical school, the picture should revert to those contributing to the fund for its execution. It is proper to say that Dr. C. C. Cox who was the author of the memoir of Dr.

Thomas was chiefly instrumental in securing the painting. The compliment thus paid to Dr. Thomas was very grateful to the aged physician and, by universal consent, it was justly merited.

He continued to perform the duties of his profession up to a few days of his death. His health had been uniformly excellent, though physically he was neither rugged nor robust. A regimen of temperateness and care had enabled him to perform labors which would have exhausted stronger men. His mind retained its habitual cheerfulness and buoyancy to the last. A slight indisposition from which he seemed entirely to recover preceded his dissolution, and upon the day of his demise he was receiving at his home the visits of his friends and neighbors who were calling upon him to pay their respects. He passed suddenly but peacefully away, apparently without a single pang, August 5th, 1847, at the ripe age of nearly 78 years. His venerable form was viewed after death by many, both young and old, with emotions of unaffected sorrow, and it was followed to the grave by a large concourse of citizens whose presence was more than a formal tribute of respect. By some friendly hand was penned the following as a part of a brief obituary published in the *Easton Gazette* immediately after his decease.

Thus has gone from our midst a most excellent citizen and a good man. A burning example to the profession of which he was a distinguished ornament, for more than half a century, his memory will be treasured as a rich legacy by those of his medical friends who survive him. By the community to whom his presence and his services have been familiar for so many years, the death of Dr. Thomas is regarded as no ordinary calamity, and more than one recipient of his gentle and paternal offices in the sick room will live to drop a tear upon the sod that covers his venerable form, and recall in sad though fond remembrance the many kindly words and deeds that graced his long and useful life.

These threnetic words had a response in the minds of every one who knew the person of whom they were spoken. The members of the medical profession in Talbot in compliance with a published request by some of the faculty residing in Easton, assembled in that town on the 14th of August for the purpose of laying some proper tribute to the memory of their late brother. A series of resolutions was presented and adopted, of which the one following will suffice to indicate the estimate in which Dr. Thomas was held by those best capable of judging of his worth:

Resolved that the rigid observance of medical etiquette; the polite and dignified carriage; the noble generosity of disposition; the amiable-

ness and gentleness of character; the excellent attainments in science; and the acknowledged professional skill which have marked the public offices in this community for more than fifty years, must ever endear Dr. Thomas to the medical practitioners of his native county, who long have held him in high honor and esteem.

Another resolution provided for the appointment of a committee, the duty of which should be to select some member of the faculty to pronounce an oration upon the life, character and services of the deceased; and the 28th day of August was named as the day for its delivery. These gentlemen constituted the committee: Doctors Muse, Hemsley, White, Sol. M. Jenkins, and Russum, and they selected Dr. C. C. Cox of Easton to prepare the discourse. On the day designated this accomplished gentleman who to extensive and varied scientific attainments adds a high literary culture, and who is not less able as an orator than as a physician, delivered a finished eulogium of the departed, in which a brief review of his life was given and an appreciation of his character and qualifications presented. It has been the good fortune of but few men of the profession to have been so eloquently praised; it is equally true that there have been but few who have better deserved such praise.⁴

In forming an estimate of the character and abilities of Dr. Thomas, the utmost partiality cannot attribute to him mental endowments of a high order; while the severest criticisms must concede to him the very best elements of character. Indeed it may be said, not for the sake of the anthithesis, that in his character lay his ability. His most marked traits were his singular mildness, gentleness and urbanity; and his best endowments were his faculty of feeling and showing a sympathy for the suffering and a personal interest in the welfare of those under his care—a sympathy which was spontaneous and unaffected, and an interest which was neither mercenary nor professional. It is not pretended that he possessed that finical morality which disdains those devices that are employed by some of the most honorable physicians for their own advancement in honor or profit, such as the manifestation of tenderness and solicitude for the sick under their care when none is

⁴ This Oration was published as a pamphlet, with this title: "Oration on the Life, Character and Services of Tristram Thomas, M.D., delivered in Easton, Maryland, on the 28th of August, 1847, at the request of the Medical Faculty of Talbot county, Maryland, by Christopher C. Cox, A.M., M.D. Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus Tam cari capitas. * * * Multis ille bonnis febilis occidit.—Hor. Baltimore: Printed by Jos. Robinson." This oration has been freely used in the compilation of this memoir. Its materials are drawn from authentic sources.

really felt. What is meant is that he resorted to no histrionic display of feeling, but yielded to the prompting of his own native sensibility when in the presence of suffering. And this sensibility also rendered him one of the most polite men of his day in this county.⁵ He was polite, not in the sense merely of possessing those graces of manner which may be acquired by intercourse with polished society, though in these he excelled; but in that better sense of being regardful of the rights and privileges, the opinions and feelings, the comforts and pleasures of others, and of acting in conformity thereto. This is a natural endowment: that may be but the affection of it. Dr. Thomas was born a gentleman, and those qualities which made him such shone as conspicuously in the solitude of the sick chamber as in the drawing room or upon the public street. While everywhere his presence, by reason of his urbanity and suavity, was most welcome, in the sick room it was more—it was salutary—healthful. In his ministrations to the afflicted a virtue seemed to proceed from him which could not be attributed to the employment of any visible or tangible agencies. This power possessed by some few physicians cannot be denied though its explanation may not be as clear as its existence. In the case of Dr. Thomas it is not difficult to trace it to its source. The confidence in his own art which was acquired by him at a period before the skepticism in medicine that now pervades the profession had made its appearance, or at least before it had become so general as now, and which he carried with him unabated to the end, he was able to impart to those who came under his treatment and care. His own unquestioning faith in what he practised he easily communicated to minds in a condition to be readily impressed. The confidence of his patients in his professional honesty aided in the work. This confidence in the medical attendant and in his art which

⁵ It is with regret that it must be said the graces of manner were more carefully cultivated thirty, forty or fifty years ago than now. There were gentlemen in this county of whose courtliness there are traditions that are not likely to die. These were imitated by those who were in a lower social scale, so that the whole people in a measure acquired a politeness which was far removed from the rusticity common to rural communities. Even the negroes followed the example of these masters and became polite. In the early part of this century these persons were thought worthy by their manners to contest for the palm of being the best gentleman: Robt. H. Goldsborough, Esq., Dr. Tristram Thomas, and Israel Carroll, the body servant of Col. Will. Hayward. There were those who considered the colored man entitled to the precedence and he certainly was, if an over-strict observance, and an exaggeration of the forms observed in society were made the test.

is one of the most effectual agencies of the practitioner, and which lies at the foundation of that healing influence that comes with the very presence of the physician, was strengthened in the case of Dr. Thomas by the gentlest manners, the kindest words expressed in the softest tones, and with the most sympathizing interest. This explains much of his success in practice—for success he had such as few physicians in his position have enjoyed. It cannot be attributed to any extraordinary mental ability, though his endowments were respectable; not to any great learning in his profession, for it is very doubtful whether after the earlier years of his practice he kept pace with the progress of medical knowledge. It does not appear that his perspicacity in distinguishing diseases was above that of ordinary men; nor did he possess unusual resources in the application of remedial agents: though it is not meant to be intimated he was in these deficient. But the extent and efficacy of his practice were out of all proportion to his natural capacity or his acquisitions, and may be traced directly to those moral qualifications, so to speak, which have been noticed;⁶ and yet Dr. Martin, his contemporary, and in a sense a rival, had equal or greater success with manners directly the reverse of those of Dr. Thomas. His professional labors extended to all parts of this county and into the adjoining counties of Queen Anne's and Caroline. Occasionally his services were required in even more distant sections. In autumnal seasons, at least in those when the malarial diseases were more than usually prevalent, it was often necessary when he was at the height of his practice to have relays of horses to enable him to make a full circuit of his practice in one day before returning to his home. In the later years of his life through the greater activity of younger men and the increase of competition by reason of the greater number of physicians, his practice very materially declined. But almost to the very end of life he enjoyed a fair share of business. To the female portion of the community his ministrations were especially acceptable, for besides being most gracious in his manners, he was delicate, pure and honorable.

⁶ While the writer professes to have no knowledge of the character of Dr. Thomas' practice, he ventures to conjecture that it was affected by his own personal character, and that he who was so gentle and mild in his manners, and so sensitive to the afflictions of others, must have modified, softened, mitigated those heroic methods of treatment which prevailed up to a comparatively recent period. If this conjecture be true, we have the psychological phenomenon presented of the sensibilities anticipating the deductions of reason, and the inductions of experience, for this mild practice is the practice of the present.

To the poor he was the constant benefactor. To them he extended the same consideration and attention that he bestowed upon those able to compensate him for his services. His relations with the members of the profession were of the most harmonious and cordial character. He was entirely free from jealousy and was never a participant in those petty strifes that mar good feeling and bring reproach upon the faculty. To young practitioners he was kind, indulgent and helpful. He was always ready to give them that assistance which they stand most in need of in the earlier years of their labors, namely the results of personal experience and observation.

It is believed Dr. Thomas contributed but little to medical literature. A paper on Bilious and Remittent Fever, published in one of the medical journals was referred to favorably by Dr. Eberle in his book on Practice. Certain notes of cases that fell under his observation were also printed and were quoted by the same authority. He was not reluctant to discuss with his brethren matters relating to their common calling, and therefore it may be that any additions he may possibly have made to medical science or art became a part of the traditions or unwritten lore of the profession; for it is not to be supposed that a long life spent in the observation and treatment of disease was without its fruits.

Dr. Thomas was a Federalist, though he took no other part in politics than simply to deposit his vote for the candidates of his choice. He did not live to see his son raised to the chief magistracy of the State, though his parental pride was gratified by learning before his death of the nomination of Philip Francis Thomas as the candidate of the Democratic party for the gubernatorial chair.

He was a member of the Protestant Episcopal Church. An absence of all zealotry, the possession of a sound judgment, and the promptings, of an enlightened self interest made him liberal towards those who differed from him in religious opinion. If he was harassed by those doubts which beset physicians generally, he had the discretion to conceal them, living as he did in a community deeply interested in spiritual things and therefore intolerant of skepticism. Dr. Thomas was one of the earliest members of the Masonic fraternity in this county, he having been among those admitted to the first lodge established in Talbot by Dr. John Coates, the first grandmaster of the State of Maryland, originally designated as Lodge No. 6, but subsequently as St. Thomas' Lodge No. 37. He was a warm advocate of the principles of Masonry and wrought earnestly for the advancement of the order.

Dr. Thomas was of medium height of slight, spare figure, of ruddy complexion, and of a countenance in which intelligence and kindness of feeling were expressed. His appearance in old age inspired veneration and affection.

He was three times married: first in 1792, to Miss Gaddes of Wilmington, Del.; secondly in 1804, to Miss Mary Ann Goldsborough, of Talbot; and thirdly, in 1809, to Miss Maria Francis, of Philadelphia. Of the numerous children born to him these survived him: Philip Francis Thomas, Governor of Maryland, and the incumbent of many other civil stations of honor and responsibility; Dr. William Thomas at one time a much esteemed practitioner of Medicine in Easton; Mrs. Ellen Francis, the wife of the late James Lloyd Martin, Esq., a prominent member of the bar of Talbot county; Capt. Charles Thomas, now a retired officer of the United States Navy, and citizen of Baltimore; and Mrs. Henrietta Stewart, wife of Mr. V. D. Stewart, Pharmaceutist of Baltimore.

The body of Dr. Thomas lies buried at Easton in that portion of Spring Hill Cemetery which formerly was the burial ground of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Here no stone has as yet been erected over his remains, but his epitaph is written in the minds and hearts of the people among whom he lived. It were well if that people keep the inscription fresh and legible; for its perpetuation of his memory will prolong beyond the grave the usefulness of a life devoted to acts of humanity and will be its best tribute of homage and of gratitude.

HON. WILLIAM PERRY

1746-1799

Pride of family does not appear to have been sufficiently strong among those akin to the subject of this sketch to cause the preservation of those records of their ancestry which would enable the members of the living generation to justify by written record this sentiment which they now indulge. While they frankly acknowledge that whatever they have of this feeling of superiority on the score of descent is founded mainly upon traditions, they are not willing that these obscurely transmitted as they are shall be considered as illusory as many that are accepted without hesitancy by others as authentic, and as the chief support of claims to social distinction much more pretentious than they assert. The father of the subject of this sketch and the founder of the family in Maryland was William Perry (I) an Englishman by birth, who seated himself in Caroline county. He is reputed to have been one of the larg-

est land-holders of the Province, as well as the possessor of a great number of slaves—a kind of property in his time greatly more valuable than broad acres. He and his wife, Ann, seem to have lived in a style corresponding with their means with a kind of “rude pomp where the fashions of St. James were somewhat oddly grafted on the roughness of the plantation,”¹ and dying left their vast estate to his three children; two daughters and a son. One of the daughters, Deborah, married Henry Dickinson, and the other Alex. Frazier, both of Caroline county. The son bore his own name and was he of whom it is now proposed to speak.

William Perry (II) was born August 24th, 1746. Nothing whatever is known of his early education, but that it was not neglected there is abundant evidence; that it was such as the ample means of his father could readily bestow and better than could be obtained in the neighborhood schools or academies is altogether probable. He may have been sent, like many of the sons of wealthy planters of that day, to England for the completion of his studies. If he embraced the profession of law there are no means of determining beyond what is tradited. He early contracted a marriage with Elizabeth the daughter of Jacob Hindman, Esquire, of “Kirkham” in this county (now called “Perry Hall” and still in the possession of a descendant, Mrs. Mary Hindman Perry (Muse) Cox, and the sister of the Hon. William Hindman, a member of Congress, and of Capt. James Hindman of the Continental Army.

After the marriage of Mr. Perry to Miss Hindman he removed to Talbot and purchasing the seat of the Hindmans upon Miles river, he made that his home giving to it the name it now bears, enlarging the mansion, adorning and beautifying the grounds, until it became one of the most charming residences of the county, a character which it maintained down to a comparatively recent date and may again at any time assume when fortune smiles upon its present possessor. Here he engaged actively in agricultural pursuits, diversifying them, as was the custom of the gentlemen of the day, with politics, into which before and during the Revolution he entered with the ardor of a patriot and after with the passion of a partisan. His first official positions were held under the Proprietary Government. In 1774 we find his name mentioned as one of the Receivers of the Alienation fees or fines for Lord Baltimore. In the same year the records of the court here show him to have been one

¹ See Parkman's “Montcalm and Wolfe” for a brief but admirable description of the Virginia gentry of the time—very appropriate to the same class in Maryland. Vol. I, p. 30.

of the "Worshipful the Justices of Peace" for Talbot County, officers of more extended jurisdiction than that possessed in the present by those bearing the same name. This latter position he held up to the time of the displacement of the Proprietary and the institution of constitutional government in the State of Maryland. When the courts were reorganized under the Constitution of 1776 he was continued as a Justice of the Peace down to 1779 when he was retired. At the Convention of Delegates from the several counties that assembled at Annapolis, July 26th, 1775, Mr. Perry was chosen as one of a committee of eight gentlemen of known integrity from the Eastern Shore (there being a similar committee from the Western) to sign bills of credit which were to be issued for the encouragement and the promotion of the manufacture of salt-petre, the erection of a powder mill and other purposes, preparatory for the war that had already begun with the mother country. At the meeting of the Convention, November 9th, 1776, he was appointed upon a committee for a similar duty—the signing of other bills of credit. On the 2d of July of the same year he was chosen by the Convention, in connection with Messrs. John Goldsborough and Henry Banning to hold an election of Delegates to a new Convention, whose special duty it should be "to form a new government by authority of the people only"—that is to say, to frame a Constitution. The election was accordingly held August 1st, the Convention met and the Constitution was formed. By this instrument he was named as one of the Judges of Election—the first election held under that great charter—in connection with Messrs. John Goldsborough and John Bracco. During the whole war of the Revolution he was an active and zealous patriot, aiding by his counsels and sustaining with his wealth the cause of independence, but he took no part in military operations.

After the conclusion of the war he entered actively into politics. The government of the State under the Constitution may be said to have been at this period inchoate, and the best minds found an ample field for the exercise of powers in giving order, firmness and consistency to the new organism. National parties under the Articles of Confederation may be said scarcely to have had existence. In September, 1786, Mr. Perry was chosen by the electoral college one of the State Senators from the Eastern Shore having as his coadjutors Messrs. John Henry, William Hemsley, George Gale, William Paca and Edward Lloyd. Serving the constitutional term of five years he was again chosen senator 1791 with Messrs. William Tilghman, William Hindman, Gustavus Scott and Edward Lloyd as his associates from the Eastern Shore.

Again he was chosen senator in 1796, with Messrs. Nicholas Hammond, Littleton Dennis, John Campbell, John S. Purnell and James Hollyday as fellow members from this section of the State. This was the fifth Senate chosen since the adoption of the present form of government, and it honored Mr. Perry by electing him its President; but before the end of his term of service he died suddenly while in the active discharge of his duties as presiding officer of this most respectable assembly. During the time of his service in the senate many most important acts were passed by the General Assembly, and those may be particularly noted which relate to the new national government, to the reorganization of the judicial system, to the testamentary affairs, to the elections, to education and to religion. It is fair to presume, though testimony be wanting, that Mr. Perry who was certainly an enlightened statesman participated actively and efficiently in the work of legislation upon these subjects. When the county courts were reorganized under the act of 1790 he was appointed by the Governor and Council one of the Associate Judges for Talbot County, the date of his commission being January 17th, 1791. Talbot County court was within the Judicial district composed of Cecil, Kent, Queen Anne's and Talbot counties. Mr. James Tilghman was Chief Judge, and Mr. James Tilghman, Jr., fellow associate Judge. Mr. Perry held this office but for two years when he resigned. When parties began to be formed upon the lines of national policy he allied himself with the Federalists, and in the end became a warm partisan ready to defend his principles, *ab unquibus et rostro*. The leaders of the two parties in this county, when they became defined, were William Perry of the Federal and Jacob Gibson of the Democratic or Republican as it was then called; and many are the stories related of their election conflicts which were not confined to loud and strong words but to hard and vigorous blows. A letter of William Perry to Nicholas Hammond, written from Annapolis but a few days before his death comments upon the Kentucky resolutions, 1799, just then before the legislature, and the Virginia resolutions of the year previous—those dragon's teeth of civil strife. There are those now living who will have a higher estimate of Mr. Perry's perspicacity as a politician than had many of his time when they learn that in these resolutions he was able to read of trouble to come to the nation.

Mr. Perry was an earnest, active, and in all probability an exemplary member of the Protestant Episcopal Church, serving as a member of the Vestry in St. Michaels parish from 1877 until his death. He was the first delegate sent from the parishes of this county to the Diocesan

Convention in 1790, and he served in the same capacity in 1792. He was a friend of popular education having been one of the trustees of Talbot Free School, a promoter of Washington College, Kent County, an institution from which so much was expected at the date of its organization, and an active agent while in the Senate in securing the charter of the Easton Academy—one of the last services he rendered his county as appears from the letter already quoted. Mr. Perry, like many of the prominent gentlemen of his day, was a member of the Masonic Fraternity. He was the Secretary of a Lodge established in this county soon after or during the war of the Revolution under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania; and as a representative of this lodge he assisted in the organization of the Grand Lodge of Maryland at a Convention held for this purpose at Talbot Court House, or Easton, in July, 1783. By this convention he was elected Grand Treasurer of the Grand Lodge of Maryland, and was the first to serve in this capacity.

While in the active discharge of his duty as President of the Senate of Maryland, he was suddenly stricken with apoplexy, and expired on the 10th day of January, 1799. He was buried at Annapolis with no inconsiderable pomp as appears from the following account of his death and funeral printed in the *Maryland Gazette*, with the then customary marks of mourning:

Died on Thursday last in this city, in attendance on his legislative duties the Honorable William Perry, Esquire, late President of the Senate of this State. His remains were interred on Saturday last, attended by the several departments and officers of Government, and a number of respectable citizens, in the following order:

	Sexton,	
	Two Staff men. Staffs in mourning.	
	Clerk,	
	Clergymen,	
	Physicians,	
	Pall-Bearers,	
	Undertaker,	
	Hearse,	
	Mourners,	
Messenger	President	{ Door Keeper
with staff in	of the	with staff in
Mourning, }	Senate	Mourning }
	Members of the Senate,	
	Sergeant-at-Arms with Mace in Mourning,	
	Speaker of the House of Delegates,	
	Members of the House of Delegates,	

Chief Clerk,
Assistant Clerk,
Governor,
Council,
Clerk,
Chancellor,
Judges of the General Court,
Treasurers,
Clerk of General Court and Court of Appeals,
Registers of Chancery and Land Office,
Auditor and Agent,
Printer,
Citizens—two and two.

Upon the meeting of the House of Delegates Jan. 12th, 1799 the following resolution was passed and entered upon the record of the proceedings:

RESOLVED: That the members of this House wear a scarf on their left arm for ten days in respect of the President of the Senate who died in attending the duties of his appointment. By order, William Harwood, Clk.

No stone has ever been erected over his remains which lie undistinguished in the church yard of St. Ann's, Annapolis. No portrait of him exists but tradition relates that he was short in stature, stout in person, of florid complexion with blue eyes and light hair—a true representative of the English squire. He was fond of the pleasures of the table, companionable, of easy manners and deservedly held in much esteem as the possessor of many social accomplishments and the domestic virtues. His abilities were undoubtedly of a most respectable order fully equal to the discharge of his public functions. As has already been noted in this paper he married a Miss Hindman by whom he had two children, a son bearing his own name who living to maturity died childless, and a daughter who became the wife of Col. William B. Smyth, and who was without offspring. The son, William Perry, (III) at one period served as clerk to the Senate of Maryland. William Perry (II) married for his second wife Miss Sarah Rule, the daughter of George Rule, Head Master of the Talbot County Free School, a man of no contemptible literary attainments, a portion of which he imparted to his daughter who, according to family tradition, was a good Latin and Greek scholar. By this lady he had an only daughter who became the wife of Mr. David Kerr, Jr., the brother of the Hon. John Leeds Kerr, and subsequently of Dr. John Rogers. She was a woman of great strength of character, and has many descendants now living.

GENERAL LLOYD TILGHMAN

1816-1863

General Lloyd Tilghman, Confederate States Army, was born at "Rich Neck Manor," the present beautiful colonial country-seat of H. H. Pearson, Jr., near Claiborne, in Talbot County, Eastern Shore of Maryland, 30th of January, 1816. His parents were James Tilghman and Ann C. Shoemaker Tilghman, his grandfather Lloyd Tilghman was a son of Honorable Matthew Tilghman, who for half a century from 1740 to 1790 was one of the most prominent figures in the political annals of both the Province and the State of Maryland, and who was justly styled by the historian, McMahan, the patriarch of the Maryland Colony. Matthew was a member of the First Continental Congress 1774, and of those of 1775, 1776 and 1777. He failed to immortalize his name as a signer of the Declaration of Independence by reason of the fact that he was called back to Annapolis in June 1776 to preside over the Convention which framed the first Constitution of the State of Maryland. He was speaker of the House of Delegates 1773, 1774, and 1775, and President of the revolutionary convention that from 1774 until 1777 controlled the Province, and directed the Government which had been wrested from Governor Robert Eden, the brother-in-law of the Proprietary, the last Lord Baltimore. His wisdom, courage, purity of character and ability won for him the name of the patriarch of Maryland, and his influence was second to that of no man in forming the institutions and organizing the Government of the new State.

When but twenty-three years of age Matthew Tilghman, in 1741, was commissioned Captain of a Troop of Horse organized to protect the outlying settlements of the Eastern Shore of Maryland from Indian incursions. His wife, Ann Lloyd, was a great grand-daughter of Colonel Edward Lloyd, the first Puritan Commander of Anne Arundel County, whose commission dated July 30th, 1650, at Providence, now the city Annapolis. With such forebears as these can it be wondered at that Lloyd Tilghman early imbibed by heredity a military spirit which led him to obtain a cadetship at the United States Military Academy, West Point, at the age of 16, in 1832. He graduated with honor in 1836 and was at once assigned to the United States Dragoons. He was commissioned full second Lieutenant July 4th, 1836, but resigned on the 30th of September to accept the position of Civil Engineer of the Baltimore and Susquehanna Railroad, 1836-1837, of the Norfolk and Wilmington Canal, 1837-1838, the Eastern Shore Railroad

1838-1839, and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad 1839-1840. He served in the War with Mexico as volunteer aide to General David E. Twiggs at the battle of Pala Alto and Resaca de la Palma, and was captain of a light artillery battery in the Maryland and District of Columbia battalion of volunteers from the 14th of August, 1847 until it was disbanded 13th July, 1848.¹ He then served as principal assistant Civil Engineer of the Panama Division of the Isthmus Railroad and was engaged in surveying and superintending the construction of southern railroads, one from Paducah, Ky., to Memphis, Tenn., the other the Mobile and Ohio Railroad, from Paducah to the Gulf of Mexico at Mobile until the outbreak of the Civil War, when he volunteered in the service of the Confederate States, raised and commanded a regiment of infantry comprising some of the best blood of Kentucky, which became the Third Kentucky Confederate Regiment. Beriah Magoffin was Governor, and Gen. S. B. Buckner first in command of the Kentucky State Guard. The State tried to assume a neutral position in the great struggle which had just begun, and Buckner and Tilghman stayed by the State. This position was maintained until the Federal troops entered the State. Men then were obliged to take sides, and it was at Tilghman's home at Paducah that Buckner and Tilghman, who were both strongly southern men, decided to join the Confederate cause, and aid it with all their powers. Tilghman, who commanded the 3rd Kentucky Regiment, a splendid body of men, thoroughly equipped and drilled and armed with the best of small arms and having a Battery of Brass Napoleons, entered the Confederate Service and took his entire command with him. The regiment went to Camp Daniel Boone, near Clarksville, Tenn., where Tilghman, who had been made a Brigadier General, commanded. He went from there to Hopkinsville, Ky., succeeding General Clark, and from there was placed in command of the defenses of the Tennessee and Cumberland, the former being Ft. Henry, a completed earthen work, and the latter Ft. Donelson, a work on the Cumberland directly across the peninsula and distant about fifteen miles from Ft. Henry. General Gilmour, the Chief of the Confederate Engineers, and General Tilghman drew the plans for the Fort and General Tilghman brought them to completion. That great

¹ Major John R. Kenly of Baltimore commanded the military escort that had charge of the Mexican General Santa Anna after his surrender. When presented to Santa Anna, Kenly writes "My first thought was, How like my father he is!" and whilst this first impression was dwelling in my mind Captain Tilghman remarked, "How much he is like Major Kenly's father."

Chieftain, General Albert Sidney Johnston, the Department Commander, was then at Bowling Green, Ky., in front of General Don Carlos Buell, the Federal Commander. In February 1862, when Grant and Foote advanced up the Tennessee against Ft. Henry, General Johnston, knowing the weakness of Ft. Henry and foreseeing that a later attack would be made on the more important and stronger Ft. Donelson which covered Nashville, instructed General Tilghman who was at Ft. Henry "to save his Fort if possible, but to save his command at all hazards." Fort Henry was surrounded by "back-waters," the river being so high as to bring the guns of Foote's fleet on a line with the guns of the Fort. General Tilghman knowing that his Fort would fall sent his entire command over to Ft. Donelson, remaining at his post and retaining only enough men to work his guns and hold the attacking forces until his command could reach Donelson. Commodore Foote with his strong fleet advanced to the attack with great gallantry and before the engagement was over was delivering his fire at musket shot range. After two hours of stubborn fighting, his guns mostly dismounted and his handful of men either dead or worn out, Gen. Tilghman surrendered his Fort to Commodore Foote.

For this soldierly devotion and self-sacrifice the gallant commander and his brave band must be honored while patriotism has an advocate and self-sacrifice for others has a votary.

writes President Jefferson Davis, in his "Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government."

This same Company, the "Rock City Artillery" of Nashville, Tenn., after its members were exchanged in the fall of 1862, was re-organized at Jackson, Mississippi, and ordered to Port Hudson, Louisiana to man a battery of heavy artillery. During the memorable siege of Port Hudson by Farragut's fleet of warships on the Mississippi, and General Banks' Army of 30,000 on the land side in the spring of 1863, this same artillery company was nearly annihilated. Three of its four officers were killed outright leaving as its Commander and only surviving officer Captain Oswald Tilghman, a kinsman of Gen. Lloyd Tilghman, who was before joining this battery an aide on his staff.

Mr. Davis in an address delivered before a Confederate Society at Mississippi City, Miss., in 1878, paid the following eloquent and touching tribute to the memory of Gen. Lloyd Tilghman.

Martyrdom has generally been considered, and with reason, a fruit of the sanctity of the cause in which the martyr died. You know how

many examples your army furnished of men who piously served and piously died from wounds received in battle. The proofs of martyrdom, if I were to attempt to enumerate, would exceed your time and my strength on this occasion. Yet I am not willing to pass by as silent memory some of those examples of heroism, of patriotism, of devotion to country, which the Army of Tennessee furnished. The Greek who held the pass, the Roman who for a time held the bridge, have been immortalized in rhyme and story. But neither of those more heroically, more patriotically, more singly served his country than did Tilghman at Fort Henry, when approached by a large army, an army which rendered the permanent defense of the fort impossible; he, with a handful of devoted followers, went into the fort and continued the defense until his brigade could retire in safety to Fort Donelson; then, when that work was finished, when it was impossible any longer to make a defense, when the wounded and dying lay all around him, he, with the surviving remnant of his little band, terminated the struggle and suffered in a manner thousands of you who have been prisoners of war know how to estimate.

All peace and honor to his ashes, for he was among those, not the most unhappy, who went hence before our bitterest trials came upon us.

Gen. Lloyd Tilghman after being incarcerated in Fort Warren, Boston Harbor, for about six months was exchanged, together with General Simon B. Buckner of Kentucky, in the summer of 1862 and placed in command at Jackson, Miss., of 10,000 exchanged Confederate prisoners of war. These had to be re-organized into companies, regiments and brigades of infantry, cavalry and artillery, clothed, armed and equipped anew. Most of these troops had been captured at Island Number Ten and at Fort Donelson. This was a most arduous and perplexing undertaking in view of the extreme difficulty of obtaining from the then already impoverished Confederate Government supplies and stores from either Quarter-Master, Commissary or Ordnance Departments. All this required more than ordinary executive ability on the part of the Commander, which General Tilghman happily possessed in a marked degree, and which was doubtless due to his early military training at the West Point Military Academy. He accomplished this work in a most satisfactory manner in less than three months. In the spring of 1863 when General Pemberton's army was driven by General Grant within the fortifications of Vicksburg, the rear guard of the Confederate Army was commanded by General Lloyd Tilghman. At Champion's Hill or Edward's Station, between Jackson and Vicksburg, he made a most determined stand against the advancing columns of the Federal Army. As his troops were being forced back he took

command, in person, of a section of field artillery and was in the act of sighting a howitzer when he received his death wound, a cannon shot striking him in the hip. He was laid under the shade of a peach tree where his life's blood ebbed slowly away, and another hero was added to that long list of martyrs who died for the cause, "the lost cause," though it be, still dear and will ever remain dear to the hearts of all true Southerners to the end of time.

'Tis a well authenticated historical fact that the peaches afterwards borne by the tree which was watered by his blood were as red as blood itself, from skin to kernel. His body which was buried in the cemetery in Vicksburg, Miss., was, after the death of his widow, removed to New York City by his sons and placed beside that of his wife, who removed from Clarksville, Tenn. to New York, at the close of the Civil War, and lived to see her sons successful in business as stock brokers, and lived to the advanced age of four score years.

Major General W. W. Loring in his official report of the battle of Champion's Hill or Baker's Creek, Mississippi, fought May 13-16, 1863, says,

at 8 o'clock on the morning of the 16th the enemy moving rapidly upon my pickets he opened a brisk cannonade. I suggested to General Pemberton that the sooner he formed a line of battle the better, as the enemy would be very soon upon us. He at first directed me to form Tilghman's brigade in a line of battle upon the ground it then occupied but soon thought it untenable, and ordered it with Featherstones' and Buford's brigades (my whole division) into a line of battle, on a ridge about three quarters of a mile in the rear and across a small creek. This line was almost immediately changed for a ridge still further back, where my artillery was advantageously posted on both sides of the road, the field in the front being entirely open as far as Mrs. Ellyson's house. Buford's Brigade, about this time, met a charge of the enemy (infantry, cavalry and artillery), and repulsed them in splendid style with great slaughter, the heavy fighting being done by the 12 La. a large regiment under the able and daring . This and the gallant 35th Ala. regiment had also distinguished themselves in the charge upon the enemy's right and center, and about this time the brave Alpheus Baker of the 54th Ala. was severely wounded, on another part of the field. During this time Tilghman, who had been left with his Brigade on the road, almost immediately after our parting, met a terrible assault of the enemy and when we rejoined him was carrying on a deadly and most gallant fight with less than fifteen hundred effectives. He was attacked by from six to eight thousand of the enemy, with a fine park of artillery, but being advantageously posted, he not only held him in check, but repulsed him on several occasions, and

thus kept open the only line of retreat left to the army. The bold stand of this Brigade, under its lamented hero, saved a large portion of the army. It is befitting that I should speak of the gallant and accomplished Tilghman quick and bold in the execution of his plans, he fell, in the midst of a Brigade that loved him well, after repulsing a powerful enemy in deadly fight, struck by a cannon shot, a Brigade wept over the dying hero, alike beautiful as it was touching.

General Tilghman married in Portland, Maine, August 1st, 1843, Augusta M. Boyd. Of their five sons and three daughters there are now living (January 1907) but two sons, Frederick Boyd and Sidell Tilghman of New York City.

He was a strikingly handsome man of slight build but erect in stature, 6 feet tall, with a wealth of wavy dark auburn hair which fell to his shoulders, and deep set dark bright eyes; always faultless in dress, he possessed a dignified presence which commanded the respect of every one with whom he was brought in contact,—but withal a most attractive personality, yet ever imbued with the tenderest emotions. He exemplified that high type of manhood described by Bayard Taylor in his song of the Camp, "The bravest are the tenderest, the loving are the daring."

His sons have honored their father's memory by a handsome bronze statue of him of heroic size, in full dress military uniform, which surmounts a Confederate monument in the City of Paducah, Kentucky. They have also marked the spot where he was killed near Edward's Station, Hinds County, Mississippi, by a huge granite boulder upon which is placed a bronze tablet with the following inscription:

Lloyd Tilghman
Brigadier General C. S. A.
Commanding First Brigade
Loring's Division
Killed here the afternoon of May 16, 1863, near
the close of the Battle of Champion's Hill.

PURSER SAMUEL HAMBLETON

1777-1851

The recent death of Col. Samuel Hambleton, the lawyer and politician, has revived by a very natural and necessary association in the minds of many of the older citizens of this county the fading remembrance of that excellent and admirable gentleman of the same name and lineage—Purser Samuel {Hambleton, of Perry Cabin. Rural economists

who look beyond the immediate present justly lament the forest denudation of our country and the consequent accompanying impoverishment of the fields by solar desiccation or pluvial denudation. So moral economists may with equal justness lament the thoughtless wastefulness that suffers the memories of its worthy citizens to fall beneath the ceaseless strokes of time like the monarchs of the woods before the axe of the lumberman, inducing an atmosphere of aridity in which private and public virtues wither and a soil of sterility which refuses to produce the fruits of generous endeavor because those elements that nourish them to perfection are not supplied—washed away, as it were, into the sea of oblivion. Scarcely more than a generation has passed since the death of the subject of this memoir, and yet the impress of his merits and virtues, vivid and strong as it was upon all minds that received the reflection of their brightness has, like a sun picture, almost faded and will soon be entirely effaced if perchance it should not be renewed in the mental camera. An attempt is here made to revive and perhaps render indelible the impression made by Mr. Hambleton upon one who in his youth esteemed it a privilege, as it was his pride, to enjoy in some degree his esteem and confidence, and who now cherishes his venerable memory as a solace in the darkening days of declining years.

Samuel Hambleton, long known as Samuel Hambleton, Senior, as distinguishing him from his nephew of the same name, was born at Martingham on St. Michaels river in this county, the original seat of his most respectable family, upon the 29th of March, 1777. If antenatal influence be acknowledged as having any potency in affecting subsequent character, it may be noted that as his birth was at a time of great patriotic exaltation in his State his life afforded instances of patriotic devotion. He was the second son among a large number of brothers and sisters, children of William Hambleton and Nancy Needles, his wife. He was a lineal descendant in the fourth generation from William Hambleton, a native of Scotland, who came to Maryland and settled upon St. Michaels river as early, at least, as the organization of this county. The following account of the founder of the family is from the hand of Mr. Samuel Hambleton himself and copied from the original record.

At what time my paternal ancestor arrived in this country is uncertain. I have heard my father say that he came from Scotland when young; married and left one son; returned to Scotland for the purpose of settling some business and there died soon after. Among my father's

papers I find a copy of a will made I presume by that son.¹ It is dated March 6th, 1675, his name being William and his wife's Sarah. In that he mentions his children, John, Edward, Samuel, Philemon, Mary, Frances and William. To the first six he bequeaths 1300 acres of land lying on Chester river, to wit: to John 200 acres; to Edward 300; to Samuel 300; to Philemon 300; to Mary 100, and to Frances 100 acres; and to John and William his dwelling plantation, called Martingham, and to his wife Sarah and children all his personal estate. By the records of Talbot county he appears to have been a Justice of the Peace and Judge of the County Court.²

It would be useless to pursue the genealogy of the family as detailed in this manuscript. Let it suffice to say that from William, the son of the founder, came Philemon who inherited from an elder brother named William, dying without progeny, the Martingham estate; and from Philemon came another William who was the father of the subject of this memoir, also of Edward Needles Hambleton, of William Hambleton, of Emmerson's Point; of John Needles Hambleton—all men of prominence in this community—and of seven daughters, some of whom were women of strong or beautiful character. Young Hambleton received such education as the indifferent schools of the neighborhood afforded but, in the language of another,

during his passage through the successive stages of his career, by the energies of a strong and vigorous mind and by regular and well directed culture and study, the deficiencies and disadvantages of youth were overcome, and few of those who knew him in the middle and latter portion of his life as the elegant and accomplished gentleman and man of extensive reading and attainments would have known that he had these early difficulties to surmount.

Being one of a large family that might be expected to share the paternal estate, by no means a large one, he early in life left his home to seek his fortune. After serving an apprenticeship as merchant's clerk, he embarked in trade in Georgetown, District of Columbia. He is said

¹ It is hardly doubtful that Mr. Hambleton's father was wrong. The William H. who made the will of 1675 was in all probability the immigrant. He had held offices of trust up to this date, after which his name disappears wholly from the record. Doubtless he died soon after making his will. There could hardly have been a William H. in this county so soon after the settlement of the Province as to have a son born here and old enough in 1663 to be High Sheriff of Talbot, and in 1666 a Justice of the Peace or Judge: yet it is possible.

² He was also High Sheriff and a member of the lower house of Burgesses, but for a more particular account of this William H. see memoir of Col. Samuel Hambleton, the lawyer.

to have had such success in business as admirable qualifications like his for the management of commercial affairs must always secure. But this success was not such as to satisfy him for deprivations which a life of confinement in a small town subjected him, so he determined to enter the civil service of the United States, and acting upon this he secured an appointment to a place in one of the departments at Washington as clerk, with a reasonable expectation of advancement under the system of permanency of tenure and promotion for long service and merit. He held his position, however, but a short time, for an opportunity offering he solicited a place in the navy which he was fortunate enough to obtain and the government wise enough to bestow.

He was appointed Purser by the Hon. Robert Smith, the Secretary of the Navy during the presidency of Mr. Jefferson, on the 5th of December, 1806, and was immediately ordered to New Orleans to act as paymaster of the fleet of gunboats at that station, then recently established. Up to this time according to his own statement, the captains of ships and the commandants of stations acted as their own paymasters. Here he remained until 1811 when he was relieved at his own request. While here he performed duties of various kinds other than those of purser, such as Navy Agent, Judge-Advocate and Prize Agent—that is, agent for seizures under the non-intercourse and other laws restrictive of commerce then in force. In July, 1812, he was ordered to Newport, Rhode Island, a station then under the charge of Commandant Oliver Hazard Perry, subsequently so greatly distinguished in our naval history. Here commenced that intimacy and close friendship between this office and Mr. Hambleton which continued until the death of the former. He remained at Newport until March, 1813, when being ordered to Lake Erie he had the satisfaction of being again under the command and in friendly association with Captain Perry, who had been authorized to complete the building and equipment of the fleet then in formation for the protection of the northern frontier. After many difficulties overcome and exasperating delays the fitting out of the lake squadron was completed, and it sailed out to meet the enemy and won that notable victory that has made the name of the great sailor forever illustrious and conferred lasting honor upon the service to which he belonged. This is not the place to describe this memorable naval battle, but it is proper to say that Mr. Hambleton was a voluntary participant in the labors and dangers of the action and is therefore entitled to a measure of the renown that was won. He was assigned to duty upon the flag-ship *Lawrence*, and though belonging to

the class of non-combatants he was at his own request assigned to active duty.³ He was placed in charge of two guns which he fought until they were disabled, though he was severely hurt. Not until the gallant ship which had received the concentrated fire of the enemy's fleet had struck her colors after her commander had transferred his flag to the Niagara, did he seek the surgeon's attention to his wounded shoulder.⁴

In a private journal which Mr. Hambleton kept for many years he has given a very full account of this fight, as well as of many events which occurred before and after the battle of much historic importance. Of his own part in the engagement he writes with characteristic modesty, but of the part taken by some participants he writes with severity. This journal has been frequently quoted by biographers and historians. In the controversy that sprang up soon after the battle of Lake Erie between Captains Perry and Elliot with reference to a charge that was made against the latter that he had shown unwillingness or hesitancy to bring his ship into the fight, Mr. Hambleton took sides with Captain Perry and justified the imputation cast upon Captain Elliot, but he

³ It is stated that the battle flag—a blue ground, with this motto in white letters, "Don't give up the Ship" was prepared by Mr. Hambleton before leaving Erie.—*Mackenzie's Life of Perry*.

⁴ The following extracts from *Mackenzie's Life of Perry* are sufficiently interesting to merit insertion, particularly as most of the facts related were drawn from the Journal of Mr. Hambleton himself: "Perry gave Mr. Hambleton, who stood near him in charge of the after guns, directions how to act with regard to his private affairs in the event of his death. He leaded his public papers in readiness to be thrown overboard and destroyed his private ones. 'It appeared,' says Mr. Hambleton, 'to go hard with him to part with his wife's letters.'"—Vol. 1, p. 231. "Meanwhile Perry continued to keep up a fire from his single remaining cannonade, though to man it he was obliged to send requests to the surgeon to spare him another hand. * * Several wounded crawled upon deck to lend a feeble aid. * * At length the commander's own aid with that of the Purser, Mr. Hambleton, and the Chaplain, Mr. Breese, was necessary to fire the sole remaining gun, and it, too, was at last disabled."—Vol. 1, p. 239. "Mr. Samuel Hambleton, Purser of the Lawrence, who had preferred a post of danger on deck to the usual station of his grade in charge of passing powder below, had received a severe wound in the shoulder by which it was completely shattered, while working by the side of his noble commander like a common sailor at the last gun. For want of space in the ward-room, Hambleton was laid on the same mattress with Brooks, face to face with his dying messmate and friend. * * Never before had Hambleton been so impressed with his surpassing beauty. * * He inquired with earnest solicitude how the battle went. * * While he was yet speaking in a failing tone, Hambleton's attention was diverted by the favorable news from deck. * * and when he turned to communicate it to Brooks, his spirit had departed."—Vol. 1, p. 249.

did not allow himself to be drawn into the controversy, so that he was enabled to maintain amicable terms with Capt. Elliot and served under him.⁶

For his gallant services in the battle of Lake Erie Mr. Hambleton was the recipient of one of the medals ordered by Congress to be presented to the most deserving participants in that action. He was appointed the agent to distribute the large fund produced by the sale of the captured vessels among the officers and sailors of the fleet, and his journal gives a most graphic account of his journey with the money in his possession from Washington to Erie by stages and upon horseback. Subsequently, when Captain Perry had been assigned to the command of the *Java*, then building at Baltimore, his old commander secured his appointment to that ship as Purser, and while waiting her completion, Capt. Perry, or as he should be called, Commodore Perry, was ordered with the aid of sailors and marines from the ships to proceed to the Potomac to intercept the enemy in his descent of that river after the destruction of the public buildings at Washington. Hambleton accompanied him as Commissary of the force, which was under Commodore Rogers acting as Brigadier-General, and Porter and Perry as Colonels. Nothing effectual was done. Mr. Hambleton returned to Baltimore and was in the city at the time of the battle of North Point in September, 1814, but took no part in that affair. For the first time since the commencement of the war he was able soon after to pay a visit to his friends in Talbot county. Before the *Java* was able to get to sea, the enemy's fleet occupying the Chesapeake, he was detached from that ship and sent on other service.

The friendly union of Perry and Hambleton, welded in the fires of battle, continued unsevered until the death of the former in 1819. When personal intercourse was not possible, communication was maintained through the medium of a correspondence which was of a most confidential character. The love and admiration of Mr. Hambleton for his friend and commander were attested and memorialized by his naming an estate which he bought in 1812, near the town of St. Michaels,

⁶ This journal, which was in the hands of the writer in 1871 and returned to a member of the Hambleton family is believed to be still in existence, though search for it has been made unsuccessfully. A copy, however, is in the possession of Mrs. M. M. Dawson, a niece of Purser Hambleton. After a few memoranda respecting his early life, the journal commences with his appointment to the navy and covers, with some hiatuses, a period of more than twenty-five years. It is written with great precision and prudence. It is thoroughly characteristic.

"Perry Cabin." Of his residence here something will be said in the sequel.

After his service upon the lakes and the close of the war with Great Britain he was assigned to duty upon many ships and stations both at home and abroad.⁶ He enjoyed throughout his life, and in a very especial manner, the confidence of the navy department under whatsoever administration. This was indicated by his being placed in positions of great responsibility and from the frequent exactions of extra official duty. His record is absolutely spotless. Malignity never breathed an insinuation against his perfect integrity. His character lifted him above suspicion. His official position was one which particularly at the time he filled it, was said to offer opportunities that many did not neglect of improving their fortunes by indirection, malversation and by imposition: but both the government and the service felt that in him they had a man faithful to his trust, honorable and just in his dealings. Captains and commanders of all grades sought his appointment to their ships or their fleets when going upon a cruise, as being one of the best of officers and one of the most companionable of men. His precision in accounts and the completeness of his management of all the details of the pay-master's department, not less than his thorough honesty, gave the superior officer assurance of entire correctness in its administration; while the personal dignity and intelligence of the subordinate broke down those barriers of rank that usually separate naval officers holding widely different grades. Mr. Hambleton enjoyed the friendly companionship of the commander where others would have shared only his official courtesy. He was hardly less acceptable to

⁶ He was with Commodore Bainbridge upon the Columbus 74 from October, 1819, cruising in the Mediterranean and visiting France, Italy, Spain, and the Barbary States. In 1822, he was assigned to the frigate Congress, Com. Biddle, and cruised among the West India Islands. After returning home the ship was refitted, and he made a second cruise in 1823 under the same commander, visiting Gibraltar and then crossing the ocean to Rio Janeiro. Some time after his return from sea he was appointed to the navy yard at Pensacola where he remained until 1829. In 1831 he sailed upon the sloop of war Fairfield, Capt. Elliott, and cruised among the French, Spanish, Danish, Dutch and English West India Islands, including Hayti; and after returning home, for a short time, he made a second cruise in 1832 upon the same ship, and under the same commander, in the Gulf of Mexico. His accounts of these cruises in his journal possess not a little interest. His comments upon the conduct of Com. Elliott are anything but flattering. His relations with Commodores Bainbridge and Biddle were most cordial. The journal gives no account of other services, but it is known that he was rarely unemployed except when he had a right to claim exemption from duty.

those of his shipmates who ranged below him in years and rank, for though great gravity was one of his most marked characteristics, he was not only tolerant of gaiety in others but pleased with the companionship of the young and joyous.

Nowhere better than here, for it will show the cordial relations subsisting between Mr. Hambleton and the highest officers of the service, may be mentioned a most interesting incident in his life and one of the most notable and painful in the history of the navy of our country. When the quarrel between Decatur and Barron had culminated in 1820 in the sending and in the acceptance of a challenge to a duel, Mr. Hambleton who was an intimate friend of the former, was invited by Com. Bainbridge the chosen second of Com. Decatur, to attend him to the field of combat as an interested and impartial spectator. He accepted the invitation, accompanied the party of Decatur to Bladensburg, was a personal witness of the circumstances attending the duel and saw Decatur fall mortally wounded. All the details of this most unfortunate affair he has recorded in his journal and what he wrote has been frequently used by historians and biographers when they have been required to rehearse the painful story of the death of one of the most capable of our naval officers.

Martingham, the original seat of the family had come into his possession partly by inheritance and partly by the purchase of the rights of his brothers and sisters to their respective shares in the paternal acres. This, however, soon became his home. In 1812 as has been noted, he purchased an estate adjoining the town of St. Michaels, to which he gave the name in compliment to and commemoration of his commander and friend, Com. Perry. This place he made his home in 1820 and such it continued to be to the end of his life. Around its hearth stone clustered his domestic affections as is shown by his letters and many casual entries in his Journal. During such intervals of duty as were allowed to one of whom so much was expected and exacted, because of his great capability and fidelity, he resorted thither to indulge himself in the seclusion and the quiet of country life and in those pursuits which were his ever increasing delight. The estate to which he made subsequent large additions consisted of about five hundred acres of good land in two farms, bordering upon the waters of St. Michaels river. The mansion house at the Cabin was without architectural pretensions, being a long low range of wooden structures, the several parts of which had been erected at different times by Mr. Hambleton and those that had preceded him as there was need of additional accom-

modations. The rooms were mostly large and airy, plainly furnished, and devoid of ornament except such as was given by the curious objects of nature and art brought from foreign parts.⁷ Simplicity itself characterized all the appointments—not that simplicity which is sordid, nor that which is meretricious,—but that which like a picture of Gerard Douw charms the eye with the homely, and gives the impression of refinement by the familiar and plain. Great comfort and exceeding neatness everywhere prevailed. In winter capacious fire-places fed by logs from the neighboring forests made all things glow with cheerful heat and light, while ample shade gave delicious coolness to the summer air that came salt-laden across the lawn that sloped to the waters edge. Nearby in the rear of the house were the servants' quarters and such other buildings as are required for domestic uses. In front, off to the right of the grounds and stretching far were the numerous farm buildings for the care of the crops and stock—spacious, plain and picturesque from their great variety and complicated arrangement. All around these were evidences that economy furnished the rule of conduct on the farm. Nothing was made or done for mere show—all for use; but yet a kind of beauty was secured—the beauty of fitness of adaptation. Even the homely virtue of economy thus acquired a charm.⁸

⁷ This ought to be qualified by saying there may have been some engravings of naval scenes and perchance of Perry's victory upon the walls. There certainly were some portraits of celebrated race horses adorning or disfiguring the walls of the room appropriated to the use of the gentlemen of the family.

⁸ At the risk of repetition and prolixity the following copied from the *American Farmer* of 1839 may be inserted as interesting in itself and confirmatory of what is said in the text. The writer said, arriving at the home of Mr. Samuel Hambleton, "the first thing that struck me was the beauty of the situation—the severe simplicity of the 'Cabin' and all its substantial and well arranged appendagus of barn yards, out-houses, fields and fences. Without any parade or ostentatious display, but exactly the reverse, it soon becomes obvious that constant, unwavering solicitude and careful provision for the comfort, health, well being and happiness of every dependent creature about him, whether man or beast, constitutes the *morale* of the Perry Cabin system. The slave that drives the ox and the ox that is driven are strangers alike to violence and want. They know they will have justice and kind treatment as they feel that they enjoy abundance. No more is kept of flesh or fowl than can be maintained and pushed forward always with unchecked growth in high condition. The calf goes for three months at the foot of the mother, unrobbed of the stores provided for its infant growth, until it can take care of itself. Hence it attains without check or stint its full development and gets to be of the largest size. So careful is my training to give no unnecessary pain to any living thing that nothing neither horse nor sheep nor hog is docked of its tail or mutilated with ear marks."

Of the inmates of this home at "the Cabin," as it was and is familiarly called, something must be said. The head of the family was the subject of this memoir. With him resided, when his duties allowed him, Mr. John Needles Hambleton, his brother, and the youngest of the children of his father. Born Feb. 22d, 1798, and receiving such instruction in the elements of learning as was commonly given at the time in this county to youths not destined for one of the professions, so-called, he early entered the navy as Purser, and served in this capacity for many years most acceptably and honorably until by reason of age he was entitled to retirement.⁹ While in the service he employed the long hours of leisure which tedious cruises and protracted delays at different stations left upon his hands in the cultivation of polite letters, and particularly in the acquisition of some of the modern languages, Spanish and Italian especially, in which he became proficient; and probably of French. These were of great use to him and indeed to the service, when he was upon duty among the West India Islands, and along the coasts of Mexico and of South America, as well as in the Mediterranean. This course of reading and study, united with an admirable faculty of observation which his many cruises enabled him to exercise, made him a most agreeable companion whenever his interlocutor could overcome that almost invincible shyness that always embarrassed him in social intercourse. The same care, accuracy and probity in pecuniary matters that characterized his brother were displayed by him and he thus enjoyed the same confidence of the Naval Department and of his superior officers that was given to the elder Purser. In truth, they were men of such like mental traits and such similar manners, that a character portrait of the one would be hardly unlike the other. There were in both the same scrupulous honesty, the same rigid justness, the same inflexible uprightness, the same gravity of deportment, the same diffidence and reserve, and though the younger was less social in his inclination and habits, there was the same kindness of feeling and benevolence in conduct in him as in the elder brother. It would be an injustice to him, as well as a wrong done to the virtues of loyalty and patriotism, if there should be no mention made in this brief account of his life of a most interesting incident which occurred in the year 1861 after his return from a cruise. At the beginning of the war and for some months

⁹ There is a tradition that he entered the navy as Chaplain but it is probable this story arose from the fact that Purser were sometimes called upon to perform religious service on shipboard—an imposed duty for which his sobriety of manners may have been thought to qualify him.

after, there was a doubt of the attitude of many naval officers of southern birth who were on distant stations with regard to the government. Nothing was known at home of the position of Mr. John N. Hambleton, but when upon his arrival at Perry Cabin, he announced his unqualified determination of adhering to the Union of the States and his approval of all measures for the maintenance of that Union, his neighbors and fellow citizens of St. Michaels and vicinity went in procession to his home, and after receiving from his own lips an avowal of his fidelity to the flag under which he had served so long, and his devotion to his country one and indivisible, they wrapped him in the folds of the national ensign they had brought with them and saluted him with such acclamations of delight and approval that a composure which had appeared to be almost stoical, was quite overcome with emotion. Mr. Hambleton was employed during the war of the rebellion in duties upon the shore to which his long service entitled him. He subsequently was honorably retired, and after a few years of ease, quiet domestic comfort and honoring consideration of neighbors and friends he died Dec. 5th, 1870, and was buried with every token of respect and veneration at the home of his ancestors at Martingham.

Another member of this family at the Cabin deserving of commemoration for her domestic virtues, her religious devotion and her innumerable charities, was Miss Lydia, the maiden sister of the Messieurs Hambleton, and the recognized mistress of the house, born Sept. 24th, 1790. She was an unsurpassed housekeeper, scrupulously neat, indefatigably industrious, thoroughly systematic, authoritative in command, but gentle in her rule within her domain, hesitant in the acceptance, ready in the extension of hospitality, a keeper at home, whose steps rarely led far from her door except upon missions of mercy to the poor or pilgrimages of piety to her church.

The reason firm, the temperate will,
Endurance, foresight, strength and skill,
A perfect woman nobly planned,
To warm, to comfort and command.

The scale of living adopted by the brothers Hambleton was most liberal, and if the mistress of the Cabin was provident it was from a sense of duty to those who placed all in her keeping; but after hospitality to kindred and friends had made its largest and last demands there was always something left in store for the poor and afflicted. In fact she was the Lady Bountiful of the neighborhood, with all that character's

benevolence but without her follies. Though a member of a religious society that encourages demonstrativeness in its devotions, from having a strong infusion of Quaker blood in her veins, her piety partook of the quietism of the Friends rather than of the enthusiasm of the Methodists: that it was sincere a long life filled with gentle words and kindly deeds is attestation. Miss Lydia never married, and it is hard to determine whether the world gained or lost by her celibate life. She was a nun without the cloister and free from vows. What charms she may have possessed in youth there are none to show or tell, for no child of hers perpetuates them in living feature or traditional story; but those who saw her in her ripe maturity or declining years seated in her well ordered family room, with her plain cap shading her firm and placid face, with her simple kerchief of fine muslin folded over her maiden bosom, and with her gown of grave color and ancient mode enveloping her slender form, while her hands plied their busy tasks, though they may have experienced no other emotion than respectful admiration, will never forget a picture as charming as any that glows with the warmest tints, or that throbs with passion. Miss Lydia Hambleton continued to reside at the Cabin until her death which occurred the twentieth of June, 1870, and she was buried at Martingham. Her life and death were referred to one of those unctuous obituary notices with which ministers of religion dishonor the memory of the pious dead.

Another inmate of the Cabin must not be forgotten, though, were she alive, any public mention of her name would be quite appalling, so much she shrank from notice. This was Miss Louisa Hambleton, born Oct. 30th, 1795. It is not probable her opportunities for early education were superior to those of the other children of her parents; but in after years being unmarried and exempt from the family cares of the household of which she made a part, by the assumption of them by her elder sister Lydia; and being provided with all the comforts of a pleasant home through the liberality of her brothers, she had opportunity to supply any deficiencies that absence of competent instructors and well appointed schools may have occasioned. She diversified the life of light tasks upon easy or useless work—a life of laborious idleness—which maiden ladies of condition in the country lead, by indulging those tastes for literature which she shared with other members of her family; and she was fortunate in having a well selected library at hand, when books were not so plentiful and inexpensive as now. As the books of this library were chiefly those that do not usually commend themselves to the female mind, Miss Louisa's reading was neces-

sarily of the masculine kind. The absence of books of fiction conformed with a religious prejudice, afterwards dispelled, that she had imbibed from the teaching of the Methodist society of which she early became a member. Poetry was her "ever new delight," and with this she disported until far beyond the age when the mind demands a more sober companionship. This may have led to that singular intimacy with the daughter of a very dear friend, Mrs. Amelia B. Welby, who born in St. Michaels, long lived in Kentucky, where she acquired considerable reputation as a writer of graceful and tuneful verses, which were much praised by Geo. D. Prentice, the famous editor of the *Louisville Journal*. To this lady Miss Louisa Hambleton gave her affectionate patronage, and she repaid the kindness by some lines of melody and feeling, which she claimed were inspired by her friend. They were entitled "The Old Maid," but the character is so idealized as not to be recognizable. These two ladies, differing so widely in character, maintained their singular intercourse, personal and epistolary, until the death of the bright young poetess; and there is no doubt it was of reciprocal benefit, the dull and secluded life of the elder being enlivened by the gaiety of her protegee, while the exuberant vivacity of the younger was curbed by the sobriety of her patroness; though it must be confessed that Mrs. Welby had a wonderful facility of adapting her moods to her companions, and of charming them all.

Miss Louisa Hambleton was an admirable correspondent and, though her letters were never written with a view to publication, such was their excellence that her friends felt justified in violating privacy, as well as her wishes, by giving publicity to some. With a desire and a capacity to confer and to receive pleasure through friendly intercourse with others, such was her unconquerable timidity or diffidence—a trait of every member of her family—that full gratification of her social instincts or impulses was never secured, nor a free exercise of her social capabilities displayed. There was embarrassment in the company of her most intimate associates and a positive pain in the presence of strangers. Nevertheless she was a most intelligent and agreeable companion when she could be made to escape from this self-consciousness. If she ever possessed any beauty of form or feature, there was no remnant, in her age, of that vanity which often survives personal charms. That she was pious it is unnecessary to say, for a woman who is not is unnatural. She early in life connected herself with that body which was then drawing to itself about all of the religiously impressionable of her neighborhood, the Methodist Episcopal Church: but she separated from it

at the time of the schism, to join the new communion of the Methodist Protestants. Of this she was a member, useful and exemplary, at the time of her death. Religion with her, however, was not chiefly a matter of doctrine nor discipline; nor was it merely an emotional indulgence; but also an impulse to active benevolence. It is said that she, in connection with another of her sex, organized in 1820 the first Sunday school of the town of St. Michaels. It is well known that long before their avowal ceased to be odious she entertained opinions favorable to the emancipation of the slaves. This may have been a moral heritage from a Quaker ancestry, or the result of the teaching of early Methodism, but it should be mentioned to her honor from whatever source it came. One of the results of these opinions was her coöperation with the Rev. John D. Long, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in the establishment of a Sunday school for the instruction of colored people in morals and letters. This school was soon abandoned in compliance with a public sentiment which yet lingers, powerless in the recesses of some minds, but which was then imperative and prevalent. Miss Louisa Hambleton survived all her brothers and sisters, living as long as life was pleasing and dying before death was wished for as a relief from pain or sorrow at Easton, where she resided after her sister Lydia had passed away, on the 3rd of October, 1875. She was buried in ground hallowed to her by the ashes of her ancestors of many generations, and of her nearest kin, beside her sister, at Martingham.

The repose and happiness of the almost elysian life of the inmates of the Cabin was disturbed in the most painful manner in the year 1860, by the death of a niece, the daughter of Mr. William Allen Needles, of Philadelphia, who was enjoying a visit to her kinsfolk of Talbot, to whom she was endeared by many charming traits. She was then in early womanhood, full of cheerfulness and vivacity; but afflicted with somnambulism. During an attack of this affection she walked at night into the creek at the rear of the house before her absence from her chamber was discovered. Becoming bewildered, as it is supposed, after she had been aroused by the shock caused by the cold water, she waded deeper and deeper until she was unfortunately drowned. The affliction caused by this sad event would be dishonored by words.

At this home of "Perry Cabin," which has been imperfectly described, Mr. Samuel Hambleton and his brother Mr. John N. Hambleton amused themselves during the intervals of duty, none too frequent for men fond of the retirement of the country with the pursuits of agriculture which, for them, possessed the greatest attractions. Without the

spur of necessity or the instigation of avaricious greed they sought the largest returns for the labor bestowed upon their lands, with a diligence not surpassed by any of their less favored or more covetous neighbors. Being men eminently conservative in their mental processes—signally free from illusions of any kind (it may be added with regard to persons as well as things)—they were not too ready to adopt new agricultural theories or novelties in practical farming. They followed established lines. Under their care and culture their lands were increased enormously in productiveness, while their stables and stalls presented a like improvement in their occupants. But they were not averse from experiments that seemed to promise good results either in methods of farming or with improvements in machinery; and these were undertaken or adopted no more for their own benefit than for that of their neighbors less favored by fortune who, dependent upon the yearly product of their farms, were deterred from venturing upon them by fear of failure. They introduced fine breeds of cattle into the county,¹⁰ and whenever they observed in foreign countries any peculiarities in the methods of tillage that they thought might be profitably adopted at home, or any productions of the soil that might be advantageously introduced into their own country, they were not forgetful of calling the attention of agriculturists to such methods or such products. Mr. Samuel Hambleton's Journal contains numerous observations upon farm subjects made while abroad. He was for many years a member of the Board of Trustees of the Maryland Agricultural Society for the Eastern Shore, and at the meetings of this club, the oldest of its kind in the United States, consisting of twelve of the most respectable gentlemen if not of twelve of the most practical and successful farmers of the county, he was ever the welcome guest or cordial host, and in all its enterprises for promoting the interests of that class of men in which he was fond of enrolling himself, he was the hearty, liberal and intelligent coadjutor. The sentiments entertained of him by the members of this club were well expressed and with more than usual truth and sincerity in a series of resolutions adopted after his death.

The home of Mr. Hambleton could be enjoyed by himself only when relieved from duty, but by his direction the house was always open and the same bountiful hospitality was dispensed by his sisters to kinsmen

¹⁰ Mr. John Hambleton introduced into this county the finest Maltese Jack that probably was ever seen in this country; certainly the finest that could be purchased upon the island of Malta at that time. "Peter Simple" acquired a national reputation.

and friends during his absence as when he was present. He could not be called a social man in his disposition or habits. He did not possess convivial traits; but one kindly disposed as he towards his fellow men could not but enjoy the pleasures which he was instrumental in securing to others. Refined and intelligent company was never unwelcome. It may be remarked that his hospitality was such that no one was humbled by a display which he could not equal if he wished to reciprocate the kindness nor offended by a formality which is often suggestive of patronage or condescension. In other words it was simple and cordial. Always a bachelor, perhaps because he never had the assurance to ask a woman to marry him, he was an ardent admirer of the gentler sex and liked to show this admiration, when it was deserved, not by gallantries which insult while they flatter but by services and attention that reveal respect for their object. He was always a bachelor, but nevertheless he seemed possessed of those feelings which are usually associated with the characters of husband and father only. He was fond of having young people about him, witnessing their amusements without participating in them, listening to their light conversation though not sharing in it. The gratification of his benevolent feelings was not limited to extending hospitalities to his kinsmen and friends or to courtesies to associates and social equals. He regarded the poor as in a sense his constant guests—at least their wants were always to be supplied. His charities were performed without ostentation; he shrank from doing his kind acts openly. Indeed he often brusquely repelled the public importunities of poverty only to yield to them in private. He has been known bluntly to refuse a small gratuity asked for in the presence of others and then immediately to bestow many times the amount as it were by stealth. He made his sisters his chief almoners and directed that his benefactions should be continued when he was not present at home to direct them. The same kindly and benevolent feelings which made him hospitable to his friends and charitable to the poor also made him compassionate to his slaves. He never heard the precept of the Roman, but he followed it all the same—*Call them slaves if you will, but remember they are men.*¹¹ While he was most strict in insisting upon obedience to orders, he was yet the most indulgent of masters and the most considerate. The work of his negroes was light, their food abundant, their clothing ample and their housing comfortable. He stood more in the relation of guardian than of master to them: and they were

¹¹ Ut servos dicas homines tamen esse memento.—*Dionysius Cato—De moribus.*

rather wards than slaves, their servitude being regarded as a kind of apprenticeship to fit them for the freedom which, though not expressly promised, they knew was to be bestowed upon them in good time; as it was in fact in many instances. In this case slavery was divested of most of its offensive features. Even its evil effects upon the master, the greatest of all its evils, seem to have been escaped by him; for it made him neither domineering, insolent, illiberal, unfeeling, violent, brutal, improvident, indolent nor ignorant, while it may have imparted an additional degree of dignity and graciousness to manners that were natural to him, and a certain elevation of sentiment that scorned the vulgar and mean as it did to many excellent men whom an inevitable destiny exposed to an influence not wholly pernicious. Feelings of the same order with those that made him hospitable to friends, generous to kinsmen, charitable to the poor, affectionate to the young, tenderly respectful to women, and indulgent to his slaves, also made him merciful to his humbler servants, the beasts of his stalls and fields, and even the fowls of his yard. Instances have already been given of this compassion and others could be added if it were necessary quite as striking, if the mention of them did not involve a descent to the *immundina* of the farm. This was not a mere sickly or frivolous sentimentality, but a healthy, well grounded humanity—to use a very inadequate word to express the feeling of kindness towards brute animals. It would be well to note that *justice* mingled with compassion to direct the conduct of this gentleman in his treatment of his flocks, according to the writer in the *American Farmer* already quoted. This is an unusual but not an unsuitable term to apply to the relation which subsists between a man and his living property. No doubt Mr. Hambleton thought even his horse or his cow had rights which he was bound to respect; that the services his animals rendered to him founded a valid claim upon him which he in conscience was bound to discharge by the payment of provender, by shelter, by kind treatment and the avoidance of all cruelty.¹²

Like most men of sturdy qualities of mind, Mr. Hambleton was possessed of strong partialities and equally strong aversions or antipathies;

¹² May we not regard this love and compassion for the brute animals as a sign of the highest development of the moral nature of man? It had its best illustrations in the lives of two of the most saintly characters the world has produced, Gautama Buddha and Saint Francis of Assisi. The legends of the kindness to animals of these two great teachers and devotees are among the most touching and edifying that have been preserved by religious tradition. In this Jesus was surpassed by his predecessor and follower.

but neither the one nor the other were formed without reason nor abandoned without cause. He was gifted with a singular insight into the wills and ways of men, and from slight incidents in the speech or conduct he drew accurate estimates of character. These were rarely at fault, so his judgments were rarely changed. It might be said he had strong prejudices; perhaps these were the instinctive operations of a right mind. He formed very decided opinions upon such subjects as gave him thought, and of those he was exceedingly tenacious, though he could respect the differing opinions of others when they were not clearly violative of honor and uprightness and were sincerely held. Though habitually silent or reserved he was not culpably so, for he could defend his positions whenever there was occasion for the assertion or defense of them. He possessed the very rare quality of being at once earnest and tolerant. He was not like most men indulgent only where they are indifferent.

For one who enjoyed so few opportunities for mental improvement in early life, his mind was singularly well cultivated and well stored. His conversation indicated that he had not been an unobservant traveller, nor a careless and frivolous reader. His library, which he had collected through no ostentation but for his own amusement or instruction, was made up of the best authors of the language, and the books showed they had been used. He was not inapt in the use of his pen, as his journal, his letters to his family from abroad, many of which were published without his procurement, and some finished sketches found among his papers after death, but never made public, fully attest. He never so far overcame his inveterate diffidence as to print anything of his own accord. His manuscripts, however, were sometimes handed around the ship among the officers for their amusement to relieve the tedium of long cruises or anchorages in dull ports; for sober and sedate as he usually appeared, he seems to have possessed at least in his earlier years, a delicate sense of humor and a happy faculty of expressing it as was shown by these literary sallies on ship-board.

The personal appearance of Mr. Hambleton was that of a well developed man above the medium height and inclined to portliness. He carried himself erect and he moved deliberately, while his whole appearance and bearing was such as to command deference and respect. He had a ruddy complexion, and his hair which was perfectly white in his age, was probably sandy in his youth. His eyes were grey, and shaded with heavy eyebrows. His other features were massive but not unrefined. His habitual expression of countenance was that of

sternness, giving to strangers the impression of austerity of character, than which nothing could be farther from the truth. He was usually silent or reserved owing to no inordinate distrustfulness of others, but chiefly to an innate modesty and diffidence of himself which no commerce with the world could dispel. Yet it must be said he was prudent in speech. His manners were peculiarly mild, simple and urbane, as far as possible from ceremonious affection or pretension. He was scrupulously neat in his dress in which he retained old styles, but he wore no ornaments upon his person and only such marks of his rank in the service as either custom or rule prescribed. He was strictly temperate in his habits, but not abstemious in either diet or drink. His language was well chosen and always that of propriety without indelicacy or profanity, and his tone of voice was low as becomes and as marks the gentleman.

In early life he was a Federalist in his politics and when his party became extinct he acted with those opposed to the election and to the imperious rule of Jackson, whose part in causing great pecuniary losses to him, some years later, through the failure of the United States bank, had no tendency to reconcile him to the dominancy of a party upon which that great leader has left his impress, as the effigies of a Roman emperor upon his coin, and by which he has now been canonized as it were and made its patron saint. Mr. Hambleton subsequently became a Whig, uniting himself with a party which he conceived contained most of the public virtue and political intelligence of the country, and in connection with this party he died. It is due to him, however, to say that though the opinions he adopted were held with his inbred tenacity and persistency, he was by official position as well as by natural temperament disqualified for contentious partisanship. His earliest religious impressions were received from the Quakers through his mother, and these impressions were never entirely lost; but he found in the stately ritual of the Episcopal church the equivalent for the quiet order of the Friends, while its hierarchical system satisfied his methodical habits of mind and its decorum of worship suited his sense of the dignity of man and the supreme exaltation of the Deity. Besides it was the regulation church of the navy. It is known that he had the religious sentiment largely developed in him, but he scorned sanctimony. It is also known that unconsciously affected by his Quaker blood, or consciously controlled by his own reason, he contemned that obtrusive sacerdotalism which is constantly thrusting itself between man and his Creator, as well as that religious romanticism which is seeking

to revive in the church, by the mimetic arts of the theatre, the mediæval rights of a dying superstition. He was for many years a vestryman of St. Michaels parish, and contributed liberally to its support in the time of its necessities. He attended the public services with punctilious regularity when at home as on ship board, but it is believed he was not in full communion until a few years before his death. In the feebleness of declining years he found less difficulty in surrendering opinions he had strength no longer to defend, and in accepting others which he had in his vigor doubted or denied; and having no change to make in conduct that had always conformed to the laws of a strict morality, he consented to submit to the imposition of observances which he once thought useless or trivial; was formally received into the church and ever after obeyed her injunctions.

By the economy of a long life and by the judicious investment of accumulations slowly made, Mr. Hambleton had been able to acquire a considerable fortune measured by the standards of his time and place. Through an agreement of years' standing with his brother that the longest liver should possess the property of the other, Mr. John N. Hambleton acquired nearly the whole estate. Mr. Samuel Hambleton gave small legacies to his sisters and others of his kin, and in addition to his bequests to Miss Lydia and Miss Louisa a home for their lives at the Cabin. He emancipated the only slave he possessed owing life service, and the terms of service of the remaining servants he abbreviated with the understanding that at the death of his brother they were to be absolutely and immediately free. It was also agreed between the brothers that the estate of both should be distributed by the survivor according to his judgment and preference, with some regard, however, to the wishes of the deceased, among their nearest relatives. This agreement was fully carried out by Mr. John N. Hambleton's will as far as this was possible, and from the bounty of these kindly men many a kinsman enjoys comfort and independence. The good wishes of the brothers Hambleton towards their negroes were accomplished without their interposition, for the State constitution of 1864 finally severed the bonds which the war had attenuated to a degree that they no longer possessed the strength to bind the slave to his master: but because the "wrath of man" was made to anticipate them in their benevolent purposes they should not be deprived of the credit of their good intentions. Many of these freed men remained with their former master, Mr. John N. Hambleton, until his death, receiving wages, of course,

while he lived, and after his death bequests by will from his estate in recognition of their constancy and fidelity.

The infirmities of age had been giving him the usual premonitions of dissolution, nevertheless he died suddenly but without pain at his home, January 17th, 1851, and was buried with his forefathers at Martingham. In an obituary notice of his death which appeared in the county papers it was said:

In what regard he was held by his neighbors and friends, the universal sorrow and gloom produced among them by his sudden death, fully attests. Among his numerous and extended family connection, whilst human nature retains aught calculated to redeem it, he must be held in grateful and sorrowful remembrance for his many mild and noble virtues, his unostentatious bounty, liberality and good deeds, and for his unwavering kindness and affection to them all. The loss of such a man from a community is no ordinary calamity. Much more could be said in justice to the deceased, but his modest and retiring character and his aversion to any thing like eulogy upon such occasions repress the gush of warm feelings which press for utterance upon the heart, and withhold what is justly merited and might be properly bestowed.¹³

Other notices of his death were in the same strain of deep regret and laudation. Just before his death he had tendered his resignation as a member of the Board of Trustees of the Maryland Agricultural Society for the Eastern Shore; of which he was for many years the presiding officer, but before any action upon this could be taken by that body he had passed away. At the meeting following his demise, a series of resolutions was passed by the Board in which, after declaring that he deserved to be honored for his "uncommon merits," "his distinguished honesty," "his unostentatious benevolence," his "bountiful charity" and his "gallantry" in battle, it was said:

that while entertaining a due sense of his public services, we, as peaceful cultivators of the soil, who have enjoyed his hospitality and indulged in the pleasures of social intercourse with him, prefer to contemplate the mild lustre of his character in the calm retreats of private life. Such was the faultless tenor of his way, such the urbanity and piety of the man that a whisper of scandal or calumny was never breathed against him. Few such men have ever lived and few been better prepared to meet the last dread summons.

Those who retain a memory of this excellent man—excellent, though neither hero, sage nor saint, but simple gentleman—will avouch these tes-

¹³ Written by Col. Sam'l Hambleton and now published from the *Easton Gazette* of January 25, 1851, with some verbal changes.

timonials to his admirable character and conduct to be not the extravagant wails that affection ejaculates in the first moments of bereavement, seeking consolation for a loss by magnifying its greatness; nor the heightened expressions of respect which custom expects and sanctions when a community, deprived of a useful and honorable citizen pays exuberant tribute to his worth, flattering itself that it appropriates the merits which it praises; but a just apprizeement of a life that illustrated the best virtues of our humanity. It is difficult for one who personally knew Mr. Hambleton to speak of him except in the language of panegyric, and yet, *si quis piorum Manibus locus, si, ut sapientibus placet, non cum corpore extinguuntur magnæ animæ*, thus to speak of him is to offend his modest shade: therefore, in the words of another *rather than by momentary praise let us honor him by our admiration, and if our natures allow, by our emulation.*¹⁴

COLONEL SAMUEL HAMBLETON

1812-1886

Although the minds of this people had been somewhat prepared for the announcement of the death of our respected fellow-citizen, Col. Samuel Hambleton, by his protracted illness, yet the frequent alternations of his improving or declining health encouraged the hope that a life which, long as it was, had not passed beyond the verge of great old age would be still prolonged, and that he who in his vigor had possessed the admiration and esteem of this community would still remain to receive in his feebleness its affection and veneration. His active and honorable life was terminated by a peaceful and painless death, Dec. 9th, 1886. The demise of few men of this community would be more sincerely and widely lamented than was his. As a token of their respect for him as a neighbor and friend, and as a tribute to his merits as a prominent and useful citizen, a large concourse of people attended the ceremonies of his funeral at the parish church in Easton that had been draped in mourning by order of the vestry of which he had been for many years a member, and followed his body to its resting place in the cemetery near the town which had long been his residence.

Col. Hambleton belonged to an ancient and respectable family long seated in this county, the founder of which was William Hambleton, a Scotchman by birth. Its solar or original seat was that farm in the Bayside of Talbot, upon St. Michaels river, called Martingham, still in the possession of one of the name and stock and likely to remain

¹⁴ Tacitus, his Agricola, ad fin.

for another generation at least—a rare instance in this country of a landed estate continuing for more than two hundred years in the same family. Mr. William Hambleton appears to have been a man of consideration in the early history of the county and province. He was probably the second sheriff of Talbot after its organization,—Mr. John Morgan being the first—at least he was commissioned High-Sheriff in May, 1663, and was succeeded in 1664 by Mr. Anthony Griffin. In 1668 he was appointed by the Governor one of the Worshipful the Justices of the Peace and Commissioners of the county of Talbot, whose position being among the most honorable was one of the most coveted by the colonial gentry. This place he held until 1675 when his name disappears from the record of the court. In 1666 he was one of the Burgesses sent from the county to the General Assembly of the province, and he continued to represent the county until 1675 when it is believed he died. Nothing more of this gentleman is certainly known; but if the doctrines of heredity be accepted as true, we may trace the characters of the fathers in their children as well as those of the children in their fathers; so we may readily attribute to this founder of the family some of the traits that mark his descendants, and a portraiture thus drawn would give a representation of him which would possess much that is admirable. After the first William Hambleton it does not appear that any member of the family held public office until a time within the recollection of many yet living, but although the occupancy of places of trust and responsibility was in our early history an evidence of social consideration—not as now a mark of doubtful worthiness—it was by no means the only evidence. The family has always been able through the possession of personal merit, by some members at least, to maintain the position of respectability in which its founder had placed it by his virtues and strength of character at the beginning.

The subject of this memoir was the fifth in descent from William Hambleton, the immigrant and founder. He was the son of Edward Needles Hambleton and Mary Sherwood, daughter of Hugh Sherwood, of Waterloo. Of this very respectable gentleman a few lines will not be out of place, for he is very worthy of being remembered. He was born at the family seat of the Hambletons, Martingham, on the 20th of September, 1775. He received such education as was afforded at the time by the neighborhood schools, this being of the most elementary character; but having a natural love of letters, like many of his family, he greatly remedied the defects and deficiencies of his early training by a constant recourse to the best literature. Adopting agriculture

as the avocation of his life, and marrying early, he settled at "Waterloo," a property now occupied by his grandson Mr. James Hambleton, which came to him through his wife; and for a number of years he gave himself diligently to the cultivation of land and to the rearing of fine stock, particularly horses of improved breeds. He subsequently moved to "Londonderry," an estate which he purchased near Easton, now (1886) the country residence of Admiral Febiger of the Navy. His farming, conducted with great skill and intelligence, was continued to the end of his life. At a time before racing had been discredited by being pursued by disreputable persons, Mr. Hambleton was an enthusiastic turfman and kept his race horses. Some of the most celebrated entries and winners of this and adjoining counties were from his stables. Like most country gentlemen of his day possessing means, he began early to vary the monotony of country life which then was less diversified than now by attention to politics, adopting as his party that which embraced the greater portion of the intelligence and wealth of this county and State—the Federal party. Of this he became an active and zealous partisan, so that opinions which he inherited in his youth were confirmed by a conviction of their truth and expediency in his maturity. His first appearance in public life was not a fortunate one, for having been nominated in the year 1811 by his party for a seat in the House of Delegates he was defeated. This was at a period of great political fervor, owing to foreign complications of the general government which threatened war with Great Britain. The two parties in this county pretty equally divided the people, and the supremacy alternated for some years. In 1812 Mr. Hambleton was again nominated by the Federalists for the Legislature, when he was elected by a satisfactory but not large majority. This was interpreted as meaning a protest against those measures of the party in power at Washington that favored the war then in progress. But in 1813 being again nominated he was again defeated. In 1814 he was again elected and in 1815 again defeated and, finally, he was for the third time elected in 1816. Those who look for significance in these alternate successes and defeats of a candidate for popular suffrage are probably as simple as those who look for a rule governing the flight and the lighting of a flock of birds in the spring. In 1818 and 1819 he was appointed by the Governor one of the Justices of the Peace of the county, and in 1821 he was elected to serve three years as the High-Sheriff of Talbot. In 1830 he was appointed one of the three judges of the Orphans Court and was occupying this position in 1836 when he resigned to be succeeded

by Col. Wm. Hughlett. In this year one of the most extraordinary episodes in the history of Maryland occurred, and one with which Mr. Hambleton was connected. In the autumn of 1836 when the electoral college assembled for the choosing of State Senators according to constitutional provision, nineteen of the Democratic electors withdrew from the college and refused to go into an election, for the reason alleged that the college did not fairly represent the opinions of a majority of the people of the State—was, in fact, elected by a majority. This most extraordinary procedure aroused intense indignation throughout the State, and nowhere was this more vehemently expressed than here in Talbot. A public meeting to assemble in Easton was called of those citizens, as was set forth in the advertisement, who were opposed to revolution, opposed to the total overthrow of the constitution and the laws under which they and their forefathers had lived for sixty years, to consider the present crisis of their affairs as citizens of Maryland; to adopt such measures and utter such expressions as became them at the existing unexampled condition of things. Speeches were made of a stirring character, resolutions were passed of an inflammatory kind, and committees of vigilance appointed for each election district. Of the committee for the Easton District Mr. Edward N. Hambleton was one, as he had been one of the most active in stimulating popular indignation against the recusants. It is not proposed to give a full history of this shameful transaction. Suffice it to say here, that driven either by the wrath of the people, unequivocally expressed; by the threats of the Executive plainly declared, or by the goads of an awakened sense of duty, a few of the withdrawing members of the college united with those who had not forgotten their constitutional obligations, to make a quorum, when the election of Senators was perfected, and among those chosen was Mr. Edward N. Hambleton, of Talbot. He served his term of five years but after its expiration he appears to have held no public office, giving himself up to the pursuits which were his consolations and compensations for those disappointments which come to all—disappointments that follow success as surely as they attend defeat in political life. He never lost interest, however, in politics. He was fond of the contentions and strifes of parties. He continued as long as health and strength permitted to give such aid to the Whigs as came from weight of character, wisdom in council and words of exhortation. He was a ready speaker and fond of exercising his oratory. In social life he is represented to have been most agreeable—even fascinating. In his manners he was courteous without pretension

and in his sympathies cordial without affectation. With a good memory of men and things as he had seen or heard them, with a lively imagination that embellished the most trivial or commonplace incidents with mirthful or sentimental accessories, and with a fluency of speech that could represent with great vividness what memory had preserved or imagination invented, his conversation was the delight of those who enjoyed his intimacy. The religious sentiment was not strongly developed in him, and though his formal attachment was with the Protestant Episcopal Church, a Quaker ancestry gave an indelible impress to his convictions and an irreversible direction to his conduct. On the 31st of March 1799, Mr. Edward N. Hambleton married Mary, the daughter of Hugh and Elizabeth Sherwood, and eight children were born to them of whom but a single one now (1886) survives. After a long life of more than usual happiness, to which a cheerful disposition, an equal mind, unbroken health, moderate wealth, honoring respect of neighbors and friends and the reverent affection of children contributed, he died April 30th, 1854, at Londonderry, his home, and lies buried in the cemetery of Easton.

Samuel Hambleton, long called Samuel Hambleton, Junior, to distinguish him from his uncle, the Purser, was the son of Edward Needles and Mary (Sherwood) Hambleton and was born Jan. 8th, 1812, at Waterloo, a farm lying between Easton and the village once known as Hole-in-the-Wall, but now as Hambleton, having been so named in honor of the subject of this memoir who first secured for it, while he was a member of Congress, the distinction and convenience of having a post-office. His primary education was received from private tutors in his father's family, but at an early age he was entered at the Easton Academy, then exceedingly prosperous, under the tutelage of Richard White Thompson. In this institution young Hambleton acquired a fair knowledge of the ancient languages which he was not loath to cultivate even to his end, and of the mathematics. He had not the advantages of that higher and more extended instruction which a collegiate course would have afforded, but he acquired a relish for liberal studies which he never lost in the most active portion of his career and when most absorbed in the affairs of life. Approaching manhood he entered the office of the Hon. Theodore R. Loockerman, an eminent member of the bar of Talbot county, whose fine abilities at that period promised the greatest legal distinction, haplessly never realized. He, after a proper period of study, was admitted to the bar in the year 1833, Justices Richard Tilghman Earle, John Bowers Eccleston and Philemon

B. Hopper being upon the bench, and William Hayward, Esq., the Deputy States-Attorney for the county. At this period the bar of Talbot was conspicuous for an array of talented men such as it never before had presented nor has presented since. Thomas James Bullett, venerable for years, was the titular Judge of the Land Court for the Eastern Shore. William Hayward, Jr., shone with full-orbed brilliancy too soon eclipsed by death. Theodore R. Loockerman was in the very zenith of his power, as yet unnerved by vicious habit. John Leeds Kerr, armed at every point, was in mid-career in the legal lists and still carrying off honors. John Bozman Kerr, the son of the before-mentioned, just home and overweighted with loads of learning from the schools of Harvard, was giving great promises of future distinction, unfortunately never to be fulfilled; and, finally, Philip Francis Thomas was just beginning to show those talents for politics and law which have kept him in the front ranks of his profession and in office to the present day.

The rewards of the profession of the law have never been great in Talbot. They were at this period less than now, but not so divided as at present. Young Hambleton from the first seems to have had a liberal share of the emoluments and, as usual with young men, more than a share of the uncompensated labor. In time business grew, and nourished by diligence and integrity it finally equalled, if it did not exceed, that of any member of the bar in this county. With the decline of the mental powers of his distinguished preceptor his clients became the clients of the capable and trustworthy pupil. With the disappearance of the older men he had to compete with the younger, quite their equals in ability. His earliest rival worthy of mention was the Hon. Philip Francis Thomas, his senior by a few years, but his survivor it is hoped by many. They were of opposing political opinions and were generally opposing counsel, but the many political employments of Mr. Thomas took him so frequently and so long away from the county that at last there was only occasional interference in their legal career. But his principal rival for precedence at the bar was Mr. James Lloyd Martin, with whom his professional antagonism—for they were employed upon opposite sides in almost every important case in the courts—was embittered by political oppugnancy and personal incompatibility. There was not only alienation founded upon differences of opinions, but there were antipathies founded upon differences of character. The arena of the courts gave opportunity for indulging these feelings; and occasionally this gave rise to personal encounters that pleased "the ears of the groundlings," but made "the judiciary grieve." In addition to these competi-

tors for business must be mentioned Henry Hollyday Goldsborough who came to the bar many years later than either of the others, and was a legal antagonist quite the equal of Mr. Hambleton in all the qualities of a good lawyer and gentleman. With all of these he maintained a creditable contest in the tournaments of the court, and often carried off the prizes of victory. By those capable of estimating the abilities and acquirements of Mr. Hambleton, he was thought to be well versed in law; to be as judicious as well as prudent counsellor, and as capable as well as zealous advocate. It is not known that he was employed in any great and celebrated cases, nor in courts beyond the State. His reputation was local, but during many years there were few trials of importance within the county in which he was not engaged, and rarely to the regret or dissatisfaction of his client. In his forensic efforts he was ready in discussion, dextrous in argument, copious and fluent in diction and earnest in delivery. Attempting no great flights of oratory he would nevertheless sometimes rise to eloquence. He never sank to triviality or vulgarity. His Scotch blood forbade his indulgence in humor except of the most sober kind. It may be said without any derogation from his qualifications as an advocate that his personal character gave a weight to his utterances which would have lost much in effectiveness if that had been wanting. To the Court he was pointedly deferential. To his brethren of the bar he was courteous and conciliatory, and though always ready to maintain sternly and firmly his rights and dignity when assailed, he was equally regardful of those of others. He was capable of apology and ready to make it, if betrayed in the midst of the contentions of the forum into saying or doing that which wounded the sensibilities of others; but his memory of injuries and insults was tenacious and he made no pretensions to that flabby kind of amiability that forgives readily because it feels slightly, or that feigned religiosity that, as it can believe the incredible, can also perform the impossible—love an enemy.

Following a custom which, at the period under view, seemed to have the invariableness of a law of nature, that the young lawyers of the county should engage actively in politics, Mr. Hambleton in the year in which he was admitted to the bar, 1833, also the year in which he reached his majority, was nominated for a seat in the Lower House of Assembly by the Anti-Jackson party, as the opposition was called until it assumed the name of Whig. It should be noted that its characteristics were an intense hatred of Gen. Jackson and an almost idolatrous admiration of Mr. Clay; an ardent devotion to the union of the States as

opposed to nullification in South Carolina; a support of the principle of protection to American industry by means of tariffs upon importations; an advocacy of the policy of appropriating public money to works of internal improvement; and finally, an approval of the renewal of the charter of the United States bank. All these sentiments and opinions were felt and adopted by Mr. Hambleton at the outset of his career; and if he had not warmly entertained and defended them throughout a large part of his mature life, from his complete conversion from them in after years one would have been compelled to think they were not accepted by him sincerely and after deliberation, but that they merely devolved upon him a part of a political patrimony. At the date of his first candidacy the two parties in the county were so equally divided that a portion of each ticket was chosen, but Mr. Hambleton was one of the candidates rejected, probably because of his youth. There was nothing mortifying or discouraging in this, for to be thought worthy of a nomination at his age was complimentary. An incident and illustration of the society of the day deserves mention here. While Mr. Samuel Hambleton was speaking at Trappe, during the canvass, he was interrupted by Mr. Joseph R. Price in a manner to give umbrage to the brother of the speaker, Mr. Alexander Hambleton. This led to the sending and the acceptance of a challenge to a duel. The parties assembled upon or near the duelling ground at Bladensburg, but owing to some frivolous dispute about lines they were not brought into actual conflict; so the gentlemen returned home unharmed except by the shafts of ridicule that assailed them upon their arrival.

Mr. Hambleton was again nominated in 1834 for the same place, and though extraordinary efforts were made by the Jackson party to secure a full delegation from Talbot in order that the Hon. Robert Henry Goldsborough should be disappointed in his aspirations to the Senate of the United States, the anti-Jackson party elected their whole ticket, consisting of Mr. Hambleton, Mr. Geo. Dudley, Mr. Joseph Bruff and Mr. Solomon Mullikin.¹ During the legislative session of 1834-5,

¹ It may be interesting to note here that at this election of 1834 the sense of the people was taken by a *viva voce* vote, whether the Act of Assembly of 1833, entitled "An Act supplementary to an Act to provide for the public instruction of youth in primary schools throughout the State" should become a law for this county. There were 980 votes in the affirmative and but 180 in the negative, 67 persons refusing to vote either way. This was what was called and known in subsequent years as Spencer's School Law, because it was framed by Mr. Richard Spencer of this county. It is due to Mr. Hambleton to say that although he registered his vote against the adoption of the law, as he subsequently

Mr. Hambleton acquired reputation for a speech upon the much-vexed question of the Virginia boundary line, which was pronounced to be "able and well considered." A vote of his during the same session, in favor of indemnifying those persons whose property in the city of Baltimore had been destroyed by the violence of the mobs, brought upon him much severe animadversion from his political opponents and in 1839 involved him in an acrimonious controversy with Mr. James Lloyd Martin which terminated in the sending and acceptance of a challenge to a duel. Actual conflict was prevented by the arrest of Mr. Hambleton when on his way to meet his antagonist, and so the matter was allowed to die, both parties being anxious that it should be forgotten as the ebullition of youthful impetuosity.²

The same names were placed upon the anti-Jackson or Whig ticket in 1835 and were again elected. In the following year, Oct. 24th, Mr. Hambleton was appointed deputy State's attorney for Talbot county, Mr. Josiah Bailey of Dorchester being attorney-general for the State. This position Mr. Hambleton held uninterruptedly for eight years until 1844, when he was succeeded by Mr. John Bozman Kerr. In this year he was upon the electoral ticket of the Whigs for the President of the United States, Mr. Clay being the candidate of the party, and was elected, though he was not gratified it is unnecessary to say by the choice of his great leader to the chief magistracy. Before the presidential election he had, in October of the same year, been elected State senator for Talbot over Mr. Nicholas Martin, democrat. He held this position until 1850 when he was succeeded by Mr. Edward Lloyd. The question of a revision of the State constitution becoming the most prominent, Col. Hambleton with many conservative Whigs opposed that measure which was finally carried to a consummation to be lamented. In 1853 he was nominated by the Whigs for a seat in the second legislature under

acknowledged when he was publicly assailed for being hostile to the public schools, his opposition was to certain obnoxious provisions of the law and not to its fundamental principle.

² No reference would have been made to these abortive duels noticed in this contribution if the mention of them involved any reflection upon private character, and if it did not serve to illustrate the dying tremors of a burlesque chivalry. It is believed that the challenge mentioned above was the very last sent by any individual in this county. Ridicule more than a perception of the folly of such appeals to combat, more than conviction of their wrongfulness, more than the restraints of law, served to abolish the duel so that now a man who should send a challenge or accept one would be laughed at for his weakness instead of admired for his courage.

the new constitution and was elected by a larger majority than was given for any one of the numerous candidates, with Mr. Richard Harrington as his coadjutor. He was represented by his opponents as having aspirations to a seat in the United States Senate; and was coarsely accused of obtruding his name before the people as that of a suitable man for the place. This was doubtless erroneous, but his friends urged his claims upon the Legislature, and were not diffident in insisting that they should have recognition. If Mr. Hambleton had the ambition of being a United States Senator it was an honorable ambition and one, too, which his character, abilities and long experience in public employments justified him in indulging. If he had been chosen the State would not then have been humiliated, as it has been since, by incompetency, or that which is worse, though it might not have been illustrated by such pre-eminent talent as it had been some times before. More than once after this time he was named as a fitting person for a seat in the Senate, but his election could not be secured. In the year 1854 Mr. Hambleton was elected to hold the lucrative office of President of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal—that instrument of so much political corruption. He held this place for two years, being removed in 1856. It is not believed he used his position for doing anything more than custom had rendered permissible, if morals had not rendered commendable—to reward partisan service.

During the whole of his political life he had identified himself with the Whigs,—their principles were his principles, their successes his successes, their defeats his defeats and their hopes his hopes; but as this party after the frustration of its hopes in 1852, began that process of disintegration and recombination with the American or, so called, "Know Nothing" party or with the party which, subsequently, was known as there publican but then by various names indicative of hostility either to the whole system of slavery or to its extension into free territory, Mr. Hambleton gradually severed his connections with the Whigs, and step by step, approximated that party which he had long antagonized, and which had no principle or policy but what he had condemned, except its approval and defense of slavery. After a vain attempt to organize in this county and State a political body to be known as "Old Line Whigs" which, discarding the religious and ethnical proscriptiveness of the know-nothings and the abolitionism of the free-soilers or republicans, should adhere to the ancient symbols of Mr. Clay that condemned all measures leading to a violent or speedy extinction of slavery and that approved those limiting the "peculiar in-

stitution" of the south to territory within the lines established by the Missouri compromise, he severed one by one the cords which bound him to his old associates and his former principles. Feeling the isolation of an independent position, so intolerable to the strict partisan, he began coquetting with the democratic party and finally, professing to be fascinated with charms that had hitherto been repulsive, he threw himself into those arms with much effusion of feeling whose embrace he would have thought at one time to be pollution. Although the convention of the "Old Line Whigs," so called, that assembled in Baltimore Sept. 17, 1856 adopted the candidates of the "Know Nothing" party, Messrs. Fillmore and Donelson, while rejecting its platform of principles, nevertheless Mr. Hambleton cast his vote for Mr. Buchanan, the nominee of the democrats. Ever after this act of fealty, to the close of his life, he was loyal to the party of his adoption, and though there were those of this party, in Talbot, who never forgot nor forgave his former bitterness of denunciation, he nevertheless became one of its trusted leaders. Comment upon this change which some characterized as apostacy and others as conversion, would here be misplaced or at least inopportune. Those who are always looking for selfish and degraded motives will have no difficulty in finding what they may regard as evidences of the existence and influence of such motives in this case; on the other hand those who take a more generous view of human conduct can easily imagine how a sincere and conscientious man may, at periods of party dissolution and reconstruction, honestly change his allegiance and form new attachments. This subject will, therefore, not be pursued, but the incidents, only, in the political career of Mr. Hambleton as a democrat, will be noticed without reflections of any kind.

Year by year it was becoming more and more obvious that the great national parties would divide upon the line of slavery, and, though attempts were made to prevent this result, they were futile. There was no party in this county, and hardly in this State that advocated the abolition of slavery, and yet year by year the instability of the institution, and the insecurity of property in slaves became more and more evident. In the year 1838 a meeting of the citizens of Talbot, irrespective of their party affiliations, was held at Easton, to appoint delegates to a convention of the slave holders of the Eastern Shore, to be held at Cambridge. At this meeting Col. Hambleton took a conspicuous part, and he was appointed one of twenty persons to attend the proposed convention to be held in the adjoining county on the 3rd of November. The object of this was said to be the devising measures for additional security to

slave property, which was endangered indirectly by the continued agitation of the subject of abolition at the North, and by the presence here of a large body of free negroes. This convention was addressed by Col. Hambleton, who, though he was unwilling to take the extreme ground of certain members of that convention who favored the enslavement of those colored people who had been emancipated, and the depriving them of their little property, he was nevertheless earnest in the advocacy of drastic measures. He was one of a committee to draft an address to the people of the State; but as it was discovered that the violent sentiments expressed at the convention, met with no hearty response from the people at large, whose sense of humanity and justice was shocked, this committee contented itself with recommending a State convention to assemble in Baltimore for the purpose of recommending measures for legislative action. Col. Hambleton was thus committed to a course from which he never deviated, and which led him into the camp of the extreme Southern party that soon after was formed under able leadership. In the campaign that preceded the election of 1860, he took a conspicuous part in concentrating the votes of the electors of this county upon the Breckenridge ticket; and to this end he was one of those persons who secured the presence in Talbot of Mr. Yancy, the representative of the extreme doctrines of Secession. Col. Hambleton had so far progressed that the moderation of this "fire-eater," to use the phraseology of the day, who tempered his heats in the presence of people unaccustomed to such fervors as he had been used to diffuse in the warmer political atmosphere of the South, was not satisfactory, and he is said to have prompted Mr. Yancy to the employment of a more sulphurous oratory—a small matter that gave rise to much admiration at the time, and long after.

After the election of Mr. Lincoln Col. Hambleton used his utmost influence with the people of this county to draw them into the vortex of secession—with what success this is not the place to relate. During the war that ensued he arrayed himself on the side of the insurgents and did all that was possible, consistent with his own safety, to promote the disruption of the Union. Of this portion of his life nothing more will be said, for the events of that troubled time are too recent, or, at least, the impressions they made are still too vivid to enable one who witnessed and shared in them, to take a dispassionate view of the motives and conduct of men who participated in them. No injustice is done Col. Hambleton in saying that he, during the war, never uttered a word or performed an act, as far as known, that a jealous and watchful

government could regard as treasonable; but, on the other hand, he never uttered a word or performed an act during the war that could be interpreted as significant of a wish that the unity and integrity of the country should be maintained, except with a perpetuation of the cause that was then threatening its division. It is proper to say that during the continuance of hostilities he was rendered virtually impotent by the military power which allowed no political activity in Maryland in antagonism to the existing government, and any other kind he was unwilling to exercise. It is hardly necessary to say that he opposed those measures of the loyal men of the State to destroy in Maryland the prime cause of the existing troubles by an extirpation of slavery through a constitutional change, and those other measures of the loyal men of the North that were directed towards a reconstruction of the Union upon the broadest bases of universal liberty and equality of rights.

After an interval of more than twenty years Col. Hambleton was again nominated for a public position. Such political honors as he had hitherto received were from the party into which he was born, and they were of that minor order whose distinction is limited by the boundaries of the State. He now secured elevation from the party of his adoption into a place that gave him opportunity at least for national reputation. In the year 1868 he was elected to Congress from the First District of Maryland by a very large majority, having Mr. Henry R. Torbert as his competitor. With no purpose of detracting from his just merits, it may be said that his success was not wholly or principally owing to his superior fitness for the place, for any other reputable member of his party would have been elected if nominated in a district so largely Democratic; but having been elected it was universally acknowledged that the Eastern Shore was again as creditably represented in Congress as in former years, when closer competition secured a higher standard of competency. Col. Hambleton was again nominated and elected to Congress in the year 1870, but not by so heavy a majority as before, for the election of this year being the first at which colored people had been allowed to vote for more than sixty years, the whole body of the newly enfranchised race cast their first ballots against the candidate of a party that had opposed the bestowal of this right upon them. The period of his service in Congress was that which was embraced within the first term of General Grant in the Presidency. All the States had not resumed the places they had forfeited by their attempted secession. The prominent measures before Congress and the country were those that related to the reconstruction of the Union upon a basis of loyalty to the

government and the concession by the States lately in rebellion of equality of rights, political and civil, to the lately enslaved race. Of the measures that had been adopted by Congress and which it now sought to enforce; or of those other measures which were debated during Mr. Hambleton's terms of service and passed, this is not the place to discuss the wisdom. Suffice it for present purposes to say that he as one of the Democratic minority opposed all those measures by which the Republican majority sought to secure to the colored people the peaceful exercise of those rights of citizenship which had already been bestowed and those other personal rights to which it was thought they were entitled. His Congressional career was not marked by anything that distinguished him from that large body of respectable and useful, though little conspicuous members of the national legislature, who occupy their seats regularly and constantly; who listen to the debates attentively and intelligently; who follow the proceedings closely and vigilantly, and who vote at last mechanically and obediently. He showed himself in his new position what he had always been—a strict and trusty partisan; neither rebellious nor perverse, but following faithfully the leaders upon all important questions. It is believed that he took no part in the debates; for that he is perhaps to be commended: that he had small part in framing public policy; for this he is not much to be blamed, for he was of the minority. But he was of unquestionable integrity; he was watchful of the interests of his constituents, and though having no "patronage" to dispense under a Republican administration he was obliging in the discharge of such personal services as lay within his power to perform to those who made a demand upon him.³ One thing especially should be mentioned to his credit—that in his elevation to his honorable position he never forgot nor failed to show, if there were occasion, that he was a thorough Eastern Shoreman. Strongly developed in him was that minor or local patriotism which is but an expanded love of home and friends, not at all compatible with, but rather adminicular of the grandeur and broader sentiment that includes one's whole country.

After the completion of his second term in Congress, in March 1872, Col. Hambleton held no public office under either the State or the federal government, and he gradually withdrew from active participation in

³ His course in receiving the extra salary which the House of Representatives bestowed upon its own members was severely criticised at the time; but by whatsoever names this act was stigmatized, and surely they were harsh and severe enough to satisfy those who are most ready to believe in the depravity of public servants, it was tainted with no secret dishonesty.

politics, or was thrust aside by younger men, more adroit in the use of the modern methods of party management. But he never lost his interest in politics, and continued to be one of the recognized councillors of the Democrats of this county, though his leadership was lost. He renewed the practice of his profession which had been interrupted by his absence at the federal capital, and he busied himself with the increase and superintendence of a considerable estate. Belonging to a family of farmers, through an inherited proclivity, the pursuits of agriculture always possessed attractions for him, and yet he never engaged in the serious work of the husbandman. Though owning and managing considerable landed estates, he nevertheless cultivated but a few lots of ground near the town, more for amusement than the profit; and never having endured the toil nor suffered the annoyances of rural life, he loved to indulge himself, amidst the comforts of his own office and home, in idyllic fancies that beguiled him into the belief that he was more than half a countryman; and seeking the society of those whose talk was of crops and cattle, of phosphates and farm implements he deluded himself with the thought that he, too, was an Arcadian. He was for very many years a member of the Board of Trustees of the Maryland Agricultural Society for the Eastern Shore, and if to its monthly meetings, which he seldom missed, he could bring no fresh information of fields made richer, of horses made faster, of beeves made heavier and of fleeces made thicker, he contributed to their festive enjoyment by a hearty appreciation of the farmer's products.

He took an active and responsible part in almost all the economic enterprises within the country requiring coöperation. He was for many years one of the directors of the Farmer's Bank of Maryland for the Eastern Shore, afterwards the Easton National Bank; and surrendered his place at the board only when he felt his dissolution was near. He was one of the directors of the Maryland and Delaware, now the Chesapeake and Delaware Railroad sustaining the president of that useful work, Genl. Tench Tilghman, in his contests with those who sought his displacement. Other and many enterprises of less moment received his assistance, pecuniary and advisory.

Col. Hambleton's ecclesiastical connections were with the Protestant Episcopal church. For many years he was a member of the vestry of the parish in which he resided and as such he was most careful of its temporalities and watchful that its material interests should not be infringed or impaired. It is not known that he ever subscribed to any confession of faith or that he gave any more than a customary or con-

ventional assent to the doctrines of any Christian communion. But he attended the services of his church with a punctilious regularity that might have been taken as an evidence of a sense of religious obligation or pious satisfaction; but this was probably only an evidence of obedience to social requirements. His abstention from conformity to those observances that are regarded as at once a test and a type of communion with the believers may have been owing to that infusion of Quaker blood which he received from the Needles, or to that natural reserve felt by some, which shrinks from an exhibition of those most intimate and sacred relations that are supposed to subsist between a devout soul and its creator. It is known that in his last illness he repulsed, with sternness, all sacerdotal intermediation as meddlesome.

Coming into public life at a time when popular education in this State and county, by means of free schools, was receiving more and more attentions, he from the first and always professed to be the friend of such schools; and though he may have differed from others as to the methods of promoting them he never opposed the principle of State education. He was for many years one of the trustees of the Easton Academy, and for much of that time president of the board. To him as much as to anyone else or more than to anyone, it is owing that this school was maintained in tolerable efficiency and kept alive in our midst a love of good letters. He was of this board when the academy was merged into the Easton High School, and then he became one of the visitors of that institution, which is still in effective operation.

Col. Hambleton, physically, was a large well developed man—tall muscular, full fleshed, but with no tendency to obesity, even in old age.⁴ His carriage was slow and deliberate, with his head slightly bowed, as if in deliberation. His air was not one of presumption, or self assertion, but that of modest diffidence, as though not assured of his own merits and others' esteem. His features were massive, but not unrefined—strong rather than handsome. His complexion was ruddy and healthy and indicative of full and rich blood. His hair, brown and sandy in youth, whitened with age. His eyes were of a light grey color, and were shaded by heavy eyebrows, under which they rolled when he

⁴ The features, bodily and mental, of all the Hambletons described in these contributions were so similar that repetition is unavoidable. Their appearance was derived from the Sherwoods and possibly some of their habits. The grey eyes, heavy brows, light hair, ruddy complexion, are easily traceable to that family; the diffident and retiring manners may have had the same origin. The Hambletons and Sherwoods intermarried in several generations.

was speaking, with an expression of mental introversion. In his dress he was simple and neat, with an inclination to retain old styles, when fashion changed. Not without certain companionable qualities, his exceeding gravity of manners and his reserve rather quenched sociableness, as it forbade familiarity. He enjoyed the society of a few, when he could be disembarrassed, but he admitted to his intimacy more, even in his hours of least restraint. His prejudices were exceedingly strong, owing perhaps to this low development in him of the social instincts, for the harsh and unfavorable opinions we are prone to form and entertain of men are founded upon that imperfect knowledge of them which a better acquaintance with them most generally corrects. If he was not given to hospitality the casual guest was always sure of that which is the best substitute for cordiality, perfect courtesy. He will be remembered for his sturdy rather than his amiable qualities.

Mr. Hambleton married Elizabeth, his cousin, daughter of Mr. James Parrott, long the clerk of Talbot county court, and of Susan, daughter of William Hambleton of Martingham, on the 19th of January, 1837. This lady, who has outlived him, bore to him a numerous family of children, but of them only two survive, Mr. James Parrott and Miss Elizabeth Hambleton. The loss of so many of their children cast a cloud over an otherwise happy domestic life; but the death of a son, Alexander, who promised to realize all a parent's hopes and the predictions of many others not so partial as his, soon after reaching his majority, inflicted a wound which had hardly ceased to bleed when it was reopened by the removal, under most painful circumstances, of Frederick a youth of singularly amiable qualities and superior capabilities. But notwithstanding these deductions from the sum of his happiness, what with his vigorous health, his sufficient fortune, his honoring friends and his lengthened years to enjoy them all, he had slight reason to complain that his portion of life's feast was either scant or poor.

In conclusion it is proper to say this view of the career and character of Mr. Hambleton has been taken through no medium that exaggerates either his faults or his excellencies. If frankness has sometimes assumed the rôle of censor, it has more frequently filled that of encomiast, for it has found more to praise than blame. For what he was in reality, without detraction or panegyric, he may be justly ranked among the worthies of Talbot, whom we shall do well to memorize.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM CLAIBORNE OF KENT ISLAND

It would be almost impossible to compile a biography of this worthy which should be altogether satisfactory. I have collected, however, some information of the man who made the first European settlement within the bounds of what is now Maryland—of the first white man of whom we have any knowledge who set his foot in this our own county of Talbot. From it you will find that you are fully justified in your declaration that William Claiborne has been hardly dealt with, not only by the early provincial authorities, but by the annalists and historians of Virginia and Maryland. Those authorities deprived him of his rights and property; these annalists and historians have attempted to deprive him of his good name. Mr. McMahon, who seems to have been at a loss what estimate to put upon him, and to have wavered between those opinions he himself had formed from his researches, and those which he derived from his predecessors, says:

Of the character and temper of this man, it is difficult for us at this day to form any just conceptions. The accounts which we have of him, have been transmitted to us by writers, who seem to have no end in view but to lavish upon him the most opprobrious epithets. The name of Machiavel has never been more shocking to moralists and politicians of affected purity, than was that of William Claiborne to the first colonists of Maryland. Even historians call him the evil genius of the colony, and he unquestionably was if his unceasing efforts by courage and address to maintain the territory which his enterprise had discovered and planted, entitle him to the name.

Bacon, who may be called one of the historians of the colony, on account of his compilation of its laws, has perpetuated unworthy imputations. Mr. Bozman, ordinarily so judicial in his opinions, justifies the conduct of Lord Baltimore and his governors. Mr. McSherry, of course, servilely follows Mr. Bozman. But Claiborne has not been without his defenders. Mr. Kilty in his "Landholder's Assistant," says of him:

I consider him as a man trifled with by the crown, for the traffic under his license being that of furs, &c., with the natives, could not well be carried on without settlements. Being turned over and subjected to Lord Baltimore, without compensation for his disappointment; he had all the excuse that can arise from high provocation for his subsequent procedures.

His defense has been taken up more seriously by recent writers, of whom I may mention the Rev. Dr. Ethan Allen and the late Sebastian F. Streeter. These authors have attempted, and I believe successfully, to relieve the memory of Claiborne of the aspersions cast upon it. Our respected friend, the Hon. John Bozman Kerr, from independent research, very early called in question the historical verdict, although in doing so he placed himself in antagonism to the opinions of his great uncle, Mr. John Leeds Bozman. By way of emphasizing his dissent from the received notions concerning this worthy, he gave to one of his children the name of Claiborne. The people of Bayside have named a new town for him. They have done well. It must be mentioned, to our shame, that no district of country, no island, point of land, stream or expanse of water, nor until now, no village nor town within all our bounds bears the name of this, the first settler of Maryland; of the man who earliest planted the seed of civilization in our savage soil, or awoke the sounds of industry in our stagnant air. And it would appear that those who came after him, as well as those who lived in his own time, were vindictively determined his name should utterly perish from the minds of men, for they ceased to call that Island in the mouth of Choptank, which he is thought to have settled, and which certainly received its earliest designation from him, Claiborne Island. I am glad Talbot is disposed to do some justice, though tardy, to this the first of a long line of distinguished citizens.

The first settlement of Virginia was made as is well known in 1607. In the following year Capt. John Smith, set out from Jamestown upon a voyage of exploration, and for the discovery of a passage to the South sea, by way of the Chesapeake bay. First sailing up the Eastern, he crossed over to the Western Shore, and examined the coast as high as Smith's falls, in the Susquehannah, and then descended along the Eastern Shore to the mouth of Chester river. He again made for the Western Shore, catching glimpses of Kent Island and the Bayside of Talbot. These explorations were made under the original charter to the London company. In the year 1609 another charter was granted and in 1611 still another. By these last the limits of the colony were defined to be,

from the point of land called Cape or Point Comfort all along the sea-coast northward two hundred miles; and from said Point or Cape Comfort, all the seacoast southward two hundred miles. And all that space or circuit of land, lying from the sea coast of the precinct aforesaid, up into the land throughout, from sea to sea, west and north west.

It will be perceived that within these boundaries the territory of what is now Maryland was embraced. In 1623, under the decision of a court, the colony was made to surrender its charters, and the rights derived from them were reinvested in the crown, but no private right was in any particular impaired, when Virginia became a royal government. The important matter to be noticed in this connection is, the King was empowered to change the boundaries of the colony at his sovereign pleasure.

Before this alteration of the government had been made, and before any change of the limits of the colony had been decreed, William Claiborne came out from England and settled at Jamestown. The date of his emigration is stated to have been 1621, and his profession that of a land surveyor—or to use his own words, he came out “to survey the planters’ lands, and to make a map of the country.” It is not improbable that he was in the employ of the Virginia or London company, which was then inviting immigration by all those means which are now so familiar. When, however, the old charter was annulled, the King, on 20th August, 1624, appointed twelve persons as a Colonial Council, and of these William Claiborne was one. When in the following year King Charles I came to the throne, though there were changes in the council Claiborne was retained and in the commission that was issued it was said:

Forasmuch as the affairs of state in said colony and plantation, may necessarily require some person of quality and trust to be employed as Secretary, for the writing and answering such letters, as shall be from time to time directed to or sent from the said Governor (Yeardley) and Council of the colony aforesaid, our will and pleasure is and we do by these presents, nominate and assign you, the said William Claiborne, to be our Secretary of State, of and for the colony and plantation of Virginia.

From these items of information we learn that Claiborne was a gentleman by birth and a man of education. He is spoken of as a man of quality, that is as belonging to the gentry of the old country, and his posts of surveyor and secretary of state indicate that his mathematical knowledge was not insignificant, and his literary or clerical qualifications of no mean order. He was again commissioned as one of the council, and as Secretary of State in 1627, when Sir John Harvey became governor, after Yeardley’s death. In this same year, and the two years next succeeding, in pursuance of particular instructions from the King, the Governor of Virginia gave authority to Claiborne, who is again

mentioned as being the Secretary of State, to discover the source of the Chesapeake bay, or any part of "that government" from the 34th to the 41st degree of north latitude. The purpose of the King appears to have been to extend a knowledge of the geography of the country. In accepting the duty of exploration Claiborne seems to have been actuated by the additional motive of improving his private fortune by trading with the Indians; and for this he procured the requisite license from the government. This license was given under the Scotch signet of the King, and was subsequently called in question as conveying no privileges in an English colony. He also obtained a commission or license for the same purpose from the Governor, Sir John Harvey. The validity of this license was also questioned on the ground that it was a license to trade with the Dutch plantations only. These circumstances are mentioned as bearing upon the controversy which subsequently arose between the Virginia authorities and Claiborne on the one hand and the Maryland authorities and Lord Baltimore on the other. Under the command of the King, therefore, and with the authority of the Governor of Virginia, Claiborne set out upon his voyage of discovery and his expedition for trading. The precise year is nowhere mentioned, but it is tolerably well established that it must have been in 1628 or 1629 when he set sail from Jamestown; and after a voyage of which no account is given, he established himself upon an island upon the eastern side of the Chesapeake bay which he purchased from the Indian inhabitants, and to which he gave the name of Kent in honor, it is suggested by one annalist, of the Governor of Virginia, who was a native of the county of that name in England. This island he claims to have discovered, for Smith in his voyages did not touch upon it, nor has he indicated upon his maps that he was aware that a portion of that land which he designates as Brooke's Forest, comprising what is now Queen Anne's and Talbot, was insular in its geographical character. As well here as elsewhere, it may be mentioned that Claiborne, besides the post on Kent Island, established another upon an island at the mouth of the Susquehannah, then called Palmer's, but now Taylor's Island. There is no doubt that he took formal possession, if he did not settle the island in the mouth of Choptank, which for many years bore his name but has at various times been called Bateman's, Viner's and finally Sharpe's Island. Upon Poplar Island he unquestionably landed, and there he placed his friend and relative Richard Thompson and his family, to whom a sad calamity came in after years, all of them, himself alone excepted, having been murdered

by the bloodthirsty Nanticokes, from the lower part of the peninsula. At one period in the history of Maryland, Kent Island made a part of Talbot county. It thus appears that William Claiborne was the first and original settler of this county, and it is every way proper that here his memory should be held in honor, as well for his merits as a man, as for his character as explorer, discoverer and pioneer.

In another paper will be given an account of the long dispute between Lord Baltimore and his government, and Col. Claiborne, with reference to priority and right of settlement.

The precise location selected by Capt. Claiborne for his post and settlement upon the Isle of Kent, was the most southern extremity of the Island, upon what is now known as Kent Point. Just within the point, and upon the first navigable creek, being on the left hand in ascending the Eastern Bay, he proceeded at once to erect a stockade or fort as a protection from the Indians. Although he had secured the friendship of those immediately around him, the Matapeakes, by the purchase of their lands, and indeed their enmity was hardly to be dreaded for their power and spirit had been broken before the arrival of Capt. Claiborne, or even of Capt. Smith, by the terrible Susquehannocks, whose homes were to the north, around the head and upon the western shore of the bay; yet he had ground for apprehension from the savage and adventurous Nanticokes who lived upon the southern part of the peninsula, and Wicomes of the west, who made piratical excursions in their canoes and ravaged both sides of the Chesapeake. He made his arrangements not only for the protection but for the shelter and subsistence of the settlers, by erecting dwelling houses and a mill upon the point. This last was doubtless of that kind which was so common only a few years ago through all this region, before the introduction of steam mills, and which were driven by wind. There were no streams upon the island to furnish water for a watermill. The private means of Capt. Claiborne not being sufficient to defray the whole expense of this undertaking, and the successful prosecution of a trading adventure requiring the experience of a merchant, as well as the presence of an agent in London, a copartnership was formed between Capt. Claiborne and two persons in England named William Cloberry and David Morehead, trading under the style of Cloberry & Company. It will be seen in the sequel how hardly he fared at the hands of these shrewd London merchants. With the pecuniary assistance derived from this copartnership in trade, Claiborne set himself diligently to work to build up his colony upon the island. He sent out settlers from Virginia,

where he continued to hold official position, and with them live stock, farming implements, household conveniences and necessities, indeed everything required by persons who meant to make a permanent home in the wilderness. Plantations were cleared and permanent homes were made, and under his auspices the colony prospered, acknowledging his proprietorship, but owing fealty to the Virginia government. Grants of land were issued under the Virginia charter, and in the year 1632 the colonists were represented in the Virginia house of burgesses by their own delegate, elected by the freemen of the island, Mr. Nicholas Martin, a name familiar to the people of Talbot. One annalist says that as early as 1629, either the same year of the planting of the little colony upon the island or the year succeeding the population was as many as one hundred persons. In making this settlement Claiborne affected no high and disinterested motive, as some leaders of similar adventures had done. His sole object seems to have been to better his fortune by legitimate trade. He was not negligent of any means which in his opinion would promote this purpose. So while he was careful to provide everything requisite for the personal well being of the settlers, he was not unmindful that there are spiritual needs which must be satisfied, in order that men should be contented in the new and trying circumstances of a frontier life. He knew that those who had passed from under the control and had lost the comforts of settled society for a home in the wilderness, more than others required the restraints and consolations of religion. Very soon therefore, after his settlement had been made, we find that he had persuaded the Rev. Richard James, a minister of the Reformed church of England, to settle as pastor among his people upon Kent Island. This gentleman was a man of learning and of piety. The Rev. Dr. Allen says of him:

He had been librarian to Sir Robert Cotton, the famous antiquarian, and either before or after that, had been the minister at Avalon, Lord Baltimore's colony in Newfoundland, before his Lordship avowed himself a Romanist.

The precise date of the commencement of Mr. James' pastorate has not been definitely determined; but it is certain that as early as 1631 "allowances for ministers" upon the island were made, and it is not at all improbable that this clergyman was performing priestly functions in this year, at least two years before the landing of Father White at Clements. If this inference be accepted as historic fact, then it was under Claiborne, and not under Calvert; at Kent Point, and not in St. Mary's; by a Pro-

testant minister, and not by a Jesuit priest; that Christianity was first preached in Maryland. Those who annually go down to the bay side to worship in the woods, may look from their camp ground across the beautiful Eastern Bay and have their piety quickened, if aught is needed on such occasions to give to greater vitality, by the sight of the very spot upon which Richard James, perhaps the true apostle of Maryland, first preached the gospel within our boundary.

In the year 1729 Lord Baltimore, discouraged by the inhospitable skies and sterile soil of Newfoundland where he had been attempting the settlement of a colony, visited Jamestown, Virginia. His purposes were easily divined, and as a consequence he met any other than a cordial reception. He is said to have explored the Chesapeake and then returned to England, where he immediately made application to the King for a new charter for a colony, to be seated farther to the south than his colony at Avalon. The King and his council acceded to his wishes, and a patent was ordered to be issued. Before it could be properly engrossed and sealed Lord Baltimore died, and his son Cecil fell heir to his fortunes and his projects. The charter promised to the father was issued to the son. By this the King granted a district of territory extending from a line drawn from Watkins' Point to the ocean and northward, along Delaware bay and river, to the line of the fortieth degree of latitude, and from this line to the Potomac on the west and south. This grant involved the Lord Proprietary in several disputes as regards the boundaries of his province. One of these was first with the Dutch, then with the Duke of York's people, who had driven out the Dutch, and then with Wm. Penn, who had succeeded to the Duke of York's title. Another dispute was with the Virginia authorities as to the southern boundary, starting at Watkins Point, a dispute which has not been settled up to this day; and finally the dispute with Claiborne, supported by the Virginia authorities, the only one with which we have any concern in this connection. This was not with reference to boundaries, but with regard to priority of settlement, and the rights of jurisdiction founded thereon. From what has been previously said, it will be perceived that Claiborne's plantations upon Kent Island fell within the limits of Lord Baltimore's colony, as prescribed by his charter; but the validity of this charter, as will presently be shown, was questioned. The colonists of Lord Baltimore, under the leadership of Leonard Calvert, arrived at St. Mary's in 1634. On their way up the Chesapeake they had stopped at Jamestown, Va., where Gov. Calvert signified to Claiborne that he (Claiborne) was now a

member of the Maryland plantation, and that he should relinquish all relation and dependence on the Virginia colony. It should be remembered that at this moment Claiborne was Secretary of State and a member of the colonial council as he had been for ten years. The demand therefore was not one likely to be complied with, where interest and pride were to be sacrificed. Claiborne asked of the council "how he should demean himself in respect of Lord Baltimore's patent and his deputies in the Bay." The reply he received was that

they knew of no reason they should render up the rights of the place in the Isle of Kent more than any other given formerly to the colony by his majesty's patent,

and that

the right of my Lord's (Baltimore's) grant, being yet undetermined, we are bound by our oaths, to maintain the rights and privileges of this colony.

In fact the house of Burgesses of Virginia as soon as it had information of the granting of a charter to Lord Baltimore, had sent a petition to the king remonstrating against it. The rights of the two parties to the dispute were under consideration by the courts and not then adjudicated. Claiborne conceived that if the claim of the Calverts should be admitted he might be required to abandon his plantation, or repurchase the soil from Lord Baltimore, upon his own terms, and his colonists would be subjected to the annual payment, not of two capons, as stipulated in the Virginia grants, but of such quit-rents as might be exacted by the Maryland authorities.

The origin of this dispute which raged with varying degrees of intensity, and with varying results to the contestants for a number of years, has now been given. To follow it through all its course, and give in detail all the incidents that marked its progress until the final expulsion of Claiborne in 1658 would be to extend this article beyond all proper length. Petitions and counter petitions of the parties were presented to the King; judicial decisions and orders of council were issued settling and unsettling the case; proclamations by governors and bills of attainder by legislative assemblies were published; and not content with the war of words the contestants came to actual blows—battles were fought, blood was shed in the conflict, and upon the scaffold. In July of 1634 the committee of the King's counsel decided that no man who had settled within the limits assigned to

Lord Baltimore's colony should be disturbed in his estates, and the governor and council of Virginia were "authorized to dispose of such portions of lands to all planters, being freemen, as you had power to do before the year of 1625." But Lord Baltimore notwithstanding in September of the same year, 1634, issued orders to his brother the Governor of Maryland, "that if Claiborne would not submit to his government, he should be seized and punished. This was equivalent to a declaration of war and soon brought on a collision of the immediate origin of which there are two accounts; one by Claiborne himself and the other by his opponents. The following is that presented by Bozman in his *History of Maryland*.

Claiborne sought all means in his power to defeat the success and prosperity of the colony at St. Mary's. * * * He, however, was not content with his secret mode of annoying the enemy. He resorted to open military force in opposition to Lord Baltimore's government. Early in the year 1635, he granted his special warrant or commission under his hand to a certain Ratcliffe Warren, then commonly known as Lieutenant Warren, to seize and capture any of the pinnaces or other vessels belonging to the government or colonists of St. Mary's; and in pursuance thereof an armed pinnace or boat belonging to Claiborne, was fitted out for that purpose, manned with about fourteen men, among whom was a certain Thomas Smith, "gentleman" who appears to have been second in command next to Warren on this expedition. The government at St. Mary's, probably apprised of these measures of Claiborne, immediately equipped also two armed pinnaces or boats, which sailed under the command of Thos. Cornwallis, Esq. These two armaments met, it seems, sometime in April or May of this year 1635 in either Pomoke or Wigcomoco river,¹ on the eastern shore of the province, where a battle commenced between them, by Claiborne's men firing first on Cornwallis' boats. Cornwallis immediately returned the fire; and the result was, that Lieutenant Warren and two of his men were killed, and one of Cornwallis' men. Claiborne's boat and men it would seem were taken; and as Thomas Smith "gentleman" was probably the next in command, or principal person, after the death of Warren, he was afterwards tried for the offense by the assembly.

This account of Mr. Bozman is founded upon the provincial records, which of course would represent the side adverse to Claiborne; and also

¹ From the fact that in the records two different places are mentioned as the scenes of naval engagements, some historians have thought there may have been two battles between the boats of Lord Baltimore and those of Claiborne. The indictment against Claiborne stated the fight took place in the *Pocomoque*, while that found against Thomas Smith stated that it occurred in the harbor of *Great Wiggomoco*.

upon the relations of the early annalists who were defenders of the Maryland authorities. But Claiborne himself in his petition to the King, presented in 1637, when he was in England, gives a very different narration of this affair. After reciting that although by a royal letter the governors of Virginia and Maryland had been commanded to offer no violence to the petitioners, and not to disturb them in their plantations and trade upon Kent island, yet his command had been in a most wilful and contemptuous manner displayed by Lord Baltimore and his agents who had

violently set upon your petitioner's pinnaces and boats having goods to trade, and seized them, and still do detain the same; by the loss of which pinnaces and goods the inhabitants within the said isle were in so great famine and misery as they became utterly destitute of any corn wherewith to sustain themselves; which enforced them to send a small boat to inquire why they obeyed not your majesty's royal letters and commands, and demanding the said pinnace and goods to enable them to trade for corn. But the said boat approaching near unto some vessel of the said Lord Baltimore or his agents, they shot among the petitioner's men, slew three of them and carried away many more.²

It must be confessed that while the first account has the weight of authority, the last is the more plausible. It is not likely Claiborne would have been so reckless as to attack two armed vessels of the St. Mary's colony; while it is probable Gov. Calvert was anxious to execute his brother's orders for the seizure of Claiborne and the subjugation of his people to the Maryland government. A discussion of the question, who was the aggressor in this case, cannot here be entered upon. This however is evident: Claiborne and his people were prepared to defend their rights and property by arms. It is related by some annalists that after this unfortunate fight, he fled to Virginia; others say he was there when it occurred. He was, however, demanded of the Virginian authorities as a criminal against the laws of Maryland; but Gov. Harvey instead of surrendering him, thought it best to send Claiborne and the witnesses of the affair to England. In commenting upon this transaction Dr. Allen who has written an unpublished account of the settlement at Kent Point says.

This demand indeed showed wanton assumption. It had not yet been decided by the courts of England that Claiborne or his colonists

² As perhaps some of the St. Michaels boatmen may desire to perpetuate the name of Capt. Claiborne's pinnace that was captured in the Pocomoke, it may be well to say that history relates she bore the name of *Longtail*.

were at all amenable to the Lord Baltimore's jurisdiction. They had not yet decided upon the validity of his claim; while, as we have seen, the King, the privy council, the Lords of the Plantations and the council in Virginia, for all the time being, sustained Claiborne. And it was in the face of all this that war had been made on the Kent Islanders, three of their number killed, eleven captured and carried away, their goods taken, and the proprietor himself reclaimed, or attempted to be reclaimed, as a *criminal*.

The sequel to this armed collision between the rival colonies in Maryland may as well be given here as hereafter, though the chronological succession of events must be disregarded. The firmness of Virginia authorities in refusing to comply with the requisition of Governor Calvert, for the surrender of Captain Claiborne enabled him to escape the fate of one of his trusted followers, Thomas Smith, who had been captured, but he was not able to avoid injury to his pecuniary interests and his proprietary rights upon the island. In the year 1635 indictments had been found against him and against Smith for piracy and murder. As Claiborne was beyond the jurisdiction of Maryland he could not be brought to the bar; and the trial of Smith was long delayed because there was no provincial law under which a man might be tried for his life in the courts then established. The Assembly of 1638, nearly three years after the occurrence, passed an act of attainder against Claiborne, by which all his property upon Kent Island was forfeited to the Lord Proprietary, and he himself placed under civil disabilities. This was the utmost this body could do. After its adjournment it resolved itself into a high court, to try Thomas Smith for the alleged offenses of the indictment, there being no court in the province legally authorized to try him. He was placed upon trial, and was with wonderful promptness convicted, there being but one dissenting voice in the assembly. He was sentenced to be hung, and though there is no mention of the fact, there is every reason to believe the sentence was carried into execution. He was not even allowed the benefit of clergy, a privilege then held in high esteem. The strangest part of the whole procedure is, that as there was no law for the trial, conviction and execution of this man, those who had a hand in these transactions, on the day following his conviction at the very next session of the assembly, passed an act legalizing what had been done. It is proper to say that the accusation made against Capt. Claiborne of having incited the savages against the English settled at St. Mary's was never proven,

and circumstances render it improbable if they do not entirely prove its falsity.

It is proposed to continue, in another paper, the narrative of Claiborne's dispute with Lord Baltimore and his representatives.

It would seem that the naval affair in the Pocomoke in which Claiborne's forces were worsted, was not decisive of the question which should have the supremacy upon Kent Island, Lord Baltimore or Capt. Claiborne. The latter continued to hold command and visited his colony during the year 1636 and 1637. But he was now compelled to encounter another obstacle, and find opposition of another character; from those too, upon whom he had relied for assistance and coöperation. "In the month of Dec. 1636, appeared on Kent Island," says Streeter in a tract published after his death, entitled, the First Commander of Kent Island, "a person whose arrival occasioned no little stir among the members of Claiborne's settlement, and who was destined to exercise an important influence over those with whom he became associated." This man was George Evelin, who came out as the agent, apparently, of Cloberry & Company, the London partners of Claiborne. After the armed conflict with the Marylanders the firm seems to have lost all confidence in the ability of Claiborne to maintain his position of antagonism to and independence of the colony of Lord Baltimore, and they determined to conciliate the Maryland authorities by withdrawing all pecuniary assistance to, and all personal countenance of their partner on Kent Island. The negligence of the London firm to send supplies involved Claiborne in much expense, as the wants of his colony had to be met from other sources, and the failure even to correspond with him gave additional embarrassment. He was still entertaining expectations when Evelin arrived that his partners would comply with the conditions of their business agreement, and send out such articles as were necessary for the sustenance of the colonists and the prosecution of their traffic with the Indians. This new comer warmly espoused the cause of the colonists as against the Marylanders; and the more thoroughly to win the confidence of the Islanders he not only denied openly and positively the right of Lord Baltimore to jurisdiction over the settlement on Kent Point, but he went so far as to speak in disparaging terms of Lord Baltimore and his family, and particularly his brother Governor Leonard Calvert.

"Who was his grandfather," he asked, "but a grazier? What was his father? What was Leonard Calvert himself at school, but a dunce and a blockhead; and now, has it come to this, that such a fellow should be governor of a province, and assume such lordly airs?"

It was by such means that he won the entire confidence of Claiborne and his people, and came to be regarded as the most strenuous opponent of the claims of the Maryland Proprietary and his Governor.

The true character of the man soon made itself apparent. A vessel arrived at Hampton Roads having on board supplies of goods and a number of bound servants, belonging to Cloberry & Company, and destined to Kent Island. Instead of being consigned to Capt. Claiborne, as he had every reason to believe they would be, to his amazement he learned that Evelin was the consignee. Although much surprised by such a procedure on the part of his partners he gave to Evelin every facility for the disposition of the goods and of the servants, still believing that the London firm was acting in good faith, and had made this a special consignment to Evelin, or had made it under a misapprehension of the condition of affairs on the Island. Nor was this illusion dispelled by the production by Evelin of a letter of instructions and power of attorney from Cloberry & Company, requesting Claiborne to assign to Evelin the control of the settlement, to give him possession of all the property, and to come to England for the purpose of explaining his proceedings and adjusting his accounts. Claiborne complied with the wishes of his partners and made immediate arrangement to go to England, where he might in person vindicate his conduct to the King in resisting the demands of Lord Baltimore and disabuse the minds of his business partners of any suspicions of his integrity or capacity. His eyes, however, were opened before his departure, and he found that Evelin was already negotiating with the Maryland authorities for a surrender of the Island to their jurisdiction. He now endeavored to obtain a bond or obligation from Evelin, that he would not alienate nor sell the Island or any part of it to the Marylanders. This demand was made at a public meeting of all the inhabitants of Kent, freemen and servants. Evelin, secure in his position, having authority from the capitalists of London and the assurance from the colony at St. Mary's, refused to give any pledge whatever, and defied Claiborne who, finding all his efforts ineffectual, soon after left the Island and sailed for England.

By the production of the power of attorney of Cloberry & Co., and by false representations, the Virginia authorities were induced to withdraw their support from Claiborne and ordered all the property of the company, of which Claiborne was a member, to be transferred to Evelin, who thereupon assumed full control upon the Island, and commenced open negotiations for the transfer of the settlement to Maryland. Mr. Streeter says: "Whether any reward was offered to him in prospective, cannot be

ascertained; but all that we know is, that in the course of his proceedings he became proprietor of a lordly manor, and was the means of accomplishing the reduction of Kent of which, even before it was actually accomplished, he was made commander by commission from the Governor of Maryland." But the Kent Islanders were not disposed to transfer their allegiance. They still adhered to Claiborne. They still acknowledged no duty except to Virginia and the King. After Evelin had received his new dignity he repaired to Kent Island armed with his commission as commander and with his power of attorney as agent of Cloberry & Co., and backed by a deputy of the Governor of Maryland bearing the charter of the province with the great seal of the realm attached, to which talismanic virtues seem to have been attributed. At first he made use of his arts of persuasion, but finding the islanders obdurate and suspicious, he then resorted to threats to overawe them. They seem to have been as courageous as they were obstinate. They manifested no disposition to submit to his authority, though they showed no purpose of interfering with Mr. Evelin in the pursuit of his private business and that of his principals in London. Mr. Boteler, or Butler, acted as spokesman for the colonists, and said, when Mr. Evelin ordered his power of attorney to be read:

What needs that, Captain Evelin. Nobody doth interrupt or hinder you in the merchant's business. You have done already and may do what you please, in that respect; none of us will meddle therewith.

But all the freemen and servants on the island reiterated their "determination to stand by their old friend Claiborne, and to remain under the government of Virginia." Evelin, chagrined at the ill success of his diplomacy, returned to St. Mary's and made his report which concluded with a recommendation to Gov. Calvert to waste no more time nor words, but to resort to the force of arms to compel submission. Governor Calvert, who was not so impulsive as the Commander of the Isle of Kent, was disinclined to adopt such a decided course, but was rather disposed to await the result of Claiborne's visit to England, whither he had gone to lay the matter before the King and his privy council. But the Governor was not proof against Evelin's importunities which were so constant and harassing that "he would not let him sleep in his bed." So an expedition was fitted out composed of forty armed men which left St. Mary's in December, 1637, in boats bound for Kent Island. The voyage was soon made. A landing was effected in the night. The fort was taken possession of without resistance from the inhabitants who had

anticipated no such warlike excursion. When the morning arrived the people heard with astonishment their island declared to be

by right and by conquest a dependency of the government of Maryland and the jurisdiction of Claiborne and his partners, under the government of Virginia, at an end.

But though resistance to the Maryland forces was useless, the Kent Islanders were far from being tamely submissive and some of them, particularly Thomas Smith and John Boteler, were so incautious as to express their reluctance to come under Maryland rule. They were accordingly seized and carried off to St. Mary's, where they remained in custody until bailed out by Richard Thompson—Claiborne's relative, of Poplar Island. The people of the island now became harassed by civil suits entered by Cloberry & Co. All the property belonging to Capt. Claiborne, even that in which the London firm had no interest whatever, was seized. But the climax was reached when a warrant was served by Evelin to attach the persons of John Boteler, Thomas Smith and Edward Beckler, and to hold them without bail and to send them to St. Mary's to answer for the several crimes of sedition, piracy and murder. These parties had participated in the affair in the Pocomoke. The indignation of the Islanders was no longer to be restrained and they "burst out into open rebellion." The officers were defied; the prisoners who had been arrested were rescued, and a determination manifested to submit no longer to orders so unjust, so odious, and as they believed arbitrary or without proper authority. Another military and naval expedition became necessary. But before sailing Governor Calvert secured the indictments before mentioned, against those persons who had taken part in the fight in which William Ashmore was killed in the Pocomoke, and against Claiborne, as instigator and abettor or accessory before the fact. Another indictment was made against other parties for piracy, on account of some opposition to Capt. Cornwaleys in the Great Wicomico. In March, 1638, the expedition sailed, Gov. Calvert being chief in command while Capt. Cornwaleys was his lieutenant. The force consisted of about fifty men. It would appear that no resistance was offered by the Kent Islanders. Boteler made his peace with Gov. Calvert, and at a later day was placed in charge of the military guard upon the island. Beckler also succeeded in escaping punishment for the time, but it seems he was subsequently executed. Thomas Smith, who, because he was either more firm in his opposition to the Maryland authorities, or because he was the second in command in the

affair of the Pocomoke, was carried away to St. Mary's, there tried before the Assembly sitting as a high court, and there executed. Gov. Calvert returned to St. Mary's, and inasmuch as the person of Claiborne could not be secured, he at this time being in England, he procured the passage of a bill of attainder against him, which involved the forfeiture of all his goods to the Lord Proprietary. The amount of property thus obtained is said to have exceeded thirty thousand dollars in value.³ Many of these incidents have already been mentioned out of their order in time, in the preceeding paper of this series.

From this very imperfect recital it appears, that as far as any outward manifestation of resistance is concerned, the people of Kent Island had been subjugated to the government of Lord Baltimore. Not so with their leader, Capt. Claiborne. He was by no means disposed to yield his rights and property without an appeal to the court of last resort, the King and his council. In the year 1637 he, in company with the Rev. Mr. James, returned to England, where the last named died at the house of his friend, Sir Richard Cotton. Claiborne subsequently became the administrator of his estate on Kent Island. No time was lost by Capt. Claiborne, in laying his grievances before the throne. The King promptly referred his petition to the "Lord Commissioners of the Plantations," with directions to consider the contents, and advise him what he should do in the premises. In his petition Claiborne makes mention of the circumstances under which the settlement was made on Kent Island; of the granting the charter to Lord Baltimore subsequent to this settlement; of his having transported to the island people and cattle; of his having built houses and established trade with the Indians; of his having a letter of the King, granting to him freedom of trade, notwithstanding Lord Baltimore's patent, of the disregard of this letter of the King by the Governor of Virginia, and also by the Governor of Maryland; of the seizure of his (Claiborne's) goods and boats by the people of St. Mary's, and of their firing into another boat and killing three of the people of Kent Island; and finally, of his having been openly defamed and accused of great crimes, "to his exceeding grief." He speaks of his plantation at Palmer's island also. He promises to pay to the King a certain stipulated amount annually, if he should be confirmed in his possessions. He states also that he had a ship then ready freighted with goods and people to prosecute his adventures and begs a speedy reply. The commissioners took the mat-

³ Manuscript of Dr. Allen.

ter into consideration; they heard each party through his counsel, and they decided that Claiborne had no right of title to the isle of Kent, or to plant or trade there or in any other parts or places within the precincts of Lord Baltimore's patent; and "concerning the violences and wrongs," suffered by Claiborne, "they found no cause at all to relieve them, but to leave both sides within the ordinary course of justice." This was decisive, apparently of Claiborne's claim, but in the sequel it will be found he was not willing to rest satisfied with the opinion of the Commissioners of the Plantations, and took the first favorable opportunity to disregard it. There is good ground to believe that Claiborne was not sufficiently a courtier to compete with Lord Baltimore. It must, however, in justice to the King, be said that he desired that justice should be done to Claiborne, for during the time which intervened between the presenting of the petition and the rendition of the opinion of the commissioners, he sent a letter or order to Lord Baltimore, in which he referred in very positive, if not severe terms to a former letter which had been disregarded; and then commanded that its precepts should now be observed strictly, viz.:

that the above-named planters (William Claiborne, David Morehead and others) and their agents may enjoy their possessions and be safe, in their persons and goods without disturbance or further trouble by you or any of yours, till the cause be decided.

It is proper to say, too, there is some doubt in the minds of historians whether the commissioners ever gave any opinion whatever upon the matters in controversy, as the original documents of such decision could never be found, and a mutilated copy, of the authenticity of which there is uncertainty, is all upon which writers of the present day have to depend.

The decision of the Lords Commissioners of the Plantations, the desertion of his cause by the Virginia authorities, the actual possession of his settlement by the Marylanders, the faithlessness of his business copartners, the appropriation to the use of the Proprietary of his estates and other property under the bill of attainder which forbade his return to Kent Island under peril of his life, seemed to render the prospects of Claiborne for the recovery of what he deemed his rights desperate indeed. But possessed of the courage and constancy of conscious rectitude, or to place it upon lower grounds sustained by a fixed purpose to serve his own interests he did not despair. He quietly submitted and returned to Virginia determined to await events. We hear little of him

for several years; though in 1640, under circumstances of which history gives us no information, he made application, through his attorney, George Scovell, Esq., to the Maryland authorities for a restoration of his property. The petition of his attorney dated Aug. 8, of that year, to the governor and council was couched in the following words:

That Captain Will. Claiborne, at his departure from the isle of Kent, left an estate within your province, as your petitioner is informed, amounting to a good value; since which time divers inhabitants within your province are possessed of said estate, but by what right your petitioner knoweth not. Your petitioner's humble request therefore is, the premises considered, that your worships would be pleased not only to allow your petitioner's letter of attorney, but also to grant unto him free power and liberty together with your worship's furtherance therein, for the recovery of the aforesaid estate in the hands of any in whom it shall be found.

This petition had this very curt, and sufficiently explicit reply:

what estate Captain William Claiborne left within this province at his departure, indisposed of, on the 24th of March 1637, the petitioner may know, that it is possessed by right of forfeiture to the Lord Proprietary for certain crimes of piracy and murder, whereof the said William Claiborne was attainted the day aforesaid, by judgment of the house of General Assembly. If the petitioner can find out any of the said estate not possessed or held by that right, he shall do well to inform his lordship's attorney of it, that it may be recovered to his lordship's use; but if the said Claiborne, or any other to his use, has since the said day acquired any estate within the province, the law of the province, without any grant or furtherance of governor or commissioners gives the petitioner or any other attorney of the said Claiborne free power and authority to recover it, and when it is recovered, such order shall be taken with it as justice shall require.

It is thought Claiborne had no expectation of receiving a favorable answer to this petition, but that it was preferred by him merely to advise or notify the Maryland authorities that he had not surrendered his rights to his property, and meant to assert them when occasion offered. The premonitions of civil trouble in England suggested to him that there might be contingencies in which he might with success enforce his claims. If this conjecture be true, it indicates that Claiborne possessed that forecast which is the highest qualification of the statesman as well as of the man of business, for it will presently appear his anticipations were fully realized.

The next item of information which history has transmitted respecting Claiborne, is that on the 6th of April, 1642, being still a resident of Vir-

ginia and probably a member of the council of that province, he was appointed by the royal authorities "the King's Treasurer in the dominion of Virginia for life." Dr. Allen says of this appointment that it

shows that though he had lost his island by the decision of the lord commissioners, yet that he had not thereby lost favor with the King. It was no doubt given him as some compensation for his loss by their decision.

Some of the members of the board of commissioners had been succeeded by others, whose sense of right was more acute, or whose partiality for Lord Baltimore was less pronounced. This office of Treasurer was not only one of the highest responsibilities, but it is thought it was the most lucrative of any in Virginia. It was one therefore of honor and profit and one not likely to be bestowed upon a person supposed to be guilty of the heinous offenses of piracy and murder, with which he was charged in the neighboring province of Maryland, or even of sedition and rebellion against lawfully constituted authority.

In the year 1638, owing to an attempt of King Charles I of England to impose the Episcopal liturgy upon his Scottish subjects and other arbitrary acts, rebellion and civil war had broken out in the northern portion of the kingdom which finally extended to the south and resulted years after in the death of the King and the substitution of parliamentary for royal authority throughout the realm, to be followed by the protectorate of Cromwell. In the year 1644 there is record evidence of the presence of Claiborne in Virginia holding his seat in the provincial council. In this year the parliamentary forces were in the ascendancy in England. Puritan principles in religion and politics had acquired some currency even in Maryland, though there really was no puritan organization, civil or ecclesiastical until 1649, when a body of those people came out of Virginia. In 1644 there appeared in the province of Maryland a certain Capt. Ingle, who by his suspicious conduct gave origin to the belief that he was contemplating some act which should transfer the colony from Lord Baltimore and the King to the parliamentary authorities. He was, by proclamation of the Governor's council, declared to be guilty of "high treason to his majesty," and orders for his arrest and seizure of his ship were issued from St. Mary's. He seems to have eluded the officers however, and made his escape, to return again the year following where his scheme had better success. It has been thought by some historians that Claiborne was in collusion with Ingle, for it appears that at the time Ingle was attracting the attention of the Maryland authorities of St. Mary's, Claiborne was proceeding up the

bay and taking possession of his island. This he did without opposition and apparently with the approbation of the inhabitants. So secretly, too, had it been accomplished that the Marylanders remained in entire ignorance of the forces with which he had effected his conquest, and of his conduct after taking possession. In order to acquire information a commission was sent from St. Mary's with instructions to use the utmost caution in approaching the island,

to inquire whether Capt. Claiborne, or any others have made any disturbance of the peace, or committed any outrage upon the island, and to learn what force he did it with, and what strength he is of there, at sea or shore, and what his intents further be, and how long he means to stay.

Upon the return of this commission, proclamation was made Jan. 1, 1645, by the governor to the effect that no ships should proceed to Kent island for trading until they had previously touched at St. Mary's, and that Capt. William Claiborne and Richard Thompson were enemies of the province; and that no intelligence should be communicated to, nor correspondence maintained with them or their agents "at peril." There are traditions that after Claiborne had gained possession of the island, he proposed to his followers who numbered about twenty men, of whom one-half or nearly so were from Chicocoan, Northumberland county, Virginia, to proceed to St. Mary's and seize the governor of the province; that he did accomplish this feat and carried Mr. Calvert to the island a prisoner. Whether this be true or not it is asserted by one annalist as unquestionable that the agents which Gov. Calvert sent to Kent Island were seized by Claiborne's men, and after receiving a sound beating at their hands were sent home to report to their superiors. [Allen MSS.] It would thus appear that in the beginning of 1645, or even before Claiborne was in possession of his island. In February of the same year, Richard Ingle who had been proclaimed a traitor returned to St. Mary's, and armed with authority derived from a commission from the Earl of Warwick who, with a council of peers and commoners had been authorized by parliament, then the supreme power,

to nominate, appoint and constitute all such subordinate governors, counsellors, commanders, officers and agents, as they shall judge best affected, and most serviceable to the plantations, and to remove others.

By what means he achieved his purposes is now enveloped in obscurity, for the provincial records for some months succeeding his arrival

are missing; but by the employment of actual force in all probability he compelled Governor Calvert to leave his station and fly to Virginia. Ingle assumed his place and his authority. By some historians it is said Ingle called Claiborne to his assistance; by others, the movements of the latter were quite independent of the former. Into the discussion of this question there is no purpose here to enter. The absence of all authentic records would render it unprofitable. The facts are indisputable that the authority of Lord Baltimore was overthrown at St. Mary's by Capt. Ingle, and Claiborne was in possession of Kent Island.

Towards the close of 1646, Gov. Calvert, who, as before stated, had taken refuge in Virginia, a province that yet maintained its adherence to the King, returned to St. Mary's followed by a body of soldiers, probably enlisted from among the Maryland refugees and the Virginia loyalists. He took the insurgents by surprise and with some little bloodshed reduced the settlement to submission. Most of the people who had sided with Ingle submitted, some were arrested and imprisoned and others fled to the adjoining province. In the beginning of the year Gov. Calvert set about the reduction of Kent Island, and as the first step to this undertaking an embargo was declared in January by which "during this time of war" all persons were forbidden to leave St. Mary's without permission, or to entertain any person from Kent Island. All persons arriving in St. Mary's were to give notice of their presence at the fort. The embargo was to continue one hundred days, any violation of it was to be punished with death "or such other censures as the offense shall deserve in the judgment of a Martial Court." In the month of April the Governor himself headed an expedition directed against the people of Kent island. Of the size and character of this expedition no information has reached us. The result only is known. The inhabitants are said to have "submitted themselves again to his lordship's government;" whether there was any resistance we are not informed. It is probable a time was taken when Claiborne was known to be absent, or doubtless submission would have been secured with more difficulty for he was not a man to yield without resistance. Pardon was granted to all who would acknowledge fealty to Lord Baltimore, but a large number fled from the island and took refuge upon the main land. Of these doubtless some crossed the Eastern bay and thus became what is Talbot county proper.⁴ Of those who were pardoned and took the oath

⁴ It would appear that the number of inhabitants of the island very sensibly diminished after this reduction of Gov. Calvert, showing that disaffection to the Maryland Government was felt by a large part of the people, many of whom preferred exile to submission.

was Zachary Wade, who settled then or afterwards at Wade's Point, Bay-side, just over from Kent Point. Thus again after a possession of more than two years was Claiborne driven from his settlement and his property escheated to the Lord Proprietary.

The congregation of Independents or Puritans which had been formed in Virginia in 1642, notwithstanding the legal impediments thrown in its way by the colonial authorities, continued to increase in numbers. In 1648 it was driven from the province and its members, during the year 1649, took refuge in Maryland, settling at Providence on the Severn river on or near what is now the site of the city of Annapolis. Among those who came in with these Puritans were Mr. Richard Bennett and Mr. Edward Lloyd, the founders of conspicuous Talbot families. The religious party to which these people at Providence belonged was now in the ascendancy in England. It became a current belief that Lord Baltimore, by this party, would be deprived of his proprietary rights, for his *supposed* adherence to the cause of the King. Acting upon this impression we find Claiborne in the year 1650, in a letter to the Governor of Maryland, renewing his "former pretended claims in opposition of his lordship's right and dominion." He is said, also, to have declared publicly that he purposed "e'er long to make some attempt upon the isle of Kent." An act of assembly was accordingly passed in this year entitled "an act prohibiting all compliance with Capt. William Claiborne, in opposition of his lordship's right and dominion." It thus appears that Claiborne stood ready to avail himself of any turn of public affairs in England or America to secure possession of his settlement on the island. The battle of Worcester had, in 1651, been fought, and Charles II became a fugitive from the kingdom. Some of the dependencies still acknowledged alliance to the King. In this year a commission was appointed by the council of State of five persons, two of whom were Richard Bennett and William Claiborne, whose duty it became under orders issued to reduce "Virginia and the inhabitants thereof to their due obedience to the commonwealth of England." In the first instance it was intended to embrace Maryland in the instructions to the commissioners, but the circumstances that this province had afforded asylum to the Puritan congregation when driven out of the neighboring colony; that Gov. Stone was, or was thought to be zealously affected to the parliament; and that the merchants trading to Maryland were willing "to assist with their ships in the reducement of Virginia," induced the council to strike out the name of Maryland. But when these instructions were received by Messrs. Bennett & Claiborne, the two commissioners

appointed for the colonies, they put such interpretation upon the phraseology as comported with their purposes. The commissioners were to "use their best endeavors to reduce *all the plantations within the bay of Chesopiak* to their due obedience to the parliament of the commonwealth of England." Such were the words which they claimed required the reduction of Maryland, as well as the colony explicitly named. After the reduction of Virginia, Curtis, one of the English commissioners, the other two having been shipwrecked on the voyage, with Bennett and Claiborne proceeded to Maryland, and after certain negotiations which there is not space in this paper to recount, Gov. Stone and other officers of the Maryland government were deposed and a council appointed for the government of the province, under "the keepers of the liberty of England, by authority of the parliament." After the "reducement" of Maryland, Messrs. Bennett and Claiborne returned to Virginia, where in 1652 the former was appointed for one year or until the pleasure of the home government could be known, governor of the province, and Col. Wm. Claiborne "secretary of State, with all belonging to that office, and to be next in place to the governor." These gentlemen then returned to Maryland to settle the civil affairs of that province as they had those of Virginia. They reinstated Gov. Stone and appointed a council for him. Col. Claiborne being now in connection with Mr. Bennett, as it were, in supreme authority both in Virginia and in Maryland, he assumed again his proprietorship of the isle of Kent and, as Bozman conjectures, ordered those quit rents to be paid to him which had been paid to Lord Baltimore, and required all grants of land to proceed from him instead of the Lord Proprietary. He then returned to Virginia to attend to his duties as Secretary of State. In a treaty with the Susquehanicks, made in the year 1652, it was expressly stipulated that Kent and Palmer's islands belonged to Claiborne and were not accounted in the territory then surrendered to Maryland.

Having thus again come into possession of his own, we hear little of Claiborne until 1654, when his rights which had been recognized under the "reducement" were called in question. Gov. Stone had resolved under advice or instruction from Lord Baltimore to relinquish his submission to the commissioners of Parliament and assumed his former relation. He therefore ordered all writs to be issued in the Proprietary's name, and he himself exercised the power of governor in the name and under the authority of the Proprietary, without regard to the Parliamentary commissioners. This brought Mr. Bennett and Col. Claiborne to Maryland, who proceeded to effect a second "reducement."

Gov. Stone attempted military resistance by mustering his forces, but the Puritans from the Severn threatened him in front, while a party of Virginians came up in his rear. He was therefore constrained to submit to the commissioners without resorting to the arbitrament of a battle. A new government was appointed by them instead of the old, of which Capt. Fuller was made the chief.

In this unsettled condition the colony of Maryland remained until the beginning of 1655, when information arrived by the ship *Golden Fortune*, Capt. Tilghman, that Lord Baltimore had secured the favor of the Lord Protector Cromwell, and had had his proprietary rights restored or confirmed. Again Gov. Stone began to exercise authority under his commission from Lord Baltimore, and to claim that all legal action should be in his name. This brought about an armed collision between the people of St. Mary's headed by Gov. Stone, and the people of Providence, or the Puritans, under Capt. Fuller. There is not space here to relate all the circumstances of this memorable fight. Suffice it to say the Puritans were successful, Gov. Stone and many of his companions being taken prisoners. No injury was done to their persons but their property was sequestrated. After this affair Bennett and Claiborne drew up a letter to the Lord Protector, Cromwell, explaining from their point of view all the recent transactions; but this great man seems to have regarded these contests in a remote colony of as too little importance to engage his serious attention, and the whole business was referred to the commissioners of trade whose report seems to have been favorable to the cause of Lord Baltimore. After much delay and negotiation, in the year 1658, the Proprietary was restored all his rights and privileges under his charter, with the consent and approbation of all parties in Maryland as in England. We have no evidence that even Claiborne objected, although this reinstalment involved the surrender of all his claims to the island and extinguished forever all hope that he should be able again to make himself the master of his settlement. The adjustment of the difficulties was, indeed, made in England and Claiborne who was in Virginia seems not to have been consulted. It is intimated that he was pacified by grants in Virginia as will hereafter be noticed. Thus terminated the career in Maryland of him who planted within its border the first seeds of civilization and erected the first altar of the Christian faith.

Claiborne continued to reside in Virginia and to enjoy those honors and emoluments which had been bestowed upon him. He continued

to be Secretary of State, and ex-officio a member of the assembly of that province up to 1661, when he was displaced by King Charles II, who had been restored to the throne. But in the very next year he was returned as a Burgess of the county of New Kent, and so continued to be for a number of years. To this county it is thought he removed about the year 1654, and one annalist intimates that rights and franchises were given to him here in consideration of his surrender of Kent Island—a conjecture not at all improbable. It is further asserted that to this county he gave the name derived from his settlement in Maryland. In the year 1676 he is known to have been in command of a fort in New Kent county, which had been erected for defense against the Indians; and in 1677 to have been a member of courts martial for the trial of those who had participated in Bacon's rebellion in Virginia.

Thus, for fifty years, to use the words of Dr. Allen in his inedited account of Kent Island, "we find him holding office in the colony, and the greater part of the time the second officer in the government."

"He was sustained against his enemies by King Charles I., by the parliament, by Cromwell, and by the votes of the people of the province of Virginia."

The memory of a man so endorsed, though pronounced a pirate and a murderer by his hostile cotemporaries, and branded as the "evil genius of Maryland" by some of those who came after him, may be safely left to the verdict of dispassionate and impartial history.

From Col. Claiborne have descended some of the most distinguished citizens of this country—men who have illustrated our annals by their services as governors of States and territories, as senators and representatives in Congress, and as members of the legislatures of several of the States.

BALTIMORE PROFESSOR AND FRIEND DISCOVER THE PLACE WHERE CLAIBORNE LIVED.

An event of interest to all students of colonial Maryland is the positive identification of Captain William Claiborne's settlement on Kent Island, by Dr. Bernard C. Steiner, associate in history at Johns Hopkins University, and De Courcey W. Thom of Baltimore and Blakeford.

Few chapters of colonial history present more vividly the struggles of early settlers against untoward conditions than the career of William Claiborne, a persistent and successful contestant with Lord Baltimore for the right of governing on Kent Island.

The first settlement made by white men in Maryland was that of Kent Fort, on Kent Island. Here Captain Claiborne and his lieutenant landed August 17, 1631, with a company comprising sixteen men and one woman, indentured to Cloberry & Co., London, in which firm Claiborne was partner, and seven hired servants. They built there a church, windmill, palisaded fort and shed for the storage of "truck" and furs. Within the precincts of the fort were cultivated corn and tobacco.

Thither came Leonard Calvert, in February, 1638, with Captain Cornwallis and a body of musketeers, and captured the fort, without bloodshed, in the name of the lord proprietor. Calvert found a private plantation of Claiborne's, called Crawford, in care of his servants, about five miles to the north, probably on the west shore of the island. There were two other private plantations.

Bozman's "History of Maryland" and Davis' "Day Star" say that Kent Fort was near the south end of the island and was situated on the side toward Eastern Bay, on the first navigable creek.

Claiborne was a Virginian, and his settlement was represented in the Virginia House of Burgesses two years before the settlement of St. Mary's. After being seized by Baltimore's followers the proprietary gave the manor of Kent Fort to his brother Leonard as a reward for the expedition. Later he transferred it to Giles Brent. From him it descended to his son and grandson of the same name, who resided in Virginia; then the heir-at-law of the last William Brent, and next to his son of the same name. In 1737 the lessee of this last person successfully maintained an action for ejectment against Benjamin Tasker, who, with his predecessors, had been in possession forty years. It was held by the Court that the statute of limitations did not run against a person who resided in another province.

MANOR HOUSE BURNED

The manor house was burned about 1750. Another house was erected on the same foundation, but has long since disappeared. Somewhere on the island also stood the first courthouse of Kent county, and, indeed, the first on the Eastern Shore. For a long period the estate belonged in the Chew family, and has since been variously divided.

Messrs. Thom and Steiner, in the summer of 1904, drove along the main road of the island, trying to identify the site of Kent Fort. The island is somewhat less than twenty miles in length from Love Point, the railway terminus, to Kent Point, and its greatest width may be ten to twelve miles. The southern part, however, is only about a mile wide.

They went to the house of J. Frank Legg and found that they were in Kent Fort Manor. Mr. Legg went with them to show the point which tradition marked as the site of Claiborne's settlement. They found it on a slight elevation back of an old landing on the bend of a navigable creek above Kent Point. To the north of the site, now known as Chew's

Gardens and cultivated as a field, in a valley which was probably once an inlet so that the site was surrounded on three sides by water, they found several fragments of glazed bricks about seventy yards from the shore, which may have been part of the Brent manor house.

John Esten Cooke in a well written article on "Claiborne, The Rebel," published in the August number, 1883, of the *Magazine of American History*, says, that after the defeat of Lord Baltimore's expedition under Governor Stone against the Puritans on the Severn, near Annapolis—

And now at last it seemed that Claiborne had "triumphed over all his enemies." He was the head of the Puritan party, who were the complete masters of all Maryland.

The lifelong conflict with Lord Baltimore had terminated in the final overthrow of Baltimore's power and, as far as human eye could see, "the execrable villain and felon convict," William Claiborne, would continue to rule Maryland as long as Oliver Cromwell ruled over England. It was a very great change of circumstances for the unknown man who had left Cleburn in Westmoreland, England, about thirty years before, and had come to Virginia to seek his fortunes. He had quite distanced all other Cleburnes. They had been valiant chevaliers, but their descendant had become a celebrity. With nothing to aid him but his own brain and will, he had made successful headway against the powerful Lord Baltimore—indeed, against the crown itself; and now in these last days had finally attained all his ends, and was not only Lord of Kent, but of all Maryland.

It was the fate, however, of this remarkable man to encounter at last such obstacles as no human power can contend with. He was not to retain his authority in Maryland. In the autumn of 1658 the great Protector passed away and two years afterwards Charles II was restored to his throne, and Maryland quietly acknowledged him. That was necessarily the end of the authority of Claiborne in the province. There was no longer any possibility even of retaining his hold on Kent Island, and for the rest of his life we hear of no further attempts to regain possession of it. He and his old Puritan followers were under an eclipse. They had been mercilessly expelled first from Virginia and were now crushed by the Baltimoreans in Maryland; and their leader failing at last in all his aims there, found himself removed from the Virginia Council. We hear no further mention of him in the records of the time, for the William Claiborne who sat on a Court-martial to try the Baconian rebels seems to have been his son. The famous

rebel was now a very old man and spent the remainder of his life at his fine house of "Romanceke," in King William County, Va., and either here, or in the county of New Kent, he died at the age of about ninety toward the end of the century.

Such was the peaceful termination of a long and agitated career which is prominently connected with the first years of American history. The curious personage here outlined has much exercised the historians. Their views have been seen and the reader may form his own opinion of them. It seems they might have informed themselves a little better before indulging in adjectives, and presented the real portrait of the man for which the materials were accessible. There is no actual question as to the position and character of Claiborne; the only point of doubt is the controlling motive of his career in Maryland.

The present writer has stated his own view—that the prime motive was personal antagonism to Lord Baltimore who sought to wrest from him the rich island of Kent and drive him out of Maryland. That fact was amply sufficient to make a foe of a man like Claiborne, but it is certain that he also resented the intrusion of the Marylanders as an invasion of the rights of Virginia. There is no doubt that the Maryland grant was a wrong. The soil belonged to Virginia and was vested in her under her charter, and by his defending his own rights in the Island of Kent, Claiborne was also defending the rights of Virginia in Maryland.

These old struggles are now long forgotten but they lie at the foundation of American history and are worthy of attention.

In the history of Virginia in the seventeenth century two great episodes are the most prominent and important—the great rebellion led by Bacon against Sir William Berkeley and Charles II, and this civil war in Maryland under Claiborne against Lord Baltimore and Charles I. Bacon's character and career have secured the renown to which they are entitled, while Claiborne's have been caricatured by political opponents and their modern echoes.

The decision against his claims by the Lords commissioners made him technically a rebel; but his right was still there and he was justified in defending it. Although a man of resolute will and high pride, he was really placable. He treated Stone with moderation and no enemy ever charged him with meanness. The real man is here painted on the authority of incontestable records. His career has been traced from his childhood at Cleburne Hall to his old age at Romanceke, and it seems an easy matter from these personal details to reach the char-

acter of the man. He was a soldier, a diplomat, a politician and a man of genius. Living in an age which was not scrupulous he fought his enemies with their own weapons, and the multitudes of honorable persons of his blood in the United States need not be ashamed of their descent from him.

ALEXANDER D'HINOJOSA

THE LAST DUTCH GOVERNOR OF DELAWARE

If any one curious about old times and old time people should go into our County Clerk's office and ask the amiable and obliging officer in charge, or his equally amiable and obliging deputy, to allow him to see the records of the oldest date in his possession, Mr. Baggs or Mr. Turner would go the southwest corner of the room, and from one of the lower-most cases take an old, yet well preserved volume, bound in vellum, and written in a clear and clerky hand, though in such ancient characters that the inexperienced eye will have difficulty in reading the exceedingly curious transactions of the earliest Courts of Justice in our county, therein contained. This old book is marker Liber A.—1662—1674, but by a more recent numbering, made when the records were indexed anew, marked No. 1. If this curious person should turn over the leaves of this volume upon which are recorded conveyances of land, bills of sale, deeds of gift, powers of attorney, executors' bonds, abstracts of wills, &c., he will come across, on page 104, a deed of one Seth Foster and Elizabeth his wife, bearing date the 4th day of March 1669, to one

Master Alexander Vingolsea, of Bommel, Gilderland, for a parcel of land called by the name of Poplers Island, lying and being an island of itself, and bounded upon the Island of Kent, in the county of Talbot.

The consideration paid for this tract of land was three hundred pounds "starling currant money." It is very evident that this first volume of court records is a transcript or copy from an original volume now lost. It is equally evident that either the transcriber could not read the name of the purchaser of the land as he found it in the original, or that Wm. Hemsley, the clerk of the court in 1669 could not decipher the odd name which he found in the conveyance brought to him for record in that year.

This Mr. Seth Foster was a man of note in his day. He was one of the Justices of the Peace, and at his house which was at the date of the above mentioned deed on Choptank Island, courts were sometimes held, before the first court house at York, was built. This Choptank

Island was what is now called Tilghman's Island, but called for many years in the old record, "the great Island in Choptank." It also bore the name of Lowe's Island, having been the residence of Col. Vincent Lowe, an early Talbot worthy, a Justice of the Peace, Surveyor General, a member of the House of Burgesses, a member of the Privy council, and Judge of the Provincial court. This island was subsequently called Ward's Island, having belonged to Matthew Tilghman Ward, another early worthy, and finally called Tilghman's Island, from having been the property of the Hon. Matthew Tilghman, who distinguished himself so greatly in our Revolutionary times, in connection with our State and County affairs.

If the same person, curious about old times and old time people, should take it into his head to examine the early laws of the State, and should fall upon that splendid folio said to have been from type and upon paper imported expressly for this work and bearing the imprint of Jonas Green, of Annapolis, 1765, and entitled "Laws of Maryland at large with proper Indexes," by Thomas Bacon, himself at one time the Rector of St. Peter's Parish in this county, and the founder of the Charity School, that once occupied a part of the present Alms House building, he would find another very strange name, that of Alexander D'Hyniossa, which, if he should take to be the same as that of Alexander Vingolsea, mentioned in the land records of the county, he would not be mistaken, for Vingolsea was evidently the copyist's error for D'Hyniossa, as subsequent records plainly show. It will be seen by consulting Bacon's Laws, 1671—Chapter X, that Alexander D'Hyniossa of Foster's Island in the county of Talbot, and Margarettta his wife, Alexander, Johannes, Peter, Maria, Johanna, Christiana and Barbara, sons and daughters of the said Alexander and Margarettta, presented their humble petition to the General Assembly of the Province of Maryland for naturalization, which was granted April 1671, and conformed by an act 1676. Now this Master Alexander D'Hyniossa, Hinojosa, Debonissa, Inniossa, Injossa, as it is variously spelled, is frequently named in our county records from 1669 and onwards, but in Nov. 1691, he is mentioned as being no longer a resident of Foster's or "Popler's Island," but of Anne Arundel county: after which date our records about him are forever silent.

Now the simple mention of this man's outlandish name, his purchase of an Island in the Cheasapeake for his home, his taking part in the every day transactions of life, buying and selling, suing and being sued, his naturalization by an act of Assembly, and finally his change of resi-

dence to the Western Shore, are very ordinary incidents, and if these were all we knew of him, his memory would be consigned to that oblivion which is the destiny of most: but this man who settled here in Talbot soon after its organization as a county, and led the quiet life of a tobacco planter for many years on a wild and lonely island, had an eventful and checkered career as soldier, statesman, governor of a province, political exile, humble suppliant of favors from his enemies, and wanderer returning, with sad steps and broken fortunes, to his home in the old country to die. History has preserved memorials of this personage, now about forgotten, and our neighboring State of Delaware may yet erect a statue to the memory of him who sacrificed home, fortune, and position in her early defense against the arbitrary claims of a selfish King and his more selfish brother.

Peter Stuyvesant, immortalized by Irving, in his history of New York, as Peter, the Headstrong, Governor of New Netherlands, as all the Dutch settlements in North America were called, had just effected the conquest of the weak Swedish settlements, made under the auspices of the great Gustavus Adolphus, upon South River, as the Delaware was then called; the Hudson being called North River. But in extending the boundaries of the province of New Netherlands, the Dutch West India Company, under whose patronage the settlements were made, had encountered an enemy on the south in Lord Baltimore, who claimed territorial rights extending to the Delaware Bay and River. The Company, in order to interpose between their lands and those of the Maryland Proprietary another colony which should have more powerful support than could be given by a mere commercial company, sold to the Burgomasters of the great city of Amsterdam all the territory on the west side of the Delaware from the Brandywine to Bombay Hook, for the purpose of colonization and of trade with the Indians, and the more profitable trade with the Virginia and Maryland settlements. Perhaps piracy was another branch of commerce that was expected to be profited by this colony of the city, for privateering against the Spaniards was a favorite and remunerative business with the Dutch at that period. The fort that had been established upon what is now the site of the town of New Castle, and called "Fort Casimir," was about to be evacuated by the forces of the West India Company, so it became necessary that it should be garrisoned at once by soldiers of the city of Amsterdam, in order to afford protection to the settlers already upon the spot, and those about to embark from Holland, from the attacks of the savages and the encroachments of the

Marylanders. So the Right Worshipful, the Burgomasters, or rather the Commissioners of the Colonies, to whom they delegated the business of supervising and administering the affairs of their new colony, looked about them for suitable officers to command the military. This was in 1656. They chose Master Martin Kryger as Captain of the Company, on account of his knowledge of New Netherlands, and Master Alexander D'Hinojosa as Lieutenant, on account of his military experience, he having seen much service in Brazil, and "having been long employed there as Lieutenant and Captain Lieutenant." Accordingly the following commission was issued to Lieutenant Alexander D'Hinojosa, a similar one having been bestowed on Captain Martin Kryger.

The Burgomasters and Regents of the city of Amstelredamme, having resolved to send a company of soldiers to their Colonie in New Netherland, and therefore requiring to appoint a suitable person, who, as Lieutenant, may command under the Valliant Martin Kryger, Captain of said Company, the person of Alexander D'Hinojosa was proposed as such to them, *make known*, that they on the good report rendered them of the fitness, fidelity and experience of the aforesaid Alexander D'Hinojosa, have accepted, appointed and commissioned him as Lieutenant, to command in good correspondence and unity the said Company, under the Captain aforesaid, and according to his instructions and orders, given and to be given by their worships, to promote our service, wherefore, we order and command all officers and soldiers of said Company, the aforesaid Alexander D'Hinojosa to acknowledge, to respect and obey as their Lieutenant, for such is their Worship's pleasure. In witness whereof the seal of the said city is affixed hereunto, the 5th December, 1656. (Was signed)

J. CORVER.

Having besides a seal impressed in green wax.

The officers being thus commissioned, the expedition set sail for Manhattan or New York where it arrived safe, but not without having encountered much danger. Thence Captain Kryger went round by sea with a portion of the command, while Lieut. D'Hinojosa marched across the land arriving at Fort Casimir, or New Amstel as it was now called, May 1, 1657. The first officer of this colony, styled vice Director, was Jacob Alrichs, Peter Stuyvesant of Manhattan being the Director General of all the New Netherlands. D'Hinojosa from the first seems to have taken a leading part in the affairs of the city settlement on South River, as appears from his being deputed in Aug. of 1658 to proceed to Manhattan to represent the condition of New Amstel to the Director General, by his becoming one of the Council in 1659, by his being made First Councillor and Captain Lieutenant, in the

same year, by his being selected to visit the fatherland to represent to the Honorable Commissioners of the Colony its true condition and necessities, and finally by his becoming Director or Governor upon the death of Jacob Alrichs, in 1660, who nominated him for that office, which nomination was subsequently confirmed by the supreme authority at Amsterdam. The deceased Governor, or vice Director showed by this act of nomination that he had a much better opinion of D'Hinojosa than D'Hinojosa had of the Governor, for during his lifetime, the Councillor did not hesitate to characterize the administration of his superior in his communications to the home authorities as weak if not corrupt.

During Alrich's life, D'Hinojosa, as first councillor, was connected with an affair relating to our own State. Gov. Fendall had deputed Col. Utie, who is said to have resided upon and given name to *Spesutia* Island in the upper part of our bay, to go to New Amstel and lay before the authorities there the claim of Lord Baltimore to the land upon which the colony was seated. Col. Utie was received with great courtesy and warm hospitality by the Dutch Governor and his little cabinet of ministers. They listened to a statement of the Lord Proprietary's case, and then gave the legate to understand in no equivocal terms that they thought his claim untenable. Col. Utie, who seems to have been a fiery, hot headed man, no unfit representative, however, of the Governor of Maryland, it appears did not behave himself with the decorum that was becoming a person of his station and official character and was subsequently so told by Augustine Herman when upon a diplomatic mission to Maryland, who said boldly before the Governor and Council that if Col. Utie should come to New Amstel again his conduct would be regarded not as that of an ambassador, but a disturber of the peace, and he would be dealt with accordingly—perhaps seized and sent to Holland. In truth Col. Utie's diplomacy consisted almost wholly of threats of vengeance upon the Dutch unless they surrendered their settlements to the Lord Proprietary of Maryland. The remonstrance that was handed to Colonel Utie, to be delivered to Gov. Fendall, was signed by Captain Lieutenant D'Hinojosa, and doubtless he had as much to do with the framing this instrument of writing as vice Director Alrichs himself, for it possesses the decision of the soldier united with the ingenuity of the diplomatist.

Before the death of Alrichs, D'Hinojosa had been promised the privilege of visiting the fatherland, but on one pretext or another his departure had been deferred. Becoming Director, or Governor, new duties devolved upon him so that he was not able to perform the long

delayed visit until the year 1662-3. After his arrival in Holland, he made a full and detailed statement to the "Honorable, wise, most prudent Council," of the past condition, the future prospects, and the present requirements of the settlement at New Amstel. It soon became evident to him that the great city of Amsterdam had been disappointed in the results of his colonization scheme, and had grown tired of its foster child that entailed such great expense and brought such small returns. D'Hinojosa very plainly told the Burgomasters that he perceived that they did not hold the colony in sufficient esteem and they did not know the value of what they disdained. The city appearing willing to shift the responsibility and care from its own shoulders was not slow to accede to a proposition made by D'Hinojosa and the Commissioners of the Colonies whom he seems to have impressed with his own favorable opinions of the colony, that they should take upon themselves the management of the affairs of the settlement upon the conditions of sharing equally the expense and profit with the city. The terms of the agreement had not been ratified when we find the Director about to set sail for America with one hundred emigrants. In his contract with the authorities he fell into a great mistake—the grand moral and economical error of the age, for that cannot be called a crime which the most enlightened consciences of the time did not condemn, or condemned but lightly. He stipulated that fifty negroes should be bought of the West India Company and sent to New Amstel to cultivate the fertile valleys of the province. It will be remembered that the Dutch were the first to introduce African slavery into our North American colonies. But in extenuation of their offense we should also remember that the commercial conscience is not ever the most intelligent nor the most sensitive of consciences, and that the Dutch were the great commercial people of this period to which reference is made.

The Governor returned to his colony upon the Delaware, doubtless with more hopeful feelings than when he departed. He had made arrangements by which internal discontent should be assuaged and prosperity insured; but he soon encountered external or foreign dangers. Lord Baltimore and the Marylanders had long threatened the settlements on South River, of which New Amstel was the most exposed; but now the English of the northern country were casting longing eyes upon all the territories of the Dutch in North America, particularly those upon the Hudson. In the year 1664, Charles II with royal liberality, that is, liberality with other people's property, graciously

granted to his brother James, the Duke of York, what did not belong to him, all the lands lying between the Hudson River and the Delaware bay. Although this did not include the Dutch territories south or west of the last mentioned river, a *liberal* interpretation of the grant, such as princes give, did not exclude them. The Duke of York was not slow in taking possession of his newly acquired territory. Without warning or any declaration of war, in August of 1664, a fleet of four vessels under Col. Nicols appeared off Manhattan, and summoned the doughty Peter Stuyvesant to surrender. Of the celebrated defense of the city and its final capture, is not the whole account written in that veritable "History of New York from the beginning of the world, to the end of the Dutch dynasty,—by Diedrich Knickerbocker?" It may be presumptuous to add one line to that epic, but it is necessary to say that as great a warrior as Peter Stuyvesant was, he found himself when invaded, unprepared for resistance, having neither munitions of war nor military forces at his command. He called upon the minor settlements in New Netherlands for assistance. Director D'Hinojosa hastened to place at his service "5000 lbs. of powder and all necessaries, his person and all his people." This was done like a brave and patriotic soldier, as well as like a wise statesman, knowing that it is better to defend one's home at a distance, than when the enemy is thundering at one's own door. But his offer was declined. Manhattan surrendered on the 8th Sept. without resistance, and Peter Stuyvesant was called to account by the home authorities for his conduct, which had the appearance of pusillanimity, if not treachery. One of the charges against him was his declination of D'Hinojosa's offer of assistance. The humiliated Governor denied the offer had been made and corroborated his assertion by the declaration of Beekman, who was the W. I. Company's Director at Altona, on South River, just above New Amstel. But doubt is thrown upon Beekman's testimony by the fact that no good feeling existed between him and D'Hinojosa. This ill feeling may have owed its origin to this, or perhaps as trifling a cause, that the Director of New Amstel, on a certain occasion, had neglected to affix the address of the Director of Altona to an official communication, saying by way of apology, which only aggravated the insult, that he "had no time to write the address without breaking in upon his laziness." The English having captured Manhattan immediately turned their attention to other settlements in New Netherlands and accordingly on the 3rd day of Sept. 1664, even before the capitulation of Manhattan had been formerly signed, a commission was issued signed by Col. Nicols,

the conqueror of the redoubtable Peter Stuyvesant, then the chief in command at New York, and by his fellow commissioners to Sir Robt. Carr to proceed to the Delaware river with "His Majesty's friggots the *Guinney* and the *William and Nicolas*, and all the souldyers that are not in the fort," and to reduce the Dutch settlements thereon to obedience to English rule. With no surprise and with as little apparent dismay the valiant Governor of New Amstel saw on the last day of September the fleet on its way up the river, but his astonishment was great that the ships sailed on past without deigning to recognize by a single shot the existence of his fort. The object of the commander of the expedition soon became apparent. By first visiting the settlement, composed mostly of Swedes at the mouth of Christiana creek, called Altona, and offering the inhabitants good terms, he succeeded in securing their quiet and unresisting submission. He also had an opportunity for a parley of two or three days with the Governor and Burghers of New Amstel. The Governor was firm in his purpose to defend the fort, but the Burghers were persuaded to withhold from him all support and to accept the offers of the English commander. The governor finding himself left to his own resources without any hope of aid from his people, withdrew his soldiery into the fort and awaited events. On the following Sunday morning the ships "*Guinney*" and "*William and Nicolas*" dropped down and anchored off New Amstel. The English forces were landed under Captains Hyde and Morley, Sir Robt. Carr remaining on board the "*Guinney*" until the fight was over, but disembarked as soon as the "sporte" of plundering began.

The fort was garrisoned by fifty men and mounted, if the words of Sir Robt. Carr be correctly interpreted, with fourteen guns. D'Hinojosa, though deserted by the Burghers, his people refused all propositions of surrender. Preparations were made for immediate assault. The ships having drawn in to within musket shot opened on the fort with two broadsides each, to which D'Hinojosa replied. Then the order was given to "the soldiers to fall on," "which done," as Sir Robt. Carr says in his report to Col. Nicols,

the soldiers neaver stoping untill they stormed ye fort, and soe consequently to plundering; the seamen, noe less given to that sporte, were quickly within, and have gotten good store of booty [Sir Robert was doubtless among them]; soe that in such noise and confusion no word of command could be heard for sometyme [and it is doubtful whether any was given]; but for as many goods as I could preserve, I shall keep intire. The loss on our part was none, the Dutch had tenn wounded and three killed.

This completed the conquest of the New Netherlands and to the credit of D'Hinojosa it can be said that he was the only commandant in all the New Netherland colonies who made any resistance to the English. His defense must be regarded as gallant, and he surrendered only after more than one fourth of his garrison had been killed and wounded. Col. Nicols says in his report to the English Secretary of State that the fall of New Anstel gave no satisfaction to the Marylanders, who were enjoying a profitable and satisfactory trade with the Dutch upon the Delaware. Perhaps, too, the Marylanders saw that the prize which they coveted was snatched from them; for the rights and claims of the Lord Proprietary were not yet surrendered nor abandoned. In this same letter of Col. Nicols, he recommends that in case any attempt should be made by the Dutch to recover their settlements, the people of that nation should be expelled or banished. In truth an attempt was subsequently made several years later and was entirely, but temporarily, successful. This recommendation of Gov. Nicols may account for the presence in Maryland of D'Hinojosa, for when we next hear of him, he is in St. Mary's county, and at the house of Capt. Thomas Howel, whence he writes a letter to Gov. Nicols. Apprehension of an attempt of the Dutch to regain their lost possessions may have prompted the banishment of D'Hinojosa, or he may voluntarily have left the Delaware for the Chesapeake immediately after his surrender. His estate had been plundered, his lands bestowed upon his enemies, including his island in the Delaware which Col. Nicols in a letter to the British authorities recommended should be given to Sir Robt. Carr, in consideration of his services, his negroes had been traded off by the same Sir Robt. Carr to the Marylanders in exchange for provisions for his military and naval forces, and even his faithful soldiers sold as servants to be transported to the plantations in Virginia. Under these depressing circumstances he addressed the following letter to the Governor of New York:

Right Honorable Sir,

SIR.—Your very agreeable answer to our letter came safely here to hand and I learn from it that your Honor is sorry for my loss.

If your Honor would please to console me therein, it can be done by the restitution of my lost estate, and could I get it back, I am resolved to live under Your Honor's government; yea, on the same conditions that I had from the City of Amsterdam—to cultivate the land in company for our mutual profit, should this be more advantageous to your Honor and more serviceable for the South River than that I should now quit.

Meanwhile should your Honor incline thereunto, the answer should be sent me to Capt. Thomas Houwel's in Maryland, where I shall remain two or three months. Should these not be accepted by your Honor, I would hereby respectfully request you to send me a letter under your Honor's hand to his Highness the Duke of York, in order that I may take occasion to apply in London to his Highness aforesaid on the subject. Herewith I shall remain, Right Honorable Sir

Your Obedient Servant,

ALEXANDER D'HINOJOSA.

Sint Merry's
at Capt. Thomas
Houwell's House.

[Without date, but supposed to have been written in 1664 or 1665.]

From this it appears that D'Hinojosa after the fall of New Amstel took refuge among those very Marylanders who, through their ambassador, Col. Utie, had threatened him and his colonists with the terrors of conquest. The seat of our colonial government was at this date at the ancient city of St. Mary's, and Charles Calvert, nephew of the Lord Proprietary and heir of the province, was the Governor. It long had been a matter of complaint that Maryland was the refuge of fugitives from labor from the Dutch settlements, and Gov. D'Hinojosa, of New Amstel, was among those who were most strenuous in urging their rendition. He little thought that he himself should be a fugitive in the same land and a petitioner for the hospitality of its people. After the writing of the letter which appears to have had no favorable effect upon the Governor of New York, as Manhattan was now called, we lose sight of D'Hinojosa until we discover him in Talbot county, where we find him without purpose of his own, but by the inaptness of the clerk, concealed under the strangely perverted name of Vingolsea, and as the purchaser of Poplar Island, off our Bay side, in the Chesapeake, in the year 1669. Doubtless this island was chosen by him as his home because it reminded him of his lost island in the Delaware, which he held while governor and which had been wrested from him and assigned to his conqueror Sir Robt. Carr. Upon Poplar Island the exiled governor lived for some years, how many our records do not indicate. He was certainly there in 1671, for his petition for naturalization in that year mentions him as being of "Foster's Island," the alternative or interchangeable name for Poplar Island at the period. When he abandoned his home on Poplar Island it is impossible to say, but a record made in the year 1791 speaks of Alexander D'Hinojosa as being at that time of Anne Arundel county. Another record

mentions his son Johannes as being a resident of Talbot as late as 1698, when he sold lands in the "Forks of the Choptank" which he had bought of Peter Sayer, to one Benjamin Clarke. Mr. L. L. Davis says the last trace he was able to discover of him was in

Prince George's county, where his family dwindled down into a state of extreme misfortune or of great obscurity.

What authority Mr. Davis had for this last assertion does not appear in his book. It is probably incorrect for a more accurate annalist and historian, Vincent, who is now writing an exhaustive account of Delaware, says that D'Hinojosa returned to the father-land and died in Holland among his own people. Let us hope and believe, even without ground for hope and evidence for belief, that he lived to a good old age, honored for his public services, loved for his private virtues, and blessed with competence and content.

SAMUEL CHAMBERLAINE, OF PLAIN-DEALING

1697-1773

The admirable harbor, deep and sheltered, that is formed by the Third Haven creek, at its mouth, where it opens into Choptank river, attracted vessels trading with eastern Maryland from the time of the earliest settlements in Talbot county. The cluster of houses erected for the accommodation of the seamen and officers of the ships; or for that of the resident merchants or factors; the warerooms intended for the storage of tobacco awaiting transportation, or for the foreign goods that were sent over for sale, was erected into a port of entry and clearance in 1694 as being the most considerable place upon the Eastern Shore, and most easy of access. To this port came two brothers the sons and grandsons of English merchants who had for more than one hundred years been engaged in trade with the Colonies seated upon the Chesapeake and its tributaries. These were John and Samuel Chamberlaine. Richard Chamberlaine, the grandfather of these young men, was one of the original members of the Virginia company of merchants, that became the founders of the Dominion; but he was never in America. The commercial intercourse with Virginia and Maryland thus instituted was continued and extended by his son Thomas Chamberlaine of Liverpool, who was merchant and ship-owner trading between that emporium and Oxford. It was in one of his ships, the *Elizabeth*, built at Skillington's Point, at the mouth of Trippes Creek, by Gilbert Lives-

ley, and carrying twenty-four guns and ninety-six men, that his two sons, John and Samuel, the last mentioned but seventeen years of age, came to Oxford for the first time in 1714. Of this ship the elder brother was in command. After this they made several voyages, the elder brother becoming a partner of his father and commanding as well as owning ships, and the younger acting as supercargo. Among the records of Talbot county there are frequent references to the presence of the Messrs. Chamberlaine, and in those of the year 1718-19 John Chamberlaine is mentioned as the master of the ship "Squire," and part owner with Richard Warbrick, while Samuel Chamberlaine is mentioned as being the supercargo. Captain John Chamberlaine died in the year 1721¹ in Virginia, and in the same year Samuel Chamberlaine married a lady of Maryland. The connection thus formed determined his settlement at Oxford, to which he returned after a brief visit to his father in England, no more to cross the ocean. It is of this gentleman, worthy of commemoration, that it is now proposed to give such account as the very imperfect record of his life will allow.

Samuel Chamberlaine, who may be spoken of as of "Plain Dealing," to distinguish him from his equally well-known son, Samuel Chamberlaine of Bonfield, and others of his family bearing the same name, the

¹ In the parish church at St. Michaels there is inserted in the walls a beautiful mural tablet commemorating John Chamberlaine, which at one time was surmounted by an elaborately carved frame of wood, and was originally erected in the church edifice that preceded the one recently demolished (1878) to make room for the present structure. This tablet has inscribed upon it beneath the Chamberlaine arms the following:

UNDERNEATH LYETH THE BODY OF
JOHN CHAMBERLAINE
WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE JUNE THE
FIRST 1721 IN THE 31 YEAR OF
HIS AGE.

The Coat of Arms of the Chamberlaines is thus given in Kerr's Genealogical Notes:

First and Fourth,
Gules, an Escutcheon argent,
in an orle of eight Mulletts, or:
Second and third gules, a Chevron between
Three Escallops or: Crest, an Ass' head out of a Ducal
Coronet. Mottoes, "Mors portior macula" also,
"Prodesse Quam Conspice;" "Vir-
tute Nihil invicem;" "Stub
born in the right"

youngest son of Thomas and Ann Penketh Chamberlaine was born May 17, 1697, at Sanghall on the Dee, in Cheshire, near the ancient town of Chester. Here had lived his family for nearly five hundred years—a family that claims descent from Count de Tankerville, who followed William the Conqueror from Normandy in 1066. John, a son of this Count Tankerville became Lord Chamberlain to Henry I of England in 1125, and his son Richard held the same office under King Stephen. Hence the surname of the family which has been otherwise and better honored than by kingly service. Of the education of Samuel Chamberlaine, nothing whatever is known. There had been examples in his family of liberal training and high scholarship, notably Edward Chamberlaine, Doctor of Laws, and sometime student at Oxford, and John Chamberlaine, his son, who took his degree at the same university and became a Fellow of the Royal Society. Both of these were men of learning and writers of repute and authority, the first having written several works, the best known of which is the *Anglia Notitia*, or "Present State of England," often reprinted and quoted; and the latter having translated several books from the Dutch and French, and continued his father's *Notitia*. With such examples before him it is not likely that Thomas Chamberlaine neglected the education of his sons, and we know, from documents of one kind or another left behind by Samuel Chamberlaine, that he had, at least, such literary training as qualified him for the avocation to which he was destined, and in fact rendered him qualified to fill creditably the functions of a provincial statesman. After receiving elementary instruction, it is probable he was received into his father's counting room, where his mercantile training was acquired, and those habits of order and precision for which he became so well known and by which he so much profited in after life. It is known that at the early age of seventeen he came out in one of the ships belonging to his father and elder brother John and commanded by the latter, probably in the capacity of captain's clerk or supercargo. We know that a little later he was discharging the duties of such an officer on board the ship "Squire" as before mentioned. In 1709 he purchased an interest in the mercantile firm of Ratchdale Norris and Company of Liverpool, and in the following year became factor or agent of Mr. Foster Cunliffe, a Liverpool merchant, trading with Maryland. In 1723, having determined to settle in America he bought the entire interest of Messrs. Rachdale and Company, and forming a copartnership with his father and his sister-in-law, Mrs. Margaret Clay Chamberlaine, the widow of his brother John, the commercial business was continued for several years with satisfactory success.

In a record of a power of attorney of Talbot county court John Chamberlaine and Samuel Chamberlaine are mentioned as being merchants of Liverpool, England, Feb. 29, 1722-23.

On the third of April, 1721, Mr. Chamberlaine married Mary, the only child of Mr. Robert Ungle, a merchant of Oxford, residing at Plain-Dealing, a plantation upon the opposite side of Third Haven Creek, which had come to him through his marriage with Frances, the granddaughter of John and Margaret Pope, people of good condition, who have not perpetuated their name in this county. After their marriage and bridal tour to England, Mrs. Ungle accompanying them, Mr. and Mrs. Chamberlaine took up their residence in the town of Oxford, in the prosperity of which he became deeply interested, as will presently be shown. But Mrs. Chamberlaine did not long survive her marriage, for she died September 13, 1726, leaving no children. A portrait of this lady in the possession of Dr. Joseph E. Chamberlaine of Easton represents her as a beautiful woman, of slight figure. Mr. Ungle lived but a short time after the death of his daughter, dying in 1727. Difficulty was experienced in discovering the heirs at law, but they were found to be Mrs. Abigail, the wife of Thomas Hill of London, and Mrs. Mary, the wife of Phineas Alferino.² The interests of them in the Plain Dealing estate were purchased by Mr. Chamberlaine, and this large plantation at a later day became his residence. Mrs. Ungle survived her husband many years dying in 1754, and by her will made her son-in-law one of her executors and her residuary legatee, the other being his son Thomas Chamberlaine. She also left considerable legacies to the children of Mr. Samuel Chamberlaine by his second marriage. She appears to have been a Roman Catholic in her religious belief, a priest of that church, the Rev. John Lewis of Wye, officiating at her funeral, and receiving a legacy of ten pounds by her will.

Mr. Robert Ungle of whom this lady was the relict, though leaving no children nor kinsmen to perpetuate his name,³ has secured a traditional memory through the tragic circumstances of his death and the ghostly legends to which it gave origin. He was known in his

² This Phineas Alferino was a native of Florence in Italy and a butcher. Mention is made in the records of Talbot County of his naturalization under the date of April 29, 1736.

³ The family of Ungles no longer has representatives in this county, but undoubtedly at the period referred to in the text there were other persons besides Mr. Robert Ungle of the name—one was Thomas and another was Charles who at one time was sheriff of the county.

day, and is yet spoken of as Squire Ungle, and it has been his ill fortune to be remembered rather for his faults than for his merits; so each succeeding generation, whether justly or unjustly, cannot now be known, has planted commemorative flowers upon his grave which are neither beautiful nor fragrant. He was born in England, January 23, 1670. Nothing is known of his early life, nor the date of his coming to Maryland. The first mention of him that has been discovered is in the records of the provincial council of August 1693, when his deposition respecting some treasonable words and acts of Col. Peter Sayer, a Jacobite and Roman Catholic, alleged to have been uttered at the public house of John Pope in Oxford, is preserved. From the deposition of another person, in the same case, it is to be inferred that Mr. Ungle was also a Jacobite, if not a Catholic, for he joined Col. Sayer and others in drinking the health of King James. In the following year he is mentioned as one of those who took up lots in the newly erected town of Oxford, where he was a merchant. He intermarried with the Popes, who did not disdain keeping a tavern, though they were people of substance, and after his marriage he took up his residence at Plain-Dealing, continuing his business of merchant, the union of planting and trading being "common" at the time. Increasing wealth and good social connections both secured by his fortunate marriage if they were not enjoyed before, soon brought those honors civil and political, which were eagerly sought for and were the distinctive privileges of the gentry, or aristocracy of the county. In 1699 (see *Biog. An.* No. I, p. 97) his name appears among those of the Justices of the Peace of the county and continued to appear year by year until his death, except when he was holding other offices which debarred him from the Commission. He was sometimes a justice of the quorum, which indicates the possession of some legal knowledge. It is known that he acted occasionally as legal attorney. In 1704 he was high sheriff of the county, an honorable and lucrative place, which he held until 1707, when he was succeeded by Daniel Sherwood. In the year 1714 he was appointed treasurer of the Eastern Shore, an office he probably held in 1720 and possibly later. In 1716 he was again appointed high sheriff of the county, and was succeeded in 1718 by one of his name Charles Ungle. In 1721 he was appointed deputy naval officer for the port of Oxford, in the Pocomoke District, and this office as well as that of justice he held to the time of his death in 1727. It may be mentioned that he was one of the Commissioners for laying off the town of Oxford. In October 1707 he was elected by the people one of the burgesses or delegates for Talbot county in the lower House

of Assembly with Col. Nicholas Lowe, Col. Thomas Smithson and Mr. Thomas Robins, gentlemen of the first character and station, as his associates. He served in the General Assembly until 1716, and during the years 1714 and 1715 he was speaker of the lower house. In 1720 he was again elected to the Assembly and again chosen speaker. While holding this honorable position he died in 1727. A special election was held and Mr. George Robins was elected to fill his place as delegate from Talbot. From this it is evident that Mr. Ungle, during his life and up to his death, possessed the respect and confidence of the governing powers of Maryland, and also of his fellow citizens of Talbot. The imputations which posterity placed upon his memory seem to owe their origin rather to superstition than any well established facts—to a belief that violent and sudden calamities are the executed judgments of a higher power for moral offences, known or unknown—a belief once more generally entertained than now, though not yet dead, nor likely to die, as long as law is thought to be the expression of a supreme will, and men continue to confound sequences and causes. Very little is known of the private life of Mr. Ungle, but we know enough to be sure that it was not a model of decorous morality—that it was not entirely exemplary; but who shall say it was worse than that of men of his station and times. All the evil that can be said of him with certainty is that he was more than convivial when among men—sometimes indulging in wine to excess. It is probable, that when among women he was more than gallant—sometimes incontinent. It is very safe to say that when among sea-faring men and men of the ruder sort, by whom he was surrounded, his language was more than intense—sometimes profane. These were the vices of his age, gross but open. He would not, if he could, have robbed a bank or wrecked a railroad. He would not have “stuffed” ballot boxes or taken money from the lobby, if there had then been ballot boxes and lobbies. Possibly, merchant as he was, he would not have cornered the market, though engrossing and rebating were sufficiently common then to call for legislation. These are the vices of this age—secret, sly and almost proper—certainly not violating decency.

In the old mansions of this county, of much pretension, the hall or entrance room was architecturally the most important apartment, upon which the greatest expense and labor was bestowed. Around its sides broad stairways leading to the upper rooms, with ballusters low and massive, as much for show as safety, were squarely built in the style of Queen Ann lately revived. From any part of these stair-

ways one could look sheer down without obstruction to the lowest floor. Such was the hall at Plain Dealing, and such it remained until about the middle of the present century when it was demolished by the present owner, Captain E. L. F. Hardcastle, to make room for the more modern structure he has erected. Tradition has transmitted that in one of his convivial seasons, overcome with wine, Squire Ungle, who was the great man of the neighborhood, while moving along the stairway fell headlong over the low ballusters to the floor below, and, in common phrase, broke his neck, at the same time receiving a bleeding wound. He was taken up dead. His sudden death, from the attending circumstances, had additional horrors, and left a strangely abiding impression. When lifted from the floor some spots of blood were seen which are said to have made a stain that was visible for more than a hundred years, and was pointed out to visitors at the old mansion as possessing a mystic permanency which no solvent water, detergent soap or erasing sand, though well applied, could obliterate.

When Mr. Samuel Chamberlaine settled in Oxford he had not to occupy the position and suffer the embarrassments of a stranger, for the long commercial intercourse of the father and sons with the people of Maryland, and particularly of this county, had them well and favorably known to most of the substantial citizens of Talbot. Thus introduced, he soon won their confidence and esteem by an exhibition of those traits that mark strong and virtuous characters. Making no pretention to those qualities that excite the wonder, admiration or reverence of men, he was content to possess those of the well trained and honorable merchant—to be upright, judicious, courageous, decisive, punctual, diligent and methodical. That he was all of these his great success in trade attests. A kinsman says of him: "He stood first in the county as an honorable, honest and worthy man, of unimpeachable character." He soon became one of the wealthiest men of the county,⁴ though fortunate marriages may have aided in building his great fortune, there is no doubt but equally fortunate mercantile adventures were prime factors of his financial prosperity. As was the custom of his day in Maryland he united planting with trade, shipping his own tobacco and other products with those received in his dealings with his less opulent neighbors to England, and receiving in return those articles of comfort and luxury which the province could not supply. His planting was upon a large scale, as his great estate in land and negroes attests. There is

⁴ The Rent Roll of the Lord Proprietary shows that Mr. C. in 1755 paid quit rents upon 5338 acres of land.

no reason to doubt that he was as successful in agriculture as in commerce, using, as he did, in the former those faculties of sound judgment and carrying with him those habits of orderly management that he was accustomed to exercise in the latter. One of his most conspicuous traits, as well as commendable, was his precision and carefulness in matters of business of whatsoever kind, private or public, which contrasted remarkably with the negligence and looseness common in new countries and conspicuous among the people among whom he had settled. As an evidence of this, it is said he left behind him a mass of papers, arranged and filed with regularity and care of a merchant's clerk, many of which, relating to public business, had they been preserved, would have proved to be a source of valuable historical information of colonial and inter-colonial affairs during a long period of time.

But Mr. Chamberlaine's private business did not so far monopolize his attention or absorb his interest as to prevent his participation actively and earnestly in public affairs, municipal, county and provincial. Settling at Oxford, in Maryland, he identified himself with the community in which he was placed, and all that concerned its prosperity and well being became matters of personal importance with him, and often of personal solicitude. A gentleman of his position and character could hardly escape the notice of the governing powers of the commonwealth, so we find that at a court held November 3, 1724, a new commission was produced from the Lord Proprietary appointing nine of the most respectable citizens of the county justices of the peace. Of these he was one. The position for which he was thus designated was more important and honorable than that of those officers of the present day who bear that title, and was filled by men of very different character and condition. It is evident from the records of the Court, still preserved in the clerk's office of this county, that Mr. Chamberlaine was not as constant an attendant upon court as his associates, for reasons not now explicable, nor was his commission as regularly renewed for equally obscure causes; yet his name occasionally appears down to the time when he was invited to become a member of the Governor's council, after which he was authorized by virtue of his office, to act as a justice of the peace, or county judge, when present, as he was also a judge of the Court of Appeals and Errors, thus uniting, under a system, displeasing to our ideas of expediency, executive, legislative and judicial functions. All of these functions Mr. Chamberlaine continued to perform, regularly or occasionally until his resignation of his seat in the council in 1768.

After the death of Mr. Ungle in 1727 Mr. Chamberlaine succeeded to his place of naval officer at Oxford. The duties of this position, for which his commercial education and his acquaintance with the business of the port, entirely fitted him, were discharged with his characteristic fidelity and precision until 1748, when they were resigned to his son, Mr. Thomas Chamberlaine, who was appointed in his stead. A memorandum states that John Leeds was appointed naval officer in 1766. The account books kept during the incumbency of these two naval officers, and of the second Samuel Chamberlaine, are really valuable documents to the local historian, for they give light upon the social conditions and the industrial employments of the people of this county. They record the names of the merchants, of the captains, and of the ships trading in the waters of Talbot and the adjacent counties, and they indicate the character of the outward as well as the inward cargoes, and the ports of entry and departure.⁵

At a general election held September 10, 1728, Mr. Chamberlaine was chosen by the qualified voters of Talbot county to be one of their delegates in the lower House of Assembly; and his seat was held until 1732. There is no evidence that he ever again was a candidate for any elective office: but in the year last named he was appointed to a most responsible position with regard to the rights of the proprietary and the territorial limits of the province of Maryland. A conflict of title under their respective charters between William Penn and Lord Baltimore, after the contentions of many years had not been adjusted; but in 1732 an agreement had been reached by the contending parties, by which it was determined that a provisional boundary line should be laid down, that should be observed by the authorities of both contestants until a final adjudication had been made and announced by the British Courts of Chancery, to which appeal had been made for the establishment of the respective rights of the Proprietaries. Commissioners were appointed by the governors, Ogle of Maryland and Thomas of Pennsylvania to supervise the survey. Those for this province were Col. Levin Gale and Mr. Samuel Chamberlaine, and the work of the survey was begun in 1739. It had progressed as far west as the Susquehannah river when it was interrupted by the enforced absence of Col. Gale and the refusal of Mr. Chamberlaine to proceed farther without the presence of his associated commissioner. The Pennsylvania commissioners proceeded to run the line westward. It may be well enough to

⁵ These books have been deposited with the Maryland Historical Society, by Mr. James Lloyd Chamberlaine of Baltimore.

say that the controversy respecting this boundary line was not finally settled until 1760 nor the survey completed until 1768. Talbot county was represented in the new commission by Col. Edward Lloyd, and the supervision of the work of the surveyors, Messrs. Mason and Dixon, was committed, in part, to Mr. John Leeds, also of this county, for which task, by reason of his most respectable attainments in mathematics and astronomy, no one in the province, in the opinion of Governor Sharpe, was better fitted and in this opinion Mr. Chamberlaine undoubtedly united.

The abilities which Mr. Chamberlaine had displayed, both in the management of his own private affairs and in the conduct of those of a public nature that had been committed to his care, coupled with his large wealth, his high social rank and his pure personal character were such as to give him a kind of title to the most eminent station in the proprietary government; and this title seems to have been recognized by Governor Ogle who in 1740 appointed him one of his Lordship's Honorable Council. A seat in the council entitled him to a seat upon the bench of the Provincial Court, and accordingly he is mentioned in the records as occupying that high station in 1741. He took his seat in the council on the 22nd of April of that year, having associated with him in that body two of his fellow citizens of Talbot county, Col. Edward Lloyd of "Wye House," and Col. Matthew Tilghman Ward, of "Rich Neck." What opinions he held upon questions of provincial politics it is now difficult to determine as we get little light from official records, and as before mentioned, his private papers, which in this connection would have been valuable, were entirely destroyed. But as a seat in the council was the gift of the governor or of him in whose stead the governor stood, and as the occupant of that seat was expected to reflect the sentiments of those who appointed him, and to be the guardian of the interests of the proprietary when they were in conflict with those of the people whose exponents were the members of the Lower House of Assembly, it is inferable that Mr. Chamberlaine's opinions were in accord with at least a majority of the council or upper house, and therefore may be approximately learned by a study of the political movements in the province, as they are related in works of general state history.*

* It may not be useless or uninteresting to quote from the Orders and Instructions, Powers and Authorities from Frederick, Lord Baltimore, to his Council commissioned in 1753. The 4th Article thus reads: "You must strictly act consonant to my Royal Charter from King Charles the First, granted by his said Majesty to my noble Ancestor Cecilius, Lord Proprietary and Lord Baron of

Before Mr. Chamberlaine had taken his seat at the council board "the dissensions about the proprietary revenue, between the lower house of Assembly and the Governors, which endured to the downfall of the proprietary government" had begun. Nothing is hazarded in the statement that he supported the claims of Lord Baltimore, which were regarded by popular branch of the government as unjust. Among his first duties as councillor was the enlistment of volunteers, under a royal requisition, for the war with Spain which had just broken out. These soldiers made a part of the ill-fated expedition of Admiral Vernon against Carthagena in Colombia, South America, in which many perished miserably from the climate and service. We find that he was much interested in protecting the rights of those Indians who still remained within the lower counties of the Eastern Shore, for by an order of council of May 30, 1747, he with William Thomas, also of Talbot, was appointed a commission to enquire into the grievances of the Indians of Dorchester county. These gentlemen met the Indian chiefs at Cambridge on the 8th of March, 1748, and in their report to the council they sustain the charge made against Philemon Lecompte of cutting timber from the Indian reservation, but exonerated Mrs. Elizabeth Trippe of trespassing upon their land. It is traditional that Mr. Chamberlaine was especially active during the French war, laboring assiduously to direct public opinion in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the contest for supremacy upon this continent, and holding correspondence with leading characters in the other provinces, so as to secure concert of action. It is said the communications that were exchanged with these distinguished persons were carefully filed, and in existence down to a comparatively recent date, but now destroyed. There is something more than tradition to convince us that he was so earnest in his advocacy of the war, and the measures adopted for its prosecution, that he could act the part of complete independence of proprietary influence, for at a meeting of the council held May 12, 1756, the Governor asked the opinion of the board, whether "in case a bill should pass both houses, laying a tax on all his Lordship's manor lands and all other land for which he shall

Baltimore. You are to uphold and maintain the said Charles Royal Prerogatives, Rights, Powers and Authorities so granted to the Reserving and well-being of my just Rights and the true good rule of my Government, both in church and state as by law established, doing equal and impartial justice unto all Persons, his most sacred Majesty's subjects and my faithful tenants committed by my powers to your care.

Council Records of date."

receive any rent, this board would advise the Governor to pass the same." The council decided unanimously it would so advise, Col. Edward Lloyd voting that he would "in case the bill is practicable to be performed" and Mr. Chamberlaine that he would, without qualification. Of his relation to events that were precursory to the revolution we know as little as that to events more remote. We have no direct or positive intelligence of how he stood affected towards the Stamp Act, though the condemnation of this measure, in Maryland as in all the colonies, was so general as well as so vehement, it is hardly probable that Englishman as he was and therefore inclined to submit to royal or parliamentary authority, and indisposed as he was, as sworn councillor of the Lord Proprietary, to jeopard any of his rights, by resistance to even an obnoxious law, he ventured to oppose the popular furor. Mr. Chamberlaine did not live to share in the fervors of the controversy aroused by the Proclamation and Vestry Act, which succeeded to that of the Stamp Act; but as his son, Mr. Samuel Chamberlaine, Jr., was a strenuous advocate of the doctrine that it is the duty of the state to support the ministers of an established church, we should not err, probably, if it be assumed that he reflected the sentiments of his father; and that the son was, later, a non-juror, so the father opposed all measures leading to resistance to the imperial government, and especially to the independence of the colonies—questions already debated. He doubtless saw the drift of affairs, and we may suppose that his last days were not made more serene by anticipations of the glories of the great republic then approaching the time of its birth, but were clouded and perturbed by apprehensions of social disorder and political revolution. He held his position at the council board until the year 1769, when he resigned;⁷ and though the reasons he assigned for this step, namely, age and infirmities, were the most potent there is little doubt that hearing the distant thunder he anticipated the great storm soon to break over these colonies, and sought the shelter of private station. His resignation was followed by that of Mr. Lloyd in the same year, and it will be noted by students of Maryland history that it was the year of the installation of the Hon. Robert Eden, the last proprietary governor, as well as of the retirement of Governor Sharpe, long the executive superior and intimate friend of the subject of this sketch.

As little as is known of Mr. Samuel Chamberlaine, the elder, there is

⁷ But Mr. John Bozman Kerr says he was in the council during thirty-four years, so that resigning in 1769 his commission must have borne the date of 1735 and not 1740 as stated in the text.

sufficient to justify us in believing that he was not impressed with religious convictions of the same depth nor with religious feelings of the same intensity as those of his son of the same name; yet trained up as he was under the teachings of the established Church of England, and having the example of his kinsman, good Bishop Nelson of Sodor and Man held up before him, it is not surprising to find him soon after his settlement at Oxford coöperating with other citizens of repute and especially with Parson Maynadier in the work of St. Peters parish. In the years 1725 and 1726 he was elected one of the vestry of this parish, but after this last date he apparently withdrew from all official connection with the church. He aided in the erection of a new parish church by contributing of his means and by his management, being apparently the fiscal agent of the vestry.^a

In the year 1735 he became a resident of St. Michaels' parish by his removal to Plain Dealing, and therefore came under the pastoral care of the Reverend Henry Nicols, of happy memory. It is evident that he continued his refusal to take any part in parochial affairs, for his name nowhere appears in connection with the church. This abstention from what many consider a duty and others a privilege of one so prominent as Mr. Chamberlaine is remarkable and is to this day inexplicable. Conjecture as to the cause might do his memory injustice; but it may be remembered that there are men in the world leading decorous lives perhaps imbued with sincere piety, who recoil from any such public expression of religious opinion or feeling as the assumption of any ecclesiastical functions, or even the formation of any ecclesiastical connection would involve; for having established in their own minds a high standard of fitness for such duties which they have never been able fully to realize in their own conduct, they are too conscientious to violate their own scruples to satisfy the demands of others. Mr.

^a In the possession of a member of the family there is a book of Mr. C. containing receipts, and among these are three relating to the building of a "*Chapell at Oxford*"—one for the making and laying of bricks and the other two for plank and scantling for the same structure. These receipts have been interpreted as signifying that in the year 1728 a church edifice was built within the town of Oxford, and that Samuel Chamberlaine was active in promoting its building. As there is not in the church record the remotest reference to any such chapel, nor in any other record, it may be regarded as certain that these receipts referred to the new parish church, called White Marsh which was put up at or about this date, the old one or first on the same site having gone to decay. This church of 1728 has also disappeared, and the brick church still standing, but in ruins, is of much later construction.

Chamberlaine may have been one of this kind of men. Or he may have contracted that indifferentism which was the characteristic of the last century; or finally he may, in the latter portion of his life, have wished, by his example of frigidity to cool the religious fervors of some of his sons who may already have betrayed a measure of the zealotry of their after years.

Three years after the death of his wife, Mary Ungle, whose gentle face still beams upon us from the canvas, he married January 22, 1729, Henrietta Maria, the daughter of Mr. James Lloyd and granddaughter of Col. Philemon Lloyd of Wye House. Six children were the fruit of this marriage: Thomas, who was heir of the estate "Plain Dealing," James Lloyd, whose home was "Peach Blossom," Samuel the master of "Bonfield," Henrietta Maria, married to William Nicols, the son of the Rev. Henry Nicols, and lived at "Galloway," Richard, who died at an early age, and Ann, married to Richard Tilghman Earle of "Melfield," Queen Anne's county. Of these Mr. Thomas, or as he was afterwards known, Col. Thomas Chamberlaine was born at Oxford in 1731, married Susannah, daughter of Mr. George Robins of "Peach-Blossom," made his home at "Plain Dealing," engaged in trade, succeeded his father as deputy naval officer and collector of the port of Oxford, was frequently vestryman of St. Michael's parish, was held in high esteem for his honorable character and virtuous life, and died at an early age in 1764, leaving an only child, a son bearing his own name and whose years were also few. There is a family tradition, that probably has as much truth as a basis as such traditions usually possess, that his young widow, "for seven years after the death of her husband remained in her chamber at "Plain Dealing," from a window of which, overlooking the burial ground, she could see his tomb" which she had erected to his memory.* Such constancy of grief, so impressively expressed which by shunning

* "Genealogical Notes," by John Bosman Kerr.

The following is the inscription upon this tomb, below the family coat of arms:

IN MEMORY OF
COL. THOMAS CHAMBERLAINE
OF TALBOT COUNTY
ELDEST SON OF SAMUEL AND
HENRIETTA MARIA CHAMBERLAINE,
WHO DIED MAY 13, 1764
AGED 33 YEARS
THIS STONE IS ERECTED BY HIS
SORROWFUL WIDOW
SUSANNA CHAMBERLAINE.

invited consolation could have but one sufficient assuagement, and this was found in a second marriage with a young man, her junior in years, Mr. Robert Lloyd Nicols.

Mr. James Lloyd Chamberlaine, another son of the first Samuel Chamberlaine, was born at Oxford in 1732, and married Henrietta Maria, daughter of Mr. George Robins of "Peach Blossom" and had one son, Mr. Robins Chamberlaine, who is remembered in this county for having wasted a splendid patrimony by the most reckless extravagance, and for his having made the fortune of those who had the settlement of his vast estate. Mr. James Lloyd Chamberlaine, the first of the name, was a very considerable personage. Residing on Wye until the death of his mother-in-law he removed to "Peach Blossom." He was possessed through inheritance and marriage of large wealth, but he nevertheless engaged in commercial adventures, which were greatly profitable, enabling him to leave a fortune of half a million dollars (see Biog. An. No. 1, p. 119). He was high sheriff from 1759 to 1761 and receiver of the Lord Proprietary's alienation fees for the same period. In February, 1771, he was elected a member of the lower house of Assembly and continued so to be nominally until the expiration of the provincial government in 1776. He was in full sympathy with the movements towards resistance to British aggression and colonial independence, in this differing from his family. In 1775 he was a member of the committee of observation for Talbot county. In December of the same year he was in the convention of delegates, chosen by the several counties of the province of Maryland, having Messrs. Matthew Tilghman, Nicholas Thomas and Pollard Edmondson as his coadjutors. At and by this convention he was chosen brigadier general of the upper district of the Eastern Shore, comprising all the counties above Choptank river. In October, 1776, he was one of four commissioners appointed by the convention to proceed to the camps in the Jerseys and New York for the purpose of offering bounties for the enlistment of soldiers for the war, and reorganizing companies and battalions "according to the continental establishment." This convention was that which framed the first Constitution of Maryland, but Mr. Chamberlaine was not permitted to share in the deliberations of this assembly, on account of his absence upon military duty; but there is no doubt of his approval of the results of those deliberations.¹⁰ In 1780 he was elected one of the delegates in the lower house of Assem-

¹⁰ While present or until called away by military duty Mr. Chamberlaine took active part in the proceedings. There is not space here for an account of the part taken by him.

bly, with James Hindman, Nicholas Martin and Edward Lloyd as his associates. The death of General James Lloyd Chamberlaine occurred late in 1783, as his will is probated December 15 of that year.

In a letter to the council of safety he resigned his commission in the army December 26, 1776, for reasons unknown.

Of another son of Mr. Samuel Chamberlaine, and one who bore his name, a man of very marked characteristics, an account will be given in a separate paper, so nothing need here be said of him.

Of his daughters it is sufficient to say they married men of character and position and left descendants who are proud to trace their origin to these gentlewomen who won by their graces of mind and person the affection of husbands, the reverence of children and the honoring respect of neighbors.

Mr. Chamberlaine died on the 30th of April, 1773, and though no stone marks the place of his interment, it is altogether probable he was buried beside his second wife at Plain Dealing, where he had erected a tomb to her memory, with a suitable inscription surmounted with the Chamberlaine Coat of Arms.¹¹ The omission or neglect to place a monumental shaft or simple tablet above the grave of Mr. Chamberlaine may be attributed to the interruption of commercial intercourse between Maryland and the mother country soon after his death, and to the fact that Plain Dealing fell into the hands of a grandson, and a minor. This neglect, it will be seen, was made use of to give a kind of plausibility to the grewsome story of the apparition, presently to be recounted. As one of most prominent citizens of Maryland, and as one well known in all the provinces of America, notices of his death made their appearance in the public journals of Annapolis, Philadelphia, New York and probably of Boston. The time, however, was not propitious for eulogiums of one more than suspected of being out of sympathy with the rising spirit of colonial autonomy. So little is known of Mr. Chamberlaine's endowments of mind and personal character that an attempt to depict them would be made by the pencil and colors of the imagina-

¹¹ The following is the inscription:

UNDERNEATH LIETH INTERRED THE BODY
OF MRS. HENRIETTA MARIA CHAMBERLAINE
LATE WIFE OF MR. SAMUEL CHAMBERLAINE
AND ELDEST DAUGHTER OF COL. JAMES LLOYD
OF TALBOT COUNTY. SHE DEPARTED THIS LIFE
ON THE 29TH DAY OF MARCH 1748
AGED THIRTY SEVEN YEARS TWO MONTHS
AND THREE DAYS.

tion merely. He has left behind some tracings or silhouettes of a methodical, painstaking, industrious, thrifty, judicious, proud and honorable man. We may, if we please, and, probably, as we ought, fill these in with the lines and tints, the lights and shades of unaffected piety, unostentatious charity, tender affection, spotless purity and gentle ways. Of his bodily appearance we have better information. There are two portraits of him still in existence,¹² one taken as it is supposed soon after his marriage while in England and the other at a later date when he was in mature and vigorous life. It represents him as tall, portly man with strong features, dark but florid complexion, animated expression of countenance and dignified mien. He wears the garb of the earlier half of the last century, a purple velvet coat and full wig. The whole gives the impression of a gentleman, highly bred, self-respecting, vigorous and prosperous.¹³

It may be noted as well here as elsewhere that Mr. Chamberlaine appears to have been a valued friend of Mr. Robert Morris, the merchant of Oxford whose mutilated tombstone still remains at old White Marsh Church, for in Mr. Morris' will he leaves mourning rings to Mr. Chamberlaine and other gentlemen who enjoyed his intimacy.

Mr. Chamberlaine died possessed of a great estate¹⁴ in land and negroes, which was distributed by will among his children and grandchildren, a son of Thomas Chamberlaine inheriting "Plain Dealing," which he seems never to have occupied as a residence, for though destined for the bar, and though he spent the usual terms as law student in the Middle Temple, London, in preparation for a legal career, his inclina-

¹² The picture described is really a beautiful work of art and worthy of the pencil of Copley, if indeed it be not from his easel, as is probable. The pose, the expression and the coloring are all fine. It is a three-quarter length portrait, and in perfect preservation.

¹³ The portraits referred to in this paper, namely that of Thomas Chamberlaine, the father of Samuel Chamberlaine of Plain Dealing, the two portraits of Samuel Chamberlaine, and of his two wives Mary Ungle and Henrietta Maria Lloyd, hung in the drawing room of Plain Dealing for many years after it had been deserted by the Chamberlaines. They were removed to Bonfield, where they with others, belonging to that branch of the family, hung until they were taken possession of by their present owner Dr. Joseph E. Chamberlaine, who has had them carefully renovated without injury to their artistic value.

¹⁴ This place, then occupied by a Mr. Milburn, the trustee of young Chamberlaine, was the scene of that curious episode of the Revolutionary war, in this county, of the forcible seizure of salt there stored, by a party of armed men of Caroline County. An account of this incident has been given in a separate article.

tions were for trade, and he made one of a firm of merchants at Talbot Court House, now Easton, whose style was Nicols, Kerr and Chamberlaine.¹⁵ Dying early at the age of twenty-four years he left the "Plain Dealing" estate to his half brother Mr. Lloyd Nicols, who squandering a "vast fortune," this fine property was bought by Mr. John Loockerman and through him passed into the hands of his nephews, the sons of his brother, the Hon. Theodore R. Loockerman from which it soon passed. The lands comprising the tract known by the name "Plain Dealing," which was formed by a union under Mr. Ungle and Mr. Chamberlaine of a number of smaller surveys, have been divided and subdivided of late years; but in 1855 the homestead with a considerable acreage surrounding came by purchase into the possession of Capt. E. L. F. Hardcastle, late of the United States Army, who tore down the greater part of the old mansion that had gone to decay and ruin, and erected a handsome, substantial and commodious brick house for his own residence. This is now occupied by his son, Mr. Richard L. Hardcastle.

This account of "Plain Dealing" and some of its inhabitants would be more incomplete than it is, if there should be an omission to relate the "ghost story" that in the mind of every citizen of the county is habitually associated with the old place and its former occupants. The story has been told so often that a mere reference to it would seem to be all that is necessary in this paper and its repetition clearly superfluous: but the fact is it has received so many additions, accretions, embellishments and perversions, from every kind of relator—from the old negro gossip, neighborhood chronicler, versatile, vivacious newspaper correspondent, to the stately management or solemn pneumatologist—every one of whom appears to have thought it incumbent upon him to add something, not for the purpose of misrepresentation but involuntarily to deepen interest in his narrative, that it seems necessary to give the "sound unvarnished tale," as much to present a remarkable illustration of the growth of legend by gradual accretion and unconscious invention, as to preserve the truth about an interesting occurrence from perversion.¹⁶ In or about the year 1832 Mr. Jeremiah Valliant was living

¹⁵ He is said to have left £100,000 to each of his children, a vast sum in that period.

¹⁶ The writer has seen many different printed accounts and heard as many oral, all differing one from the other. Some of those that have been published are written with great elaborateness of detail, but all evince the employment of the fancy instead of laborious accuracy. A single thread of truth, however, is

upon the farm "Plain Dealing" as a tenant with his wife and a large family of children. These people were in moderate circumstances but entirely respectable. The father was honest, the mother pious and both truthful. They were intelligent as also were their children, and without eccentricities or marked peculiarities, though some of the sons in later life betrayed cerebral disorder. The house of the farm at this time was in fairly good condition, and though the imagination of the occupants exaggerated its former elegance, its size, arrangement and construction were really suggestive of the ample wealth and luxurious tastes of its early founders and builders; yet silent decay threatening utter ruin was creeping in at every neglected nook and corner. The wainscoted parlor still had upon its walls the portraits, yellow with the dust and smoke of age, of Samuel Chamberlaine and his father Thomas in their old and quaint garb and their full bottomed wigs, and those of his two wives, the pretty and delicate Mary Ungle and the stern and homely Henrietta Maria Lloyd, in their ancient and strange gowns and stays. The large hall still contained the broad stairway with its low, heavy and unpainted ballustrades, and upon the floor there still remained the stains said to have been made by the blood of old Squire Ungle. In the garden, or what was once a garden, still revealing in its wide walks and now over-grown shrubbery something of the love of the beautiful and picturesque that inspired its plan and planting, near to and within view of the mansion, was, according to an old and strange custom, the graveyard of the family, containing its two tombs and evidences of other graves unmarked by stones. These tombs, which with their inscriptions surmounted by Coats of Arms were at once tributes of affection to the departed and symbols of the pride of the living, like everything else about the homestead betokened former opulence and present decadence. The brickwork that supported the slabs of stone had fallen and the vaults of the graves exposed, inviting prying curiosity, and provoking superstitious fears.

One of the younger sons of Mr. Jeremiah Valliant was Lloyd Nicols Valliant, the principal actor in the occurrences at "Plain Dealing," and at the time nine or ten years of age. In the year 1871, this son was still living, a phlegmatic, reserved, unimaginative, but not unintelligent man of forty-nine years of age. On the 22nd of November of that year he was induced (disinclined as he was to speak of the subject) by an old

discoverable in the most richly wrought web of fiction. See *Philadelphia Times* of Jan. 21, 1882, *Lippincott's Magazine* of Nov. 1882 and the *Easton Ledger* of Dec. 12, 1882, the last copying a second article from the *Philadelphia Times*.

companion and schoolmate, to communicate the incidents of the "Plain Dealing" ghost story, as he recollected them. Though he spoke reluctantly he answered all questions unreservedly. There seemed to be no disposition on his part to embellish his statement to make it interesting. His character for veracity was irreproachable. The following is what Mr. Valliant said—not given in his own words, but with as near an approach to accuracy as possible, it having been written down immediately after the interview.

When the affair occurred I was about ten years old. My father, Jeremiah Valliant, lived upon Plain Dealing farm in Ferry Neck, which he rented from Mr. Nicols or Loockerman. On one occasion going from the house to the orchard, having to pass the grave yard, where there were three or four graves with slabs of stone over them, and one of them broken open so as to disclose the brick vault, I saw standing near a cedar tree, close to this open grave, a man, as I supposed who alarmed me though I cannot recall any thing that was peculiar in his appearance that should have caused fear. But from the very first sight I thought it was a *ghost*. Why I thought so I cannot tell, unless it was because he was standing near the open vault or grave. I ran frightened to my mother in the house, and told her what I had seen. My mother thought strangely of what I told her and consented to accompany me to the place. While by her side I again saw the figure standing in the same spot. I was still much alarmed. My mother could see nothing. By degrees my timidity wore off, and I returned on succeeding days several times to the grave yard, always accompanied by my mother. Each time I saw the object but she could not. I at last lost all fear, and approached so near the spectre or image that I could see it with perfect distinctness—with the same distinctness that I could see an ordinary man. The personage or figure seemed to be an old man with long white hair, dressed in a garb not differing materially from that worn at the time, but I think, since you have suggested it, that he wore breeches instead of trousers. He did not have a full wig. I became so fearless as to be able to speak to it and then I received replies. I conversed as familiarly as a boy would do with a stranger. It told me there was money buried near, pointing out the place, and said he would as lief the Valliants should have it as any one else. It said the money was buried as *deep as a well*, and that it was covered with *stones*. It directed the hole to be dug at the spot pointed out, and my father did have a hole dug by the negroes of the farm at the place designated eight or ten feet deep. This was done openly—without concealment. The stones were found, apparently arranged with order and not scattered haphazard. *But no money was found.* I never saw the ghost afterward. I saw it four times altogether. I think I was no more superstitious than most boys of my age at that time. I recollect but two portraits in the parlor. They never alarmed me. I have seen the stains upon the floor of the hall said to have been made by the

blood of Squire Ungle, who killed himself by falling over the ballusters while drunk. My mother always believed I saw a ghost. My father was always incredulous. I do not like to talk of this affair, for nobody believes me."

To present the numerous variants of this story would require the extension of this paper much beyond its intended length, but it may be mentioned that when it became noised through the county that a ghost had been seen at "Plain Dealing," and that it had directed the digging for buried treasure, hundreds of persons visited the farm and saw the excavation that Mr. Valliant had caused to be made at the place designated. Myth making immediately began. Seizing hold of the startling and really extraordinary incident that has just been related of the subjective formation and outward projection of a phantom by the mind of a timid child which had been deeply impressed by the circumstances of his situation—by the strange and tragic stories that he had heard of the former occupants of his home whose staring faces and outlandish garb met his eye whenever he entered the unused parlor, whose blood stains were pointed out to him upon the floor of the hall, and whose bones he saw whenever he peered into their broken tombs in the neglected graveyard, this myth-making faculty or propensity at once in its work of enlarging, embellishing and adding to the story. It was asserted with positiveness, though denied by Mr. Valliant that money was obtained, and a witness was formed or found in an old peeping negro who it was said had concealed himself near the place of the digging and saw the gold and silver taken from the hole in the ground at night; and confirmatory evidence was claimed to have been discovered when Mr. Valliant purchased Sharp's Island, as he really did in the year 1838—a purchase which myth makers, but no other persons thought no industrious economic man, such as he was, could easily have made without a treasure trove. Again, when no reasonable motive could be assigned for the appearance of a spirit to this child, these marvel mongers quickly found one in the fact that no memorial stone had been placed over the grave of either Squire Ungle or Samuel Chamberlaine—it was never definitely settled whose ghost did appear but that it was that of one or the other of these persons, was unquestioned—and thereby the post-sepulchral rest of one or the other of these worthies had been ever disturbed by the neglect or indifference of his kinsmen, for which he determined to punish the living representatives by bestowing untold wealth which should have belonged to them upon aliens to his blood. But the inventors of this theory of the apparition were

ignorant of family history—did not know that Squire Ungle had no heirs in America and that Mr. Chamberlaine's place of burial was not marked because of war, that forbade the procuring a suitable stone, and of the death of those whose duty it was to erect some memorial. Again, when the incredulous asked why silver and gold should be buried by any of the former occupants of Plain Dealing the same believers in the incredible were ready with the answer, that they were hidden during the war of the Revolution or the war of 1812—for myth making and myth lovers are regardless of chronology—to protect them from the enemy in the Chesapeake bay and its tributaries—forgetting that the spirit was in the flesh long before the war for independence, that during that era no owner of "Plain Dealing" lived upon the plantation, and that in 1812 the possessor did not have any gold or silver to bury, or to be stolen by the British, having present need for all he could lay his hands upon. And so all the additions, exaggerations, perversions and embellishments which this story has received and which owe their origin to a love of the marvelous which seems inherent in the human mind, or to that poetical faculty which in a rudimentary state exists so commonly even in the uncultured people; would be as effectually destroyed as those few that have been noticed, if they were examined by the light of reason and history that is critical of popular legends.

SAMUEL CHAMBERLAINE, JR., OF BONFIELD

1742-1811

In another paper, concerning Samuel Chamberlaine of "Plain Dealing," sufficient was said of the family to which the gentleman of whom it is now proposed to speak, belonged, Mr. Saml. Chamberlaine of Bonfield, the second of the name in America. He was the third son of the Samuel Chamberlaine referred to above who after several voyages to Maryland finally settled at Oxford in this county, marrying Mary Ungle for his first wife, and Henrietta Maria Lloyd, the mother of his children, for his second. Samuel Chamberlaine the second of the name was born at "Plain Dealing," whither his father had moved, after his purchase of that estate from the heirs of Mr. Ungle, August 23, 1742. Nothing whatever is known of his early life and education. The tradition that he was instructed in letters as well as in religion by the Rev. Thomas Bacon rests upon very uncertain foundation. It is quite as probable he had for his preceptors the Rev. Henry Nicols, and Rev. John Gordon, Rectors of the Parish of St. Michaels in which he lived

during his youth, both of whom were men of learning as well as piety. It is more likely, however, that he was under the care of private tutors, in conformity with the custom of people of his social grade. But however obtained, his education was amply sufficient for his needs and his pleasures. From some source or another he derived strong religious impressions and these were deepened by age and conflict political and sectarian. At the time when it became necessary for Mr. Chamberlaine to select a life calling or profession there were in Maryland few careers that were inviting to young men of good condition. The law, which was most attractive because of the honors which the gentlemen of the bar almost monopolized, offered but small emolument in a sparsely settled country, with little trade and that carried on by foreign factors or large planters, no manufactures except those of the household, and little wealth except broad acres of half cultivated or wholly uncleared land. There is no doubt Mr. Chamberlaine's feelings would have led him into the church, but the difficulty of obtaining the necessary instruction in theological learning and the extreme doubt of securing episcopal ordination in a country without bishops, may have deterred him from adopting a calling for which a devout disposition and a natural inclination to hermeneutics and polemics seem especially to have fitted him. Medicine labored under the same disadvantage that law suffered from, the deficient compensation, with the additional drawback that little honor attached to a profession practised by ignorant and incompetent men whose fitness for their duties as physicians had been secured by no study and determined by no test. A military career was impossible in a state without an army, unless the untrained militia of the counties could be so regarded, whose officers, proud as they were of the titles they sought with avidity and bore with ostentation, had their honors only for their pay. With no inducements therefore to adopt any other pursuit, and with the expectation always before him, resolute as he might be not to allow it to affect him, of inheriting a very considerable fortune from his father, one of the wealthiest men of his day in the province of Maryland, it seemed inevitable that he should engage in that avocation which employed much the larger portion of the men of his position in the county, planting or farming.¹ Lands near Oxford having been assigned to him with the necessary number of negroes for its tillage, and Mr. Chamberlaine upon the duties and labors of the practical agriculturist, which he discharged with the care and skill

¹ When Mr. Chamberlaine embarked in agriculture grain tillage was rapidly supplanting, in Talbot, tobacco planting.

which made him one of the most successful farmers of his day, and enabled him to add greatly to the large patrimony inherited from his father and the handsome dower received with his wife. He is said to have spent the first year of his married life at Evergreen, a farm near to Bonfield, the plantation to which he gave the name; where he made his permanent home after the completion, in 1773, of its fine mansion still (1887) standing conspicuous upon its artificial hill, near to Oxford, and on the left of the land approach to that ancient town. There is a tradition of the neighborhood that the earth was brought from the low land at the head of a neighboring creek, by his numerous slaves, women as well as men, without the aid of horses, oxen and their carts, to form this unnatural elevation in a level country. If this be so, this hill is a monument of cruel pride as well as foolish taste, for uncompensated labor was made unnecessarily painful to give an incongruous feature to a beautiful site. It is said that Mrs. Chamberlaine, by whose direction and under whose immediate eye this hill was raised, must receive whatever credit or discredit belongs to its conception and execution.² This old mansion, now abandoned to the occupancy of tenants—a large, tall and not unhandsome structure of wood, arranged with more regard apparently to show than to convenience and comfort “with lofty ceilings, broad staircase and hall from which you enter the parlors which

² A vaulted room beneath the Bonfield house with windows secured by iron gratings and doors of more than ordinary thickness has been used by the romanticists of the neighborhood to confirm those stories of cruelty to the slaves of Mr. Chamberlaine, which have acquired a kind of currency, this room being converted by the popular imagination into a kind of prison where the blacks were confined and where they were corporally punished, the hooks in the wall to which they were tied while under the lash being shown, with a shudder. Now these stories of cruelty would *a priori*, be thoroughly incredible as told of kindly people professing sincerely to be governed by the principles of the most benign religion, if we did not know that the finest feelings of humanity become insensible to the sufferings of those of a lower caste in a servile condition. Slavery, of itself, in its mildest form is cruelty, but the stories which used to be told of it as existing upon every large plantation in the county, were grossly exaggerated, and those told of Bonfield were no exceptions. The regimen of Mr. Chamberlaine as that of all owners of large gangs of negroes was necessarily strict, and the traditions of rigidity of discipline at Bonfield are probably more than ordinarily well sustained; but that there was habitual and excessive cruelty “stands not in the prospect of belief.” Even the evidences afforded by the vaulted room, with its grated windows, heavy doors, and iron hooks, disappears when examined by the light of common sense, and this “chamber of horrors” shown to be nothing more than a dark cool pantry for the preservation of fresh meats and other perishable provisions.

are wainscoted" and all finished in a style of elegance commensurable with its evidently great cost—resists decay by the excellence of its materials and workmanship. Its upper stories overlook a scene of beauty hardly to be equalled in a flat country, having the attractive town of Oxford in front, with its beautiful harbor, having on the side the fine expanse of water at the debouchure of Third Haven into Choptank river, stretching down to Sharp's Island and the Chesapeake bay, and having in the rear the land-locked Boone's Creek, bordered with farms, and intervening forests.³ It is possible that in the first years of Mr. Chamberlaine's residence at Bonfield, this fine mansion may have been the scene of festivity and gaiety; but these, if they ever existed, were soon quenched in the gloom produced by the death of Samuel Chamberlaine of "Plain Dealing," by the anxieties of flagrant war, and the isolation of unpopular political opinion. After the war was over, filial sorrow assuaged, and social intercourse renewed, the austerities of deepening piety suppressed all effervescent mirth, and a devout cheerfulness was thought to be a sufficient and proper substitute for a merriment that was deemed dangerous when not tempered with religion. In later years, when Bonfield house fell into the hands of the son of its builder, religion combed the ashes from her head and cast away the sack-cloth from her person, to adopt the latest modes of coif and gown and then came "Jest and youthful jollity."

Evidence does not exist of the participation of Mr. Samuel Chamberlaine in political life in the anti-revolutionary period, though in the year 1768, upon the death of his brother Col. Thomas Chamberlaine, he received the appointment of Naval Officer and Collector of the Port of Oxford, a post which he held until the close of the Proprietary regime; but whether this was obtained through parental favor, or was bestowed as a partisan reward it is useless and vain to enquire at this day. Of

³ At the foot of the hill there was planted a row of Lombardy poplars, which, when grown, gave an imposing aspect to the place. This stately tree was, at one time, a favorite variety for shade and ornament, and its presence at any homestead gave an appearance of dignity, that was thought to betoken aristocratic pretensions on the part of the owner. These trees have now entirely perished, as they are short-lived in this country and incapable of seminal propagation; and as proud families with democratic environments are likewise of short social duration, a kind of superstition has grown up among the common people, who are apt to be imaginative, that the decay of the trees and the decadence of families possessing them are in some way mysteriously connected. So it used to be said that Lombardy poplars and pea-fowls about a place, as they were signs of pride, prognosticated a fall.

his opinions upon public questions there is no recorded testimony and all that can be said of them must be conjectural or at best inferential from a knowledge of the preponderance of certain sentiments and of the control which certain circumstances must have exercised upon his mind. In the long contention between the Lord Proprietary represented by the Governor and the lower house of Assembly, Mr. Chamberlaine was too young to form independent judgments, and probably accepted those of his father who was long a member of the Council and expected to maintain the rights and privileges of Lord Baltimore against the popular encroachments of the Assembly of Deputies. When the controversy which had continued almost equally long between the mother country and the colonies had culminated in the passage of the Stamp Act, he was not too young to share in the passionate protests with which that measure was received in Maryland and Talbot, and though nothing whatever is known of the position assumed by him at this great crisis, we should be probably doing his memory a great injustice, if we believed his opinions upon this obnoxious measure were not different from those of his father and brother and were different from those of the great majority of his fellow citizens of this state and county. But his father and brother had official relations and were under official obligations to the Proprietary Government, and whatever may have been their private sentiments of the Stamp Act, they were unwilling to compromise the Lord Proprietary by an avowal of hostility to the measures of the Crown and its advisers at a time when it was necessary to conciliate them for the preservation of rights and privileges which were in jeopardy. In 1768 Mr. Chamberlaine himself accepted office, and though the Stamp Act had been repealed, the principle of taxing the colonies had not been abandoned. We are therefore driven to the conclusion that either his views had undergone a change through the logic of interest or that he had from the first justified the course of the British ministry, and approved the policy of Lord Baltimore in yielding a silent and politic assent to the taxation of his province. However, this is largely conjectural, though, it must be said, his subsequent conduct throws some light upon this portion of his career.

We are no better informed of the attitude assumed by Mr. Chamberlaine in the famous controversy concerning the Proclamation and Vestry Act, a notable incident in our provincial history. In 1770 it will be remembered Governor Eden attempted the restoration of the old rates of the fees to which public offices were entitled, and the old tax of forty pounds of tobacco per poll, for the clergy, by an executive

order, after the law of 1763, which had established the fees and the tax at a lower rate, had expired by limitation. Now, as Mr. Chamberlaine was an office holder, and from his youth had been a devoted son of the Church of England, he could hardly have severely condemned the course of Gov. Eden, though he may have thought it somewhat arbitrary. The bias of the judgment by self interest is so familiar a moral phenomenon, that we should be surprised if we should learn that Mr. Chamberlaine conscientiously believed the old fees might be legally and honestly claimed; and as for the poll tax, there is little doubt he considered that sum of forty pounds per head a very inadequate compensation to the ministers of the church for their services. Those of the present day, and they are many, who believe the benefits conferred by the clergy are in a direct proportion to the amount of their stipends and gratuities, will easily pardon the sanction, prompted as it was by both priestly suggestion and pious motive, which so zealous a disciple as Mr. Chamberlaine gave to a measure of hardly doubtful legality but of unquestionable inexpediency—that is to say, if he did give it his sanction, which is exceedingly probable. Moreover, he may be excused even by those who favor the restriction of prerogative to the narrowest limits and insist upon the most rigid conformity with the law of those in authority, when they remember that some of the first statesmen and legal minds, notably Daniel Dulaney, of the province, defended the course of the Governor with arguments of great power and acumen, and that it required the logic of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, learned in the best school of specious dialectic, a Jesuit College, to give a show of legality to the popular opposition.

Upon the attitude assumed by Mr. Chamberlaine in regard to the measures of the British government imposing duties upon colonial imports, in the absence of express and direct testimony, we must as before look to circumstance and implication for such light as they can give, uncertain as it is. We have seen that he assumed office, as a collector of the Port of Oxford, the year following the passage by the Parliament of the Act to raise revenue from an import on certain articles of colonial importation, and though this office was of proprietary and not of royal appointment, it was necessary upon its assumption to take oaths of fidelity and obedience to the British crown, which act under the existing conditions affords presumption of there being no oppugnancy in his mind to the ministerial measures that he would have some share, indirect it is true, in carrying into execution and that were receiving violent popular condemnation. We, in this day, might not find it difficult to point

out men, reputable and deemed honorable, ready and willing to take offices of profit even when that involves them in the political inconsistency, if we may not say the moral culpability of approving by their conduct what they condemn by their convictions; but we should find it difficult to conceive of one conscientious to scrupulosity, and raised above the sordid temptations of mercenary motive, as Mr. Chamberlaine was, who could give even such tacit consent as is implied in his oath and his willingness to enforce them, to measures of government really obnoxious to himself as well as to his fellow citizens. But again: if assuming that he did approve those measures which the great majority of his people thought were designed to abridge their liberties, we must find apology for his dissidence from popular opinions in his intense loyalty and reverence for kingly authority—sentiments which we, who know nothing of the sacredness of majesty, who question all rights, and acknowledge no prerogative, have wholly lost, and with them in great measure the power to appreciate their influence upon honest minds and hearts. With the adoption by the people in their irregular assemblies of measures prohibitive of commercial intercourse with England and her West India colonies, and the formation of associations and committees of correspondence, for carrying these measures in effect; and particularly after the famous Boston Port Bill had been promulged, followed as it was by the resolutions of Congress forbidding trade with the mother country, Mr. Chamberlaine's active duties as Collector and Naval Officer at Oxford ceased, for there was nothing for him to do: and after the expiration of the proprietary rule by the expulsion of Governor Eden and the assumption of executive and legislative powers in the province, by the Convention, his official station ceased to have any recognition, and if it was not surrendered, it was as much because there was no one legally authorized, as he thought, to receive his resignation as because he conscientiously thought it to be his duty, in the midst of a tumultuous and seditious people, to continue the recognition of his allegiance to his King and fidelity to his Lord, and because he thought he should not, or perhaps that he could not divest himself of these obligations. When the Convention ordered that a test oath should be proffered to every citizen of the province as a pledge of fidelity, Mr. Chamberlaine positively declined to accept it, declaring, as we may very well believe, in the absence of all testimony, that while he was no whit behind any one of those who framed this oath in his love of his native country, and while his silent aspirations for her welfare were no less incessant and warm than those of the most vociferous of the "Sons of Liberty,"

he regarded the oaths he had already taken as a true sacrament, not to be violated by a change of fealty or by positive disobedience. He was accordingly enrolled among the *non jurors*, and subjected to all the penalties and disabilities which were subsequently imposed by law upon this class, such as the payment of treble taxes, deprivation of the elective franchise and exclusion from public office, to which must be added the obloquy and mistrust of patriot neighbors and friends. It is a part of our most familiar knowledge that the word tory, losing its original meaning of outlaw when it became the nickname and then the adopted name of a great political party in England, ceased to be a term of reproach; but that from our revolutionary era in America it has borne a sinister meaning because it was applied to the loyalists who favored a continuance of the royal authority in these provinces, though more particularly to those active partizans of the King and his ministers who give expression to their opinions and desires in acts of hostility to the patriot cause. There may have been some violent men who applied the name in this opprobrious sense to Mr. Chamberlaine; but that he deserved to bear it, for any participation in the councils or the procedures of the enemies of colonial independence cannot be said with truth. During the continuance of the war, he remained in the solitude of his home at Bonfield, a quiet though interested spectator of the great events which were occurring, without uttering a word, lifting a hand, or contributing a shilling for the defeat of the patriot cause, though doubtless longing for the adoption of some basis of reconciliation between the mother country and recalcitrant daughters upon which they could stand in harmonious union. Indeed it has been asserted of him that it was rather an excessive scrupulosity in the observance of his oaths than a condemnation of the opinions and conduct of the patriots which withheld him from active participation in the measures for colonial independence.

An apology is hardly necessary for the insertion here of the following extracts which relate to the motives of many of the non-juring citizens of Talbot, who were accused of toryism. The first is from an incomplete, unrevised and inedited memoir of Daniel Carroll of Rock Creek, by the Hon. J. B. Kerr.

Samuel Chamberlaine, the younger, of Oxford, held this office [of Naval Officer] up to 1774, and left it without a blur or a blemish; but still having over and over again taken the usual oaths of office to the British crown, he was under a conscientious conviction of disfranchisement, being thus forbidden to qualify under other forms of oath up to his

death. This pure-hearted man brought honesty, capacity and, some might add, too fine and sublimated a concurrence with his oath, to his public duties; but with an abiding hope for the permanency of the new order of things, after a national Declaration in 1776, he merely felt bound to renounce his own chances of official advancement, lest he might seem to balance counter oaths. From Maine to Georgia the nationalized states of the Union, with belligerent rights confessed, had large bodies of men, once embarrassed from these soul entanglements in the beginning; and yet it was the policy of the day to place them all under a ban, at times with threatened penalty of treble taxes. Incident to the Great Rebellion, prior to 1660, and the later Scotch ones of 1715 and 1745, even exiles and confiscations, keenly remembered in many a family genesis, almost everywhere over the American colonies, so that a long and wasting war, inevitable on a declaration of independence, became a momentous question with all the anti-constitutional breach-faith [sic] on the side of Great Britain.

The second extract is a small part of a poorly written article in the *Maryland Herald* of Sept. 13, 1803, repelling the insinuation of torism made against many Federalists.

Perhaps, indeed, it is certain, that a very slight comparison of the causes on which the motives and principles of the old tories were formed would appear scarcely censurable [sic] along side of those which now apparently influence and stimulate the adherents of democracy. Whilst innocent ignorance, much occasion of fear and the force of the sacredness of oaths formed the inactivity of the tories, what can we see of our democrats but an outrageous thirst for power and wealth, ever active in the destruction of that constitution which was framed by our wisest and best men.

A man who during the distractions of the war bore himself with the prudence and dignity of Mr. Chamberlaine was not likely to incur the lasting reproach of his fellow citizens, who when the passions of the hour had subsided respected his sincerity though they may have continued to condemn his judgment. After the war had closed, indeed before the signature of the treaty of peace he appears to have recovered any social prestige he may have lost, and regained the confidence of the people: and after the removal of his political disabilities, which seems to have been done as early as 1781 we find him taking part as a private citizen in public affairs, and even holding an office of much responsibility under the newly organized state government. Since the old system of levying taxes upon polls had been abolished by the constitution of 1776, no other had been adopted that was satisfactory, but in 1781 at a session of the General Assembly, held in November, an act was passed entitled an

"Act to raise supplies for the year 1782" under which a board of assessment, review and collection for each county was formed, which was called the Commission of the Tax. The members for Talbot were Messrs. Thomas Sherwood, Howes Goldsborough, Samuel Chamberlaine, Pregrine Tilghman and Samuel Thomas. This board had other duties beside those above indicated, which need not be detailed, but it may be well enough to say that the collection and purchase of military stores for the Maryland soldiery was one, which ceased, of course, with the war. A seat in this board was held by Mr. Chamberlaine for many years, his name last appearing in 1803. In 1793 he was made one of the Trustees of the Poor of the county and in 1800 one of the Judges of Election for the third District.⁴ Mention is made of these appointments not as conferring any great honor upon him, but as indicative of the absence of any prejudice against him for his having assumed the position of a non juror, and of the restoration or continuance of the respect and confidence of his fellow citizens which he enjoyed previous to the war. There were some, in later years when the two great parties were forming, or had formed, who gratified their malignancy by references to his alleged toryism; but these were rebuked by the more temperate and

⁴ It may be well enough to note here, that previous to the year 1800 elections in the counties were held by the Sheriff acting as Judge, summoning, however, two Justices for the preservation of the peace only, at a single polling place, namely the Court House. But in 1798 and 1799 the Constitution of the State was altered by acts of Assembly, and in conformity with this amendment a law was passed in the last named year, entitled "An Act to regulate elections," authorizing the division of the counties into election Districts, and the appointment of election Judges by the county Courts. The division was made, the Judges appointed, and those for Talbot met at Easton on the 6th of August in the year 1800, "for the purpose of deliberating upon the means of discharging their important duties, and of fixing upon uniform rules for conducting the election," and were as follows:

First District

William Hayward, Nicholas Hammond,
and Henry Nicols, Esquires.

Second District

Henry Banning, William Hambleton
and John Kersey, Esquires.

Third District

Samuel Chamberlaine, Samuel Dickinson
and Joseph Martin, Esquires

Fourth District

John Roberts, Arthur Bryan
and Charles W. Benny, Esquires.

sensible of their own group of politicians, but more severely by his spotless character and sterling virtues.

The failure of the government under the Articles of Confederation was too flattering a testimony to his political perpicacity, which had foreseen the result, to be deeply regretted by Mr. Chamberlaine; but when a more compacted system was instituted he fancied that he saw in that symbol of nationality, the Constitution of the United States, an imperfect imitation of that of Great Britain, and therefore gave to it such obeisance as his veneration for his ancient idol would allow. He also soon began to transfer a portion of that homage which he once thought was due only to royalty to Washington, and at last became as devout a worshipper at the shrine of our first American President as ever burned incense upon the altar of a deified Roman emperor. When the current of political opinion began to divide into two streams, which have maintained their distinction to the present day, Mr. Chamberlaine, as was natural, or, as one may say, necessary for a man of his bent of mind, drifted into that of the Federalists, whose fundamental principles of centralization harmonized with his own preferences for the monarchical form of government and whose alleged hostility to the levelling tendency which he verily thought was imparted by the American revolution and strengthened by the French teaching of the equality of men, corresponded with his own proclivities to an aristocratical form of society which were implanted by a provincial experience and nurtured by English example. There is no doubt his religious views and sentiments had a controlling influence in determining his party partialities and connections, for democracy and deism were intimately associated in a mind singularly firm in its convictions and reverent in its feeling. If he after the war ever indulged any political aspirations, they were confined to his own bosom, for if shown they would have been extinguished by the exigencies of party success which could not be jeopardized by the nomination of a person however fitted by integrity and ability for official station to whom was attributed the possession of tory sentiments. But he was not restrained by any imputations of disloyalty to his country nor did he refrain from any indifference to her policies, from participating in the political movements of the Federalists, for we find him attending a meeting of his party held at Easton, May 3, 1796, and appointed one of a committee to prepare an address to Congress urging the adoption of measures for the execution of Jay's treaty—matter then considered to be of momentous importance as involving the peace and prosperity of the country. We find him also attending another

meeting of the Justices, the Grand and Petit Jurors and the Officers of Talbot County and of a numerous and respectable body of people of the county, assembled at Easton on the 29th of May in the year 1798 in pursuance of previous notice for the purpose of considering the situation of their public affairs and of expressing their sentiments concerning them.

He was appointed one of a Committee "to prepare an address to the President of the United States, in approbation of his conduct in his negotiations with the Republic of France and declaring the determination of the people to support the government and the rights and independence of their country."⁵ This of course had reference to insults to the American minister by the French Directory and the injuries to American commerce inflicted by order of the same body.

But the strongest feature in any character portrait of Mr. Chamberlaine is that which is lined and colored by his religion. Born into and nurtured by the Church of England, his attachment for her doctrines and ritual grew with his years into a passionate ardor, rarely experienced by devout of a communion whose piety is characterized rather by calmness and sobriety than by enthusiasm. From whom was received the spark that kindled into such a glowing flame, it is impossible to say. It is asserted, upon what authority, it is not known, that his education in letters was conducted by the Rev. Thomas Bacon, but this accomplished man was not pietest, though very diligent in the work of the church. He grew up under the pastoral care of Mr. Nicols and Mr. Jackson, but these exemplary men, neither by precept nor example, inspired fervor of spirit. But he had the inflammable blood of Catholic and Puritan in his veins, that required only favoring circumstances to burst into a blaze of fanatical intensity. It is not discoverable that previous to the revolutionary period Mr. Chamberlaine took any active part in the affairs of the church, as the records of the Parish in which he lived after his arrival at his majority for the interval between the years 1766 and 1779 have been lost, and previous to this time his name nowhere appears.⁶ Until his political disabilities were removed, he was not

⁵ *Maryland Herald*, June 5th, 1798. The recorded proceedings of this meeting indicate that the active participants were almost wholly Federalists.

⁶ There exists a most interesting record, written with Mr. Chamberlaine's own hand in one of the Books of the Vestry, which indicates his conscientiousness as well as his devotion to the church. This record is of his having voluntarily paid, when there was no compulsory law, his church dues "agreeable to the former establishment for the support of the clergy" for the years 1777 to 1780 inclusive at the rate of four shillings per poll for himself and servants, with interest. How much longer he continued to pay his dues is not evident.

qualified to hold the office of Vestryman, so that not until 1787 was he chosen for a place which though it had lost much of its importance was to him one of honor as being that of a servitor of the Church, for the reorganization of which steps have recently been taken. He held this position until his death, with intermissions as required by law, always performing more than his proportional share of the labor with untiring zeal. For many years, when not of the Vestry he was Register of the Parish, and the fullness and accuracy of the records as kept by him, have preserved most interesting and valuable information of the state of the church for the period which they cover. He was appointed to represent his parish in the Church convention that assembled in Baltimore in 1789, and this duty was frequently laid upon him. In 1791 he was a lay delegate to the General Convention that met at Baltimore in June of that year, the general constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church having been adopted in the previous year. The great longing of his life was gratified, by the visitation in 1793 of Bishop Claggett, then but recently ordained, to the parish church, when Mr. Chamberlaine, his wife, three daughters and many other persons were confirmed, of which notable event he requested that a record should be made in the books of the vestry. This was the first time a bishop had been seen in Talbot County, though for one hundred years good men had felt the need of episcopal supervision to encourage the faithful and to rebuke the vicious clergy, to invigorate the feeble and call back the straying of their flocks. After the revolution and the abrogation of all laws for providing stipends for the clergy by public tax, the difficulty of giving a decent maintenance to the ministers was one which appealed to the humanity as well as to the piety of Mr. Chamberlaine. For its remedy until the General Assembly of the state should authorize a public assessment for the purpose, which by the constitution it had a right to do, the only resource was the gratuitous contributions of the people. Mr. Chamberlaine interested himself to collect these donations, and his labors were the more effectual from a prevalent knowledge that his own purse was the source from which were drawn the most generous gifts. But as such contributions were irregular and precarious, many schemes were suggested for securing a revenue, the most extraordinary of which was that proposed by Mr. Chamberlaine himself, based really upon the old law for the taxation of polls for the support of the clergy and the expenses of the parish. The essential part of this scheme was the voluntary enrollment of the parishioners, with the number of persons in their families above the age of sixteen years, and the engagement by the

parishioners to pay a poll tax, one-half each six months, the amount of which should be the parishioners' proportionable part of the whole expenses of the church for the year. The scheme was adopted by the vestry, strange as it may seem, and went into operation, but it soon involved that body in trouble, including litigation so that it was soon abandoned as inexpedient and impracticable. It is very evident his insight into human motives were obscured by his own deep piety, for he erred in supposing men were as ready to pay church rates as he, and that religious feeling was sufficiently prevalent and strong among the people to overcome their repugnance to oblations that had a form of taxation against which there existed an old prejudice and a late condemnation in the state constitution.

Another work of the church engaged him earnestly: this was the restoration of the old church edifices, or the building of new. He was largely instrumental in securing the erection of a place of worship in the town of Easton, where up to the time of the Revolution there had been none except the meeting house of the Friends and after that great event that of the Methodists. Services, however, had long been held in the Court House, after the decay of the chapel in the upper part of the parish; but in 1800 the building which still (1887) stands upon Harrison Street at the corner of Baldwin's Alley, was begun, and to Mr. Chamberlaine was granted the unusual honor and privilege, of laying the corner-stone, the Rev. Mr. Rigg, and the Rev. Mr. Keene being present and conducting the religious part of the ceremonies. In the notice of this occurrence in the *Maryland Herald*, Mr. Chamberlaine is spoken of as an "aged vestryman and venerable man."

It would be well for his memory if the biographer were able to omit all mention of the unpleasant controversies in which Mr. Chamberlaine was involved by reason of his religious zeal. If it were proposed to give a detailed account of these contentions nothing could be said with truth involving an impeachment of his sincerity and uprightness. That he was often betrayed by his intense love of his church into bitter words respecting the ministers and members of the other communions represented in this county is the utmost ill that can be spoken of him. Tolerance is the child of indifference in religion, though there is a bastard of that name born of policy. That he was intolerant of those who differed from him in faith and form is the surest sign of his earnest belief that the truth was held only by his own church; and though this does not justify it apologizes for his illiberality of judgment, his exasperating conduct, and his acerbity of language when he thought that the muni-

ments of his church were assailed by heretic or infidel—by the followers of Fox, of Wesley, or of Tom Paine, his three devils of schism whom he fought *manibus pedibusque*. Speaking in general terms, it may be said that he had two grievances against the Quakers, first their refusal to pay their assessment for church purposes in prerevolutionary times and secondly their hostility to the system of slavery in which he was deeply interested by the possession of many negroes and of which he was an apologist. He had also two principal grievances against the Methodists, and many minor ones: first their schism from the church, and secondly their proselytism, which was threatening the very existence of the ecclesiastical body from which they sprang and of which he was a living member. To these must be added their protests, not so positive and effectual as those of the Friends, against holding men in bondage, their rejection of certain accepted religious doctrines and their reception of certain objectionable tenets, but, above all these, some of their customs of worship which offended his sense of decorum. Infidelity, from the mild deism of Wollaston to the audacious atheism of Holback, was personified, to his view, in Paine, whose “Age of Reason, both first and second part have been read” and not “disesteemed” according to Parson Jackson by his flock, came in for Mr. Chamberlaine’s milder denunciations than either Quakerism or Methodism, because it was thought to be really less dangerous to the Church; and it would probably have escaped all public expression of his reprobation, had it not been that at the period when Mr. Chamberlaine was most earnest in his defence of his church, it was strangely mixed up with politics, the Republicans with Mr. Jefferson as their leader, being accused of affecting the doctrines of the “Free thinkers” of France while the Federalists claimed to be the champions of religion against this dragon of unbelief.⁷

⁷ The following characteristic anecdote which illustrates the strength of his religion and the weakness of his old non-juring prejudices, the last largely effected by his contemplation and admiration of the character and conduct of the admirable man whose death he mourned, is given in the words of his grandson, Mr. John Bozman Kerr. “It so happened that on the occasion of Washington’s death in 1799 “[it is probable the incident occurred on the 22nd of February, 1800, on which day the people of the county, in compliance with the proclamation of Governor Ogle assembled “to testify in the most public manner their veneration for his memory” when Mr. Works, Mr. Chamberlaine’s especial detestation, was called upon to deliver the sermon of eulogium] “at a funeral pageant in Easton, when all classes of citizens joined in respect for this great and good man and patriot, that a place of honor in the procession was assigned to Mr. Chamberlaine, as one of the most respected members of the community. His known indignant grief over the

One of the most extraordinary documents that ever issued from an ecclesiastical body, surely, was that which the Vestry of St. Peters Parish in 1796 placed in the hands of the Rev. Dr. Bowie, a member of the Standing Committee of the Diocese, for presentation to Bishop Claggett, in answer to a series of questions by that prelate concerning the temporal and spiritual concerns of the parishes. This was prepared by Mr. Chamberlaine at the request of the Vestry, and apparently received the approval of its members, for it was signed by their Registrar, Mr. William Berridge. It is proper to say this precious scripture, before it reached the eye of the Bishop, was severely expurgated of its most offensive passages, by some kindly hand, but by happy accident the whole has been preserved for the satisfaction of the curious if not the edification of the pious. It need not here be inserted as all the essential portions have been quoted with other connections.⁸ In answer to the queries, "Do the other religious denominations gain ground among you? And which of them? Do they increase in consequence of their zeal or the influx of strangers?" he gave at great length a tirade against the Quakers and the Methodists, in which neighborhood gossip, ludicrous anecdote, personal detraction, ridicule of religious customs, imputations of evil motives for commendable acts of the two societies, sober narratives of important but compromising facts in their history, rational controversion of their principles often strangely distorted on the statement of them are oddly intermingled, with a veil of piety thrown over all that does not conceal but render more repulsive the features of this splenetic utterance.

Another evidence of the avenging zeal of Mr. Chamberlaine for his church, which really, at the beginning of the present century seemed to be battling for existence in Talbot County, was shown by his consenting to participate in a public discussion in the town of Easton, with Mr. Tilford, a very respectable local preacher among the Methodist people, of one of the most abstruse of the religious dogmas, "baptismal regeneration." From such meagre and obscure accounts as have reached us of this inconsequential controversy upon a really insoluble subject, it is

schism of Wesley, made all curious to know how his principles and action would square with the use of the Methodist Meeting House in Easton, for the ceremonies. Those who understood his character, were not surprised to see him reach the door and decline to enter the building."

Kerr's *Notes of the Chamberlaine family*, p. 55.

⁸ This paper is given in full, or so much of it as possesses any interest, in the unpublished History of the Church of England and the Protestant Episcopal Church of America, in Talbot County.

inferred that it created great interest in the community at the time, and was attended with some disorder. The device, seemingly unusual then, of ringing a bell, was adopted, it was said, not for the purpose of calling the people together to hear the colloquy between the two disputants, but to arouse the co-religionists of Mr. Tilford to some act of violence upon Mr. Chamberlaine and his supporters of whom he had apparently but few, for his course was not commended by the more temperate of churchmen. There is no doubt his language was very exasperating and if his opponent, Mr. Tilford, was not his equal in vituperative rhetoric, Mr. Chamberlaine really was exposed to injury from a crowd instated by defeat and fired by religious passions. In this polemical fray politics, as was common at the time, united with religion to add to its fury, and this led to a controversy between Mr. Chamberlaine and Mr. Jacob Gibson one of the most conspicuous of the local leaders among the Republicans or Democrats as they were at this period opprobriously called, a man of very strong but uncultivated mind, who though nominally a churchman essayed the championship of the Methodists, most of whom were of his party. This controversy at first conducted in private and with decorum by letters, at last became public and uncivil through the press, Mr. Chamberlaine apparently leading off with a most extraordinary communication to the *Maryland Herald*, bearing the title "*Methodism*" in which the conduct of certain of the ministers of that denomination was held up to reprobation in terms of great acerbity.⁹ This communication to which Mr. Chamberlaine affixed his name had a reply from Mr. Gibson which apparently the newspapers refused to publish, on account of its objectionable character, but which appeared in the form of a hand-bill. In this Mr. Gibson undertook in his own characteristically truculent style the defence of the exemplary piety of the Quakers and Methodists whose political support he was soliciting, including the late venerable James Berry, a well known preacher among the Friends and Mr. Tilford and Mr. Works, two reputable local preachers among the Wesleyans, and the reproof of the people of his own communion, from whom he could expect small assistance to his party, for their irreligious lives, including by implication Mr. Chamberlaine himself, who was regarded, after the clergy, the main pillar of the church in Talbot. Here is a small part of the least objectionable portion of his handbill.¹⁰

⁹ This whole Communication is quoted with other connections, and need not be here repeated. See History of the Church of England, etc., in Talbot County, yet inedited (1887).

¹⁰ This handbill, one of the rarest curios of county literature will not bear insertion here in its completeness, but it is elsewhere more fully quoted than here.

When I witnessed your unbounded abuse of James Berry, who, I have little doubt is in heaven, and when you involved the whole Quaker society in a mass and loaded them with epithets that would make your devil Tom Paine, with all his sins of deism and blasphemy, blush to have repeated, I must confess it shocked me; and the more so, because I used to boast of your being the main pillar in our church, and one who can lay a corner-stone with so much dexterity and devotion. . . . You say that Methodism was a ladder for me to climb to honor and power; that they [the Methodists] are a set of devils and doing the devils' work; thus degrading them in one paragraph, and in the next complaining of their power and consequence—strange paradox, indeed Happy that the Methodists have not been a more dangerous ladder. Though, you know I am not one, I respect the institution because there is *precept and example*.

Mr. Chamberlaine's acerbity of feelings towards the Friends was doubtless softened with time, as he saw them diminishing in numbers and in influence; but there is no reason to believe that he mollified towards the Methodists who were rapidly increasing and were threatening the complete subversion of the old church, in Talbot, and upon this peninsula. The harboring of such sentiments as have been described by a man such as he, furnishes one of those mental phenomena at which we never cease to wonder, common as it is. The history of the follies, the extravagancies, the errors of human thought, of the wrongs, the crimes, the cruelties of human action, that are directly traceable to the unrestrained indulgence of the religious impulses of our nature, is the most painful as well as the most humiliating part of the sad story of man's career upon the earth. But this subject may not be here pursued, and is therefore dismissed, with the repetition of the remark that whatever was Mr. Chamberlaine's illiberality toward the religious views of others, it had its origin in the sincere conviction that he had no right to compromise with error even by silence. This has been the conviction of inquisitors, to be sure, and such he might have been in another age, but there were, strange as it may seem, members of the "holy office" of the purest morals, the tenderest sensibilities and the loftiest aspirations.

A more pleasing as well as a more correct mental image of Mr. Chamberlaine is formed in the mind by a contemplation of some features of his character other than that intellectual strabismus of his, so to speak, which depriving him of the faculty of double vision disqualified him from viewing a single subject in more than one plane. This was a deformity as well as an affliction but in other respects he was cast in the mould of nature's best men. It is incredible that he embittered his own life and that of his family by constantly nursing his anger and

inveighing against Quakers, Methodists, infidels and Democrats: rather, it must be believed that his habitual mood in the privacy of his home, or in the common thoroughfares of men was that of tender affection for those of his own blood, complaisant courtesy to his neighbors of his own social grade, of obliging kindness to those in the humbler walks and of active benevolence to the poor or necessitous. If his treatment of his slaves was severe, even this may be pardoned in one who hardly considered them within the cincture of human sympathy, and who felt the exigencies of the relation that subsisted between him and them demanded such rigidity of discipline. This much of eulogium is ventured in the absence of contemporary or traditional testimony, evidence of his meriting it for the reason that it is impossible to believe he did not wish and conscientiously attempt to conform his daily life to that ideal of a noble manhood which he continually and devoutly revered in him who was

the best of men
That e'er wore earth about him
The first true gentleman that ever breathed.

Whether Mr. Chamberlaine had a taste for letters cannot be asserted. There is no doubt he was an eager reader of controversial divinity, and derived pleasure from books that ministered to his spiritual needs. His fortune gave him leisure, and the means of providing the best companions for his idle hours: so it is likely what we call the British classics were often in his hands. But this much is known of him, he was alive to the interests of education, for we find that he was one of the original trustees of the Easton Academy, an institution which was designed to confer upon the youth of the county something more than the elements of learning and foster a love of science and literature. It has been shown that he had a propensity to employ his pen in communications to the public journals: but his best production can hardly be classed as literature though an exceedingly valuable historical record. At some date and in some emergency unknown, it was discovered that there had been a neglect upon the part of the Commissioners appointed to lay out the town, to have the results of their operations duly recorded among the land records of the county, as directed by law. As a consequence there was confusion of title to lands and had been much costly litigation. Whether in gratification of a taste for research or whether moved by the necessity of proving his title to some disputed property, Mr. Chamberlaine undertook the collection from every available and authoritative source of the imperfect and disjointed records of the original and subse-

quent surveys of the town, and of the assignment of the lots, to the several "takers up" as the lands were laid out. He also recovered the plots which the surveyors had made, but which apparently had been lost. For greater security he copied with his own hand these collected records into a book, which were long preserved by his descendants as a kind of heirloom or memorial, and is now an exceedingly valuable repository of interesting and important information of the early history of the "town and port of Oxford" and of Talbot County, deposited in a place of safety, for the inspection of the curious or the instruction of the studious.¹¹

On the 15th of January 1772 Mr. Chamberlaine married Henrietta Maria, the eldest daughter of Henry Hollyday, Esq., and Anna Maria Robins his wife, of "Ratcliffe" near Easton, thus connecting himself with the Lloyds, the Robins, the Bennetts, the Darnells and other of the colonial gentry. Mrs. Chamberlaine is represented as having been a woman of imperious will, governing her house with "excellent discipline" and ruling "her children as well as servants, more by fear than love."¹² The fruit of this marriage were five daughters and four sons. Of these two daughters and a son remained unmarried. Of the remaining daughters one married Mr. John Goldsborough, a second the Hon. John Leeds Kerr, and a third Mr. Levin Gale each of whom have left descendants, some of whom have risen to eminence. Of the sons Mr. James Lloyd Chamberlaine became the master of "Bonfield" where he was born Aug. 30, 1785 and where he died Jan. 15, 1844, Mr. Henry Chamberlaine who moved to Cecil County and there settled at "Richmond Hill," and Mr. Samuel Chamberlaine, late of Island Creek Neck, the father of Dr. Joseph E. Chamberlaine of Easton. Each of these gentlemen have living representatives. Of the eldest of these, Mr. James Lloyd Chamberlaine, "the worthy son of a worthy father" a few words may be interjected without greatly marring the unity of this memoir, as a small tribute to his worth. His early education received at home, was conducted under the eye of his accomplished mother, by a private tutor, the Rev. Mr. Owen Magrath, an Irish clergyman of the Church of England,

¹¹ This book written with great care by the hand of Mr. Chamberlaine was transmitted from father to son until it reached Mr. James Lloyd Chamberlaine, a grand-son, now (1887) a citizen of Baltimore; who with a proper estimate of its value, and of the dangers of destruction incident to its possession by a private individual, has presented it to the Maryland Historical Society, in whose possession it now is.

¹² This characterization is by Mr. John Bozmas Kerr, a grandson of the lady.

who was at one time or another a teacher of the ancient languages in the Pennsylvania University, and Professor in St. Johns College, Maryland. After such preparatory instruction as was necessary to secure his admission to college, the father so far relaxed in his rigid churchmanship, as to enter his son at Princeton, believing him to be sufficiently grounded in the principles of his own church as to be in no danger from the Calvinistic theology of that celebrated school, then as now under Presbyterian influence.¹³ It was intended that he should be qualified for the sacred calling of the ministry, but the dearly cherished wishes of his father were disappointed by the conscientious objections of the son to the assumption of such sacred obligations as were imposed upon those taking holy orders. For this defeat of plans for his son's advancement the father himself was largely responsible, for the high estimate which he had always placed and had taught his children to place upon the ministerial character and dignity had rendered the standard of fitness for priestly function so high as to be unattainable by men possessing the ordinary frailties of human nature and unendowed with supernatural graces. A conviction, therefore, in the mind of his son, of his unworthiness, strengthened as it probably was by an unwillingness to abandon certain social pleasures to which he was addicted and to surrender certain social accomplishments in which he was versed, innocent in themselves, but popularly thought to be forbidden to clerics, drove him from a vocation for which he had both the moral and intellectual qualifications. This defeat of parental intentions had the further effect of preventing his preparation for any other of the liberal professions. After the death of his father, from an unfortunate belief that he was unfitted for any thing higher, and that he was under the control of irresistible circumstances, too often the plea of inertness, he lapsed into the condition of a farmer, and assuming, in connection with an afflicted brother, the management of Bonfield estate, he there spent the remainder of his days in the pursuits and pleasures of a country gentleman, presenting the most remarkable example of useless expense, misspent time, fruitless labor, unapplied acquisitions and wasted ability this county has known.

Mr. James Lloyd Chamberlaine inherited from his father his religion and his politics, but in the transmission the zealotry of the former was

¹³ Mr. Samuel Chamberlaine is said to have refused the liberal offer of an English kinsman to receive his son into his family and to defray the whole cost of his education; but as this kinsman had given expression to certain sentiments upon the subject of religion in correspondence with those of Tom Paine, Mr. Chamberlaine indignantly refused to expose his son to the contamination of such maleficent opinions.

subdued into a calm preference for the tenets and forms of the Episcopal Church, and the animosities of the latter softened into a rational condemnation of the policies of the Democratic party: though it must be confessed that the detestation of the father for Mr. Jefferson lost little of its bitterness in the mind or mouth of the son, one of whose pleasures and mayhap duties, it was to curse the memory of this great party leader, as it were, with bell, book and candle, as the embodiment of all political iniquity.¹⁴ Although his mind was well stored with the principles of constitutional government, although he was well read in the history of free nations, and although he was thoroughly informed of the course and tendencies of American parties he never manifested any desire to employ these advantages for his own advancement or the good of his country. He was either absolutely without political ambition or he recoiled from the squabbles and the squalor of partisanship. He never held any office, nor is it known that he ever aspired to hold one of an elective character. His high Federal position possibly excluded him from candidacy which was given then as now not to the most fitting but the most available. He took a keen interest however in public affairs, and never vacated his duties as a citizen of a republic, voting with the Federal or Whig party as the representatives of conservative opinion.

In early life Mr. James Lloyd Chamberlaine possessed a gaiety of disposition which displayed itself in an indulgence, always within the

¹⁴ A gentleman of this county, still living, relates that once when a youth of ten years of age he was visiting 'Bonfield' as the school companion and guest of a son of the family, he was held as by a spell for many hours, until the early summer morning was dawning, by the conversation of this accomplished gentleman upon politics, to which a casual reference to Mr. Jefferson had given the cue. For the first time in his life this youth had a man of culture to converse with him as to one capable of comprehending something more than the trivial puerilities of the domestic circle or the simple pedagogic lessons of the school room. Although all but the general drift of this conversation has been forgotten, which was in the direction of severe condemnation of Jefferson for his hostility to Washington and for his radical democracy, the impression has not been lost, nor is the sense of gratified pride and conscious mental enlargement, that was aroused by the notice of so intelligent person, and the implication of a capacity to apprehend and appreciate.

"High erected thoughts seated in the heart of courtesy." This gentleman further relates, that when his father who was an earnest Democrat, heard of this conversation and its tenor, he was at first indignant at what he deemed an invasion of his parental province, and an attempt to tamper with opinions which he had been instilling; but at last he was pacified by a perception of the compliment paid to his son, and he then thanked Mr. Chamberlaine for flattering civility. But that son never became a Democrat.

bounds of a rigorous propriety, in those pleasures which are peculiar to youth. His "passionate love of music, and exquisite skill on the violin, together with his unequalled social wit" gave him a hearty welcome in every circle capable of appreciating such accomplishments. With advancing years his ebullient vivacity and crackling humor subsided into a still but cordial sociability that warmed and cheered like wine the hearts of all within its sphere. In his domestic life, considerate for the claims and forbearing of the faults of those dependent upon him, affectionate to and solicitous for the welfare of his children, watchful and provident that all should enjoy peace and comfort.

On the 18th of May Mr. James Lloyd Chamberlaine married his cousin Anna Maria Hammond, the daughter of Mr. Nicholas Hammond and his second wife Rebecca Hollyday, daughter of Henry Hollyday of "Ratliffe." By this marriage he became the father of a large family many of whom are still living, but as yet no grandson is born to perpetuate his name and imitate his virtues. He died as before mentioned Jan. 15, 1844, and is buried at Bonfield. Following a notice of his death in the *Easton Gazette* of Jan. 20, 1844, were these lines probably written by his nephew, Mr. John Bozman Kerr:

Though aloof from public station, in which he was well qualified through early training and diligent research in subsequent life to distinguish himself, this gentleman had earned, without seeking it, a reputation throughout the community that the most ambitious might do well to emulate. He united in an eminent degree the qualities of a strong mind with wit and social eloquence, and presented an example of a character that the younger men of our day are bound to transmit unimpaired, as a distinctive one—the Eastern Shore gentleman. Mr. Chamberlaine was a graduate of Princeton College and among compeers and immediate associates may be found not a few of the eminent men whose names have become "familiar as household words" on both shores of Maryland. Devotedly attached to the church (Protestant Episcopal) in communion with which he lived, and firm in his political opinions (those of the Washington School), with sternness of integrity characterizing his every action, no one from among us, could have departed more generally respected and beloved. His remains were deposited within the family burial ground, east of the homestead, on Thursday, the 18th, amid a concourse of his neighbors and friends.

The Board of Trustees of the Maryland Agricultural Society for the Eastern Shore, of which respectable body he was a member, passed a series of resolutions of condolence and sympathy with the family. The oblivious waves of time will soon submerge the memory of this excellent

man but of characters in this county more deserving than his of a posthumous existence in the minds of men, there have been not many.

Returning now to the subject of this memoir it remains to be said that Mr. Samuel Chamberlaine of "Bonfield" died May 30th, 1811, and was interred at his homestead in a burial ground first opened to receive his remains, but now containing those of many children and grandchildren. His wife long survived him, dying in 1832, at the home of her son, Mr. Henry Chamberlaine in Cecil county, where her body lies. No portrait or other representation of Mr. Chamberlaine is possessed by any member of his family, and as there is no one living who ever saw him that has any recollection of his personal appearance, of this as an index of character or as a matter of curious interest we must forever remain in ignorance.

JOHN COATS, M.D.

1751-1810

FIRST GRAND MASTER OF MASONS IN MARYLAND

Brother John Coats was born in the city of Philadelphia on the 11th of July, 1751. His parents, who are thought to have been Friends, or Quakers, were people in apparently comfortable, if not affluent, circumstances; for they were able to give their son not only the advantages of a good academic and professional education, but after their death a handsome patrimony. He received the degree of Doctor of Medicine from the celebrated school established by Shippin, in the city of Philadelphia, and had entered upon the practice of his profession in his native place just before the commencement of hostilities in the war of the Revolution. He enlisted in the service of his country, whether as an officer or private is not known. It was his fortune to be one of that devoted band that followed Arnold into Canada, in 1775, and to share with that army all the hardships, fatigues and dangers of the remarkable march through the wilderness of the North to join Montgomery beneath the walls of Quebec. He was one of those to follow their leaders in the desperate assault upon that city and fortifications, to witness the death of his chief in command and to be severely wounded while scaling the ramparts. In this campaign he had for a fellow-soldier, Aaron Burr. (We have seen recently a copy of a correspondence between him and Burr, written in 1802, when the latter was Vice-President of the United States, in which reference is made to the dangers and hardships through which they passed in the march through the wilderness.) Neither

the wounds he received nor the mortification of the defeat of this enterprise, deterred Brother Coats from again embarking in the cause of his country. His devotion seemed to glow with redoubled warmth, and after recuperating his health and strength he undertook the task of recruiting a company. And it is said that with an entire unselfishness, a trait which seems to have marked every important act of his life, he devoted his whole patrimony to the enlisting and equipping a body of soldiers, and in command of these he joined the main army under Washington. How long he continued his connections with the army or in what particular engagements he participated is not certainly known. That he bore himself honorably and creditably is attested by the fact, that almost to the end of his life he enjoyed the esteem and friendship of many of the officers whose acquaintance and intimacy he had formed while in the military service of his country.

Authentic records show that Brother Coats was again settled in Philadelphia in the year 1779, and practicing his profession.

He was made a Mason in the Old Lodge, No. 3, in Philadelphia, about the year 1755. This Lodge was at that time under the "Moderns." The Provincial Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania under the "Ancients" was organized in 1764; but it is said the records were "either mislaid or carried away by some enemies to the Royal Art during the confusion of the War." The earliest of them in possession of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania commence in the year 1779. We are therefore unable to trace the Masonic career of Brother Coats during the early years of that Grand Lodge. In the year named, 1779, Grand Master Ball appointed him his Deputy; a position he continued to hold even after he took up his residence in Maryland. His name figures conspicuously in the records of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, and it would appear that while none excelled him in zeal in the cause of Masonry, few were his equals in a knowledge of the rituals and ceremonies. Thoroughly devoted to its principles, he was as thoroughly devoted to its practices. In that which he so loved and enjoyed it was ever his desire that others should participate. He thus became an apostle of Masonry, spending time and labor in founding new; confirming weak; instructing ignorant; and correcting erring Lodges.

In the proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania under date February 10th, 1780, is the following:

This Grand Lodge was called at the desire of our Worthy Deputy Grand Master Bro. John Coats, who after a proper and affectionate address to the Brethren, acquainted them that he was under the painful necessity

of removing into another State, at a distance from the seat of this Grand Lodge, but that wherever he might settle, he would at all times exert his utmost endeavors to serve the cause of Masonry and every Brother in particular.

The Grand Lodge expressed affectionate regret at parting with their Deputy Grand Master, "from whose great learning and knowledge in the Masonic Art; and his zeal to promote the same, the Royal Craft has received great benefit."

Brother Coats was residing temporarily in Maryland as early as 1773. On the 16th September of that year he received a Warrant from the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, for Lodge No. 17, Queenstown, Queen Anne County, and of which he was for several years the Master.

In April, of the year 1780, he received from the same Grand Lodge a Warrant to hold a Lodge at Cambridge, and subsequently we find him presenting the petition for a Lodge at Talbot Court House, and we doubt not that most of the Lodges at that period on the Eastern Shore, were organized through his instrumentality.

The part he took in the organization of the Grand Lodge of Maryland is shown in the proceedings published in another part of this work. The estimation in which he was held by the Brethren of this jurisdiction is fully attested by the fact that he held the position of Grand Master from 1787 until 1793, with the exception of an interval of one year. In 1794 the Grand Lodge determined to hold its sessions in Baltimore instead of Easton. The inconvenience of attending in this city to a person of impaired health as Brother Coats was at this time, determined him to decline a further re-election.

We have seen the resolutions adopted by the Grand Lodge upon learning his determination not to suffer his name to be again used. He is said to have been a man of excellent natural abilities which had been improved by a liberal education, of pleasing address, fine sensibility, impulsive disposition, and possessed of a heart that responded to the most generous feelings of humanity; but he was unstable in purpose, without worldly prudence, and of weak moral stamina. One who remembers him well, says, that in personal appearance he was of short stature, thick set and portly in habit, with dark but florid complexion; his manner was sedate and his movements deliberate, walking habitually with his head lowered and with his hands behind his back.

He died November 30th, 1810, with few friends, but without an enemy except himself. He was buried, at his own request, in the common burial ground of the town of Easton—a burial ground in which he

had been chiefly instrumental in securing for strangers, and for which he paid largely from his own slender means.

Brother Coats was married June 22nd, 1779, to Susannah Murray. By this lady, who died September 15th, 1804, several children were born to him, two daughters and one son, but one of whom, a daughter, survived him. His son John H. Coats was a lieutenant in the United States Navy, and died in 1807 in the twenty-first year of his age. It is not known whether there are any descendants of the second generation living. Such was the character and career of our first Grand Master, whose remains, after eighteen years of neglect, the Brethren determined to remove from the common burial ground, where they lay unmarked by the simplest stone, to a more favorable site, and erect a suitable monument over them, commemorative of the services he had rendered to the fraternity.

On Wednesday, the 23rd of July, 1828, this pious duty of removal was performed, the monument having been previously erected by Coats Lodge, No. 76, at Easton, assisted by the Grand Lodge and by numerous visiting brethren. At an early hour the brethren assembled and marched in procession to the burial ground, where the remains had been taken up by a committee of the brethren and placed in a handsome coffin. Masonic Grand Honors were given on arriving at the place, and the procession returned to the Episcopal Church when, after appropriate services and a sermon delivered by the Rev. Timothy Clowes of Chertown, the procession marched to the burial ground, when the remains of Maryland's first Grand Master were a second time deposited with the usual solemn and appropriate ceremonies.

The monument was erected in the Protestant Episcopal grave-yard. It was designed and executed by Brother Wm. Steuart of Baltimore, then Deputy Grand Master. It is a simple obelisk of marble upon a base about twelve feet high, and bears this inscription:

To the Memory of
DOCTOR JOHN COATS,
First Grand Master
of the Grand Lodge
of Maryland
This monument is erected by his
Brethren of Coats Lodge No. 76,
A. L. 5828.

NICHOLAS HAMMOND 3D

1758-1830

DEPUTY GRAND MASTER

Nicholas Hammond 3rd, was of an ancient English family, born May 26, 1758, in the Island of Jersey, from which his grandfather Nicholas Hammond, Sr., had emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1730, and had married in Philadelphia, in 1732, a widow Wyncoop, whose maiden name was Mary Dyer, the granddaughter of Mary Dyer the Quaker martyr. This noted woman emigrated with her husband James Dyer from England in 1657, and settled in Rhode Island. Mrs. Dyer, believing that she had "a call from God to preach the Gospel," gave great offense to the people of Boston for persisting, in spite of threats, to perform the duties of her vocation. She was frequently admonished, and once imprisoned and sentenced to death for witchcraft, but by the interposition of her son, her life was spared, and she was expelled from the city. On her return, a year afterward, she was again imprisoned and sentenced to death, and her friends had no power to save her. She was hung with two others from the limb of an old elm tree on Boston Common June 1, 1660 "for testifying against the bloody law of the Puritans." There was no martyr in the days of the Inquisition more faithful to her God and her principles than this heroic and faithful woman. The tree on which she suffered martyrdom was (when prejudices were removed by time), tenderly cared for by the Bostonians. The authorities had it enclosed with an iron railing and the falling branches supported by props. In a severe wind storm, on February 2, 1876, this old tree was uprooted, and as it fell crowds rushed to preserve a relic of it. Of Mary Dyer's many descendants but few are willing to acknowledge as an ancestress one who suffered at the hangman's hands and yet their name is legion, and are included among the first families of Maryland, Delaware and Pennsylvania; the Hammonds, Hollydays, Chamberlains and McLanes of Maryland; the Milligans, Bradfords and Ridgelys of Delaware; and the Georges and Wyncoops of Pennsylvania. The Dyers are today among the most prominent families of Rhode Island.

Mary Dyer's letters to the General Court in Boston may be found in William Sewell's *History of the People called Quakers*, page 266. He says of her:

by the style of her letters and her undaunted courage it appears that she had indeed some extraordinary qualities. I find, also, that she was

of a comely and grave countenance, of a good family and estate, and mother of several children, but her husband it seems, was of another persuasion.

Nicholas Hammond, 3rd, was the son of Nicholas Hammond 2d, who returned to the Island of Jersey and settled there, after the death of his father, and married a Miss Lampriere. The subject of this sketch was sent from Jersey to America when he was but fourteen years of age, and was educated in the City of Philadelphia for the law. He was there admitted to the bar, and marrying in 1780, he removed to Cambridge in Dorchester County, Maryland, where he entered actively upon the practice of his profession. While residing in this town he participated in the establishment of the first Masonic lodge ever formed in that County, Lodge 29, and which he frequently represented in the Grand Lodge. In 1789 he removed to Easton in Talbot County, and there continued the practice of his profession, in which he was eminently successful. His knowledge of law was accurate and extensive, and his opinions, formed with great care and deliberation, were eagerly sought and highly esteemed. His pains-taking thoroughness and his well-balanced judgment gave great security to his clients, and had much weight in the Courts. His services were particularly in request in the determining and in the conveying of titles to lands. His reputation for accuracy in these duties survives to the present, so that it is customary for gentlemen of the bar to accept his certificates without question, and without examination. His deeds, transferring realties, are models of fullness and clearness. The very qualities of mind, however, which made him the best of counsellors, impaired his effectiveness as a pleader—a precision which was too formal, a thoroughness which was too minute for the jurymen of average intelligence. Mr. Hammond won his cases as much by weight of personal and professional character as by his manner of presenting them, or as by the force of his logic in arguing them. A defect of hearing seriously impaired his efficiency in the discharge of such professional duty as was necessary to be performed in the Court room. Like most lawyers in small communities, under free government, he became interested in politics, and he identified himself with the Federalists, of whom he became a conspicuous and trusted leader in this county, and a lifelong associate. In the year 1796 he was chosen by the Electoral College one of the state senators for the Eastern Shore, a position which he held until 1800. Much deference was shown to his opinions upon all matters of state policy, for he brought to his public duties the same careful deliberations and dispassionate judgment that

he exhibited in the discharge of his private or professional business. It is also well-known from tradition in the County of Talbot, that after he ceased to be connected with state affairs, he was still frequently consulted by those actively engaged in politics, for his views of public policy were considered to be, in a peculiar degree, clear, well-considered and judicious. In fact, by popular estimate, he was recognized as a legislator without a seat in the assembly, and a councillor without a portfolio in the government. Mr. Hammond was a very earnest and able advocate of public education, and as such was made, in 1798, one of the original corporators of the Easton Academy. He became the first secretary of the board of trustees of this institution, and to him, more than to any other person, it was indebted for its success for the years of its greatest prosperity and efficiency. He managed its finances, as well as supervised its conduct. His reports of the school to the legislature are models of their kind. It may not be amiss in this connection to say that Dr. John Coats, another Mason, was the first president of this school, which for so many years kept alive a love of liberal learning in the community. In the year 1805 the Farmers' Bank of Maryland was established, with a branch bank at Easton. Of this branch Mr. Hammond was chosen to be the first president. In this position he served with great acceptability and success until his death in 1830, with the exception of four years, from 1808 to 1812, a period when politics were allowed to influence the conduct of the directory. His name, which was synonymous in the minds of the people, of whatever party with integrity, prudence and wisdom in management, gave strength and stability to this institution amidst financial storms, and in spite of its defective organization. It was thought no harm could come to depositors, stockholders and customers as long as Mr. Hammond was at the head of the board of directors; and this reputation, justly deserved, was the best and most stable capital of the bank. Who shall say that traditions of this most excellent gentleman has not preserved this institution from injury at the hands of its own officers? Mr. Hammond diversified the more pressing duties of life with attention to agriculture. He was an enthusiastic farmer, and although his operations were not upon an extensive scale, they were conducted with as deep an interest as if they were expected to yield large returns. His beautiful home, which he made near Easton, and to which he gave the name of "St. Aubins," derived from his native island, in its appointments and management was emblematic of his character. Its buildings which he erected in 1808, were of the most substantial character, not devoid, however, of oddity in

their design, and its economy was marked by order and rigid system. St. Aubins has, for several years past, been the homestead of Colonel Henry Hollyday, Jr.

Although a man of great gravity of deportment, sober and reserved, Mr. Hammond was not without a love of humor, and not a few anecdotes are preserved by tradition of his indulgence in jocular sallies. These had a certain grimness which gave to them an unusual zest. Other amusing anecdotes are told of him illustrating his most characteristic trait, namely, his love of order and system in every act of his daily life. These must be omitted in this brief sketch.

His religious connections were with the Church of England and the Protestant Episcopal Church of America; but though devout, he was neither bigot nor zealot—indeed, his religion was rather a matter of correct conduct than of dogma or feeling.

Brother Hammond was a delegate from Lodge No. 29 (afterwards No. 6) to the Convention that organized the Grand Lodge. In 1789 he was elected Junior Grand Warden, and in the following year he was elected Senior Grand Warden. In 1791 he was elected Deputy Grand Master, to which position he was annually re-elected until the year 1794. While in occupancy of this position he issued a dispensation for the formation of Concordia Lodge No. 13, the first lodge formed in Baltimore under the Grand Lodge of Maryland.

Brother Hammond was twice married, first, in 1780, to his cousin, Miss Sarah George of Philadelphia, who died childless in 1787. Secondly, in 1792, to Miss Rebecca Hollyday, daughter of Henry Hollyday of Ratcliffe by whom three children were born to him, namely, Dr. Nicholas Hammond, Anna Maria, wife of James Lloyd Chamberlaine, of Bonfield, and Rebecca Hollyday, wife of the Rev. Robert William Goldsborough. Each of these left children, who represent the virtues of their most worthy ancestor.

Brother Hammond, after a long life of usefulness and honor, died November 11, 1830, and was buried at Ratcliffe, the seat of the Hollydays. The memory of no parent is more venerated than his, by his descendants; and if this memory be no longer preserved by the people in general of his county, it is not too much to say, the impress of his strong, masculine, reproachless character has not been lost upon the present generation, that may not know from what source that impress has come.



GOVERNOR PHILIP FRANCIS THOMAS

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1810-1890

Philip Francis Thomas was born at Easton, Talbot County, Md., on September 12, 1810. His father, Dr. Tristram Thomas was long the leading practicing physician in Talbot County. Through his maternal line, his mother having been Maria Francis, he was of most distinguished ancestry. He was a descendant of Philip Francis, who was mayor of Plymouth, England, in 1644, whose grandson, the Very Rev. John Francis, D.D., Dean of Lismore, in 1722, and rector of St. Mary's church, Dublin, married Miss Tench, and had children, viz., Tench Francis, who emigrated to Maryland; Richard Francis, an eminent lawyer and author of the "Maxims in Equity," and Rev. Philip Francis, D.D., whose son was the celebrated Sir Philip Francis, K.G.C.B., the reputed author of the "Letters of Junius."

Tench Francis, the eldest son of the Very Rev. John Francis, D.D., and Miss Tench, received a learned and legal education in England, and came to America about the year 1720 and settled in Talbot County, Md. While acting as the attorney for Lord Baltimore in Kent, he married, in 1724, Elizabeth Turbutt, daughter of Hon. Foster Turbutt, of Talbot. In 1734 he was a member of the House of Burgesses. He afterwards removed to Philadelphia. In 1744 he was appointed Attorney-General of Pennsylvania and held that position until 1752. He was an eminent lawyer, and according to Franklin's *Gazette*, August 24, 1758, served in his several offices "with the highest reputation."

Among his children were Anne Francis, who married James Tilghman of Talbot County, whose son, Col. Tench Tilghman, was aide-de-camp to General Washington; Tench Francis (2d), who married Ann Willing, of Philadelphia, whose greatgrandson was Hon. Thomas Francis Bayard, of Delaware; Margaret Francis, who married Chief Justice Edward Shippen, of Pennsylvania, one of whose daughters married Gen. Benedict Arnold; Turbutt Francis, who married Rebecca Mifflin, before the war of the Revolution. He was a lieutenant in the British Army, but afterward fought with his countrymen and rose to the rank of colonel; Philip Francis, who returned to Talbot county to live and married Henrietta Maria Goldsborough, whose grandsons were the late ex-Governor Philip Francis Thomas, formerly secretary of the treasury under President Buchanan, and Capt. Charles Thomas, United States Navy.

A very interesting letter was in the possession of the late Senator Bayard, written by Sir Philip Francis, who had just received an appoint-

ment in India, to his cousin, Col. Turbutt Francis, of Philadelphia, dated London, 17 July, 1773, in which, among other things, he writes:

I beg of you to do whatever you think proper with my estate, (it was in Talbot county,) for I am determined to keep a little freehold in America. At present I am bound to the Ganges, but who knows whether I may not end my days on the banks of the Ohio. People here mind no more going to India now than they did formerly to Bath. I wish, with all my heart, there was a turnpike road from this to Calcutta, and post chaises at every stage. I sicken at the thought of a six months' voyage, but honor and profit spur me on. Shall we not meet hereafter, my honest Fellow? I don't like to think of the quantity of salt water between us. If it were claret I would drink my way to America. Seriously, I intend to be a very jolly old fellow, and laugh at Tilghman's great wig and your wooden leg, for I suppose you'll have lost a limb in the service of your country.

Young Thomas received his earlier elementary education at the Easton Academy, later, he entered Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, where he remained but two years. Owing to his participation in some college pranks, he was politely advised not to return. Having determined to pursue the study of law, and to enter the legal profession, he became a law student in the office of William Hayward, then one of the leading attorneys of Easton, and at the November term of the Circuit for Talbot County, 1831, a few months after attaining his majority, he was admitted to the bar. Ever since the organization of political parties in this new republic of ours, it has been almost the universal custom for sons to inherit the political proclivities of their fathers, and they usually prided themselves upon the fact that their political ideas as well as their religious convictions were "bred in the bone." This was not the case, however, with the subject of this sketch. His father, Dr. Tristram Thomas, who for a half century was one of the leading physicians of Easton, was a Federalist of the most pronounced type, and, upon the demise of that party, he became an ardent adherent of the Whig party. Philip Francis was rather a wild and erratic youth, and being possessed of very independent ideas of his own, declined to follow the political precepts of his honored parent, and early allied himself with the Democratic party which laid claim to the advocacy of the right of the masses, or common people, as opposed to those of the aristocrats, or landed gentry, who for the most part were then Federalists, and later Whigs, and long controlled the majority of the votes in Talbot County. The Democratic party, to which he persistently adhered, being apparently in a hopeless minority in his county and congressional

district, there seemed to be but slight hopes of any political preferment in store for our young hero. Undaunted by successive defeats in the outset of his political career, his persistent zeal in the advocacy of his party principles soon brought him phenomenal success. Running for a seat in the legislature of Maryland in 1834, he was badly defeated, his opponent being elected by a majority of 200 votes. Two years later, in 1836, in opposition to the advice of his friends, he again became a candidate for the same office. This time he was defeated only by 17 votes. Under the amended Constitution of 1838, for the first time in the history of Maryland, the election of governor was by direct vote of people. William Grason, of Queen Annes County, was nominated by a Democratic convention which met in Baltimore in 1838, as their candidate for governor. Thomas, who had been a delegate to this convention, pledged his county to Mr. Grason and made good his pledge, carrying Talbot County for him by 130 majority, while Mr. Thomas, himself, who was for the third time a candidate for the House of Delegates, was elected by a handsome majority of 190 votes. Encouraged by his first political success, Mr. Thomas soon sought higher honors. In the following year, 1839, he ran on the Democratic ticket for Congress, against James Alfred Pearce of Kent County, who had been representing his district in Congress since 1835, with credit to his constituents, and whose re-election was confidently expected by the Whig party. To the surprise, even of Thomas's own friends, he was elected over Mr. Pearce by a majority of 188 votes. At the end of his term he declined re-election, and Mr. Pearce having no opposition, was elected to Congress for a third term, while Mr. Thomas applied himself to the practice of his profession. In 1843 he again became a candidate for the House of Delegates and was elected. Again in 1845 he was a successful candidate for the same office. He took such a prominent part in the legislative debates and acquitted himself so creditably in the session of 1846 that he was accorded the gubernatorial nomination by the Democratic Convention which met in Baltimore June 24, 1847. William Tilghman Goldsborough of Dorchester County was the candidate of the Whig party. Thomas was elected governor by over 700 majority.

The Constitution of 1776, although amended from time to time, was generally conceded to be inadequate for the then changed conditions of affairs, seventy-one years after its adoption. One of the first official acts of Governor Thomas was to advocate, in his inaugural address, on Jan. 3, 1848, the passage of an act by the Legislature authorizing the assembling of a convention for the adoption of a new constitution. The

General Assembly passed the necessary act, and in the closing months of Governor Thomas' administration the Convention met. The new Constitution became operative in 1851, and made many radical changes in the organic law of the State. It created a new office, that of comptroller of the treasury. Ex-Governor Thomas became the first incumbent of this office, which office he held until in 1853 when he was appointed, by President Franklin Pierce, collector of customs at the port of Baltimore.

At the close of Mr. Pierce's administration, ex-Governor Thomas removed to the city of St. Louis and began the practice of law there, but he could not be content away from his native heath and his political constituents, and soon returned to Maryland. Not even the governorship of the territory of Utah proffered him by President James Buchanan during the Mormon war, could tempt him away from his native state, but when in February, 1860, President Buchanan offered him the position of commissioner of patents, he accepted it, and in December following, President Buchanan offered him a seat in his cabinet, made vacant by the resignation of the Honorable Howell Cobb as secretary of the treasury. Governor Thomas occupied this cabinet position for but a single month, from December 10, 1860, to January 11, 1861. The Civil War, which disrupted our country for over four years, was then impending; Governor Thomas, being a Southern sympathizer, was forced into seclusion, and retired to a farm on Peach Blossom Creek called "Oakland," three miles south of Easton, which was the property of his wife who was Miss Sarah Maria Kerr. His only son then about eighteen years old went South and became a Confederate soldier. In 1866, the war being over, Governor Thomas was elected a delegate to the Legislature. At this session, the General Assembly was required to elect a successor to John A. J. Cresswell in the United States Senate, and Governor Thomas was elected United States Senator, but the accusation of disloyalty having been brought up against him, the then Republican Senate refused to seat him. In 1874, he was elected to the House of Representatives and took his seat in 1875, just 35 years after vacating his seat in Congress in 1840. In 1877 he served in the House of Delegates of Maryland and again in 1883. Governor Thomas was a strikingly handsome man, of dignified deportment, pleasing manners, affable in conversation, he commanded universal respect, even from his political enemies. Late in life when a widower of 75 he built himself a modern home in Easton and married Mrs. Clintonia May, widow of Captain

William May of the United States Navy, and daughter of Governor Robert Wright.

He died in Baltimore City, October 2, 1890, in the 81st year of his age, having enjoyed more political honors than fall to the lot of most men.

ADMIRAL FRANKLIN BUCHANAN

1800-1874

CONFEDERATE STATES NAVY

After a varied and eventful career, Admiral Franklin Buchanan, late ranking officer in the Confederate Navy, and, at the outbreak of the Civil War, a Captain in the United States Navy, died, at his country-seat, "The Rest," on Miles river, on Monday, May 11, 1874, after a brief illness, in the 74th year of his age.

It was our lot to differ from this gentlemen in the interpretation of our duty at the beginning and during the continuance of the recent unhappy contest between the two sections of the country; and we confess to have shared in that warmth of feeling which all sincere and earnest men, of whichever side, felt for those who were in antagonism to them in those terrible days—a feeling which we are free to confess was not that of amity or fraternity: but we can now say, and say it too without any sacrifice of candor, that after the termination of the conflict, we entertained for the distinguished deceased, no sentiments of animosity, while our former admiration of his fine abilities and bravery was not diminished, but only enhanced, by his conduct and daring in that war in which he bore such a notable and creditable a part. *Of the dead, nothing except the good*, is a maxim not difficult of observance in the case of Admiral Buchanan, of whom so much can be said that is good and so little that is not altogether admirable.

Admiral Franklin Buchanan was born on the 11th of September, in the year 1800, in the city of Baltimore. His father, Dr. Geo. Buchanan, was a physician of distinction, in that city and his mother the daughter of Thos. McKean, Governor and Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and President of the State of Delaware. His education was received in the city of Philadelphia, whither his family had removed very early in his life. In 1815 he obtained his warrant as cadet in the U. S. Navy from President Madison. He was assigned to the frigate Java then refitting at Baltimore, to be

commanded by Com. O. H. Perry; but she not being ready for sea, he was permitted to take a position in the merchant marine, for the purpose of accomplishing himself in practical seamanship. He accordingly made a voyage in one of the ships of Mr. Thomas Tenant, a wealthy shipping merchant of Baltimore, under the command of Capt. James Gibson, an experienced sailor.

The war of 1812 being over before he entered the navy, there was no opportunity for rising in rank except by regular promotion and graduation, for many years. He however distinguished himself in the service, by his thorough seamanship, his own fidelity to duty, and the rigidity with which he exacted similar fidelity on the part of those placed under him. Being a thorough sailor, fond of and devoted to his profession, he sought rather than avoided service, so that he was pretty constantly at sea or upon distant stations. It is said at the date of his resignation he had seen more sea service than any officer of the navy, with a single exception. In every position he acquitted himself with credit and with the approbation of his Government. His ship was always in the most admirable order, his crew under the most accurate and strict discipline, his officers instructed in the best seamanship. He was regarded, in every respect, as one of the first commanders of the service.

In the year 1835 he married the third daughter of Governor Edward Lloyd, of Wye House, Talbot county, and in 1847 he purchased the beautiful seat of Mr. James Conner near Miles River Ferry, which he called "The Rest," and made his home for life. Here he passed those few days of respite from the duties of the service which his active mind allowed him to enjoy; here he spent his declining years, in the bosom of a charming family, and surrounded by admiring friends; and here he finished a life whose record will make a page of the history of his country, that will be read with glowing interest to the utmost posterity.

His own experience and that of other gentlemen of the first standing, if not of the first grade, in the navy, had taught him the necessity of forming a class of officers of a different order from those early commanding our ships: a class that should be thoroughly trained and instructed not simply in the nautical art but in naval science. He saw that it was necessary to secure for the young men who should enter the service such tuition as was given to those that enter the army, so that the culture of the scholar might be added to the skill of the sailor. To this end he used his well deserved influence with the Department to have established a school for the education of naval cadets. His efforts and those of his brother officers were, after many days, at last crowned with suc-

cess, and in 1845 under the administration of Mr. Polk, the Hon. George Bancroft being the Secretary of Marine affairs, the Naval School was established. Through the representations of Commander Buchanan, who fully appreciated the advantages of the situation, Annapolis was selected as the seat of this school, which has now acquired such efficiency and celebrity. As evincing the appreciation in which he was held by the department, he was made the first commandant at that school, which post he held from 1845 to 1847. Doubtless he was largely and perhaps chiefly instrumental in giving to this institution its admirable organization, for which it is now so famous, and it was he to whom we are indebted for that superior class of young officers which gives such distinction to our navy—a class in which culture has been happily grafted upon gallantry, and science upon practical skill.

The Mexican war being in progress, Comdr. Buchanan was no longer content with the comforts and distinction afforded by his station at Annapolis; and therefore he asked to be allowed to participate in the naval operations then going on in the Gulf. In this he was gratified, and being placed in command of the ship *Germantown*, he coöperated in the reduction of Vera Cruz, and in other operations upon the Mexican Coast, under Commodores Conner and Perry. We may be sure that whatever duty was imposed, or whatever place was assigned, that duty was well performed, and that place was well filled.

After the close of the Mexican war, he had various commands; but in the year 1853 a squadron was formed under the command of Com. Perry, for the purpose of demanding protection for American seamen who might be wrecked upon the coasts of Japan, complaints having been lodged that such unfortunates as had been cast upon the shores of that empire had been harshly treated. The result of this naval expedition are of the most astonishing, as well as beneficent description. Through the measures that were then inaugurated, that great empire was opened to the trade of the world, after having been closed to all but one favored nation, from time immemorial; and treaties of friendship and commerce were formed, not only with our own government, but most of the nations of Europe. Nor was this the whole of the results of this expedition. The internal structure of the empire was changed, ameliorations were introduced, and an era of progress inaugurated among a people who seem to have been stationary for thousands of years. Comm'r Buchanan was second in command in this expedition, having charge of one of the vessels. It is said, and perhaps with truth, that he was the first American officer to place his foot on Japanese soil. He shares, at

least, the credit of having successfully accomplished the grand work of opening to trade, and western civilization, one of those countries that had been closed against the entrance of foreign persons and foreign ideas for ages, and thus breaking down those barriers of prejudice that had stood in the way of the progress of one of the most ingenious and interesting people upon the face of the globe. Com. Buchanan also had command of the vessel that conveyed the American commissioners to China in 1854 to negotiate a treaty with the leader of the Taiping rebellion, and was among the first to discover and make known to those Commissioners the emptiness of the pretensions of that leader to liberality of sentiment towards foreigners, and the shallowness of his belief in the doctrines of Christianity.

In the year 1855 Commander, became Captain Buchanan, though long anterior to that date he had been acting the part of an officer of that rank.

We now approach a crisis in his life, as well as the life of the nation. In the year 1861 we find him in charge of the Washington Navy Yard. One state after another had passed its ordinance of secession. His own native state, and the place of his home, still hesitated to take the fatal leap. A large portion of her people were urging the following of their southern brethren. The class of citizens with which Capt. Buchanan was intimately connected by social ties of the most intimate character was in sympathy with the southern movement, and it demanded that all who expected to retain their position in this class should share in this sympathy, and show it by their willingness to make every sacrifice. The famous attack upon the northern troops passing through Baltimore was made upon the 19th of April. All Marylanders were called upon to defend their homes from invasion, as it was erroneously called. In the furor of the moment Capt. Buchanan sent in his resignation of his post, which he almost immediately sought to recall, but was not allowed. He was thus precipitated into the vortex, from which there was no escape. We have nothing to say by way of comment upon this fatal step. It deprived his country of one who would have been among her ablest defenders; it gave her enemies a champion of unsurpassed ability and bravery. To him personally it was a step taken at first with pain, and followed ultimately by consequences full of mortification and suffering.

After joining his fortunes with those of the Southern Confederacy, he was immediately placed in high command. When he next appears conspicuous to the view he was a chief participant in the most novel and one

of the most wonderful actions in all history—an action that heralds a revolution and marks an era in naval warfare. Reference of course is made to the engagement in August 1862 between the Confederate iron-clad ship, the *Virginia*, and the Federal fleet in Hampton Roads, and which terminated in the naval duel between the first named vessel and the *Monitor*. There is no room in a short newspaper article to give an account of this stupendous fight. It is of such recent occurrence however that most readers of the *Gazette* can recall it with sufficient vividness. Memory has as yet no need of history. In the fight, Capt. Buchanan, we believe he was not then Admiral, exhibited all the qualities of a consummate commander. In charge of a vessel of novel construction, and untried power, he did not hesitate to attack the Federal fleet, vastly his superior in numbers and weight of metal, and but for the timely interposition of the turreted vessel that entered the harbor while the result of the engagement was pending, he would have succeeded in sinking, capturing or driving off every ship of the squadron. In this engagement the *Virginia* was finally disabled, and returned to harbor at Norfolk, but not before her commander had been severely wounded. Capt. Buchanan remained in command at Norfolk until the Navy yard at the port was destroyed, and his ship the *Virginia* blown up, by his own orders. His conduct during this engagement and his subsequent acts were subjected to the examination of a court of inquiry, whose decision so far from casting censure upon him was highly commendatory of the ability and bravery he displayed in the fight and his sound judgment in the destruction of his vessel, and the public works.

After his recovery from his wound he was placed in command of the Confederate naval forces at Mobile, with the rank of Admiral. When that city was assailed by Admiral Farragut of the Federal fleet, Admiral Buchanan was in charge of the squadron which aided the forts below on the bay in its defence. This most memorable fight took place August 1864. Here too there was great inequality of the naval forces, the superiority of numbers and metal being with the Federal commander, though the forts perhaps equalized the contestants. After Farragut had passed the forts, and the Confederate fleet had retired up the bay, Admiral Buchanan renewed the engagement, with most desperate energy and bravery. The Federal commander characterizes this fight as "one of the fiercest naval combats on record." The Confederate Admiral was again defeated, his vessel captured, and he himself taken prisoner, after being terribly wounded. The intrepidity and ability displayed by Admiral Buchanan excited the greatest admiration of

both friends and enemies. This ended his naval career. He returned to his home where he remained till the war terminated.

While absent in the South his house had been accidentally burned, on the 4th of April, 1863, but was speedily replaced by the tasteful mansion that now adorns "The Rest." Being deprived of all support from his profession, and possessed of small private fortune, he engaged in civil pursuits. The friends of Education in Maryland wishing to revive the prosperity of the Agricultural College, which had succumbed to the war, thought they saw in Admiral Buchanan those very qualifications which would guarantee the success of that institution. They accordingly invited him to assume the charge of the school as President. Under his administration it prospered; but he soon found that this prosperity was secured at too great a cost of personal independence. Unaccustomed to submit his opinions to the decisions of others, he could not brook the opposition, nor even the questioning of his coadjutors in the faculty. An occasion for open rupture was not long wanting, and upon his demanding the removal of a member of the professional staff, on account of immoral conduct, and upon the refusal of the faculty and trustees to make the removal, Admiral Buchanan was in self-respect compelled to retire from the Presidency of the college. He then became the manager of a Southern Insurance Company at Mobile, but finding that attention to its duties involved continued absence from his family, he relinquished his position. He returned to Talbot, and never again assumed any public duties, but beguiled the time until his death with the peaceful pursuits of husbandry, and the pleasing duties of a generous hospitality.

There is no longer space to give an estimate of Admiral Buchanan, if indeed we were able—we who have lived so near him in time and place—we who have seen him in his daily walks and listened to his familiar voice among us—we who have been so accustomed to regard him only as a worthy citizen; cordial in feeling, kindly in speech, courteous in manners, that we had almost forgotten that we were looking upon a man of heroic mould, and one whose acts will be the theme of the historian, and whose character will be the study and admiration of coming years.

Admiral Buchanan was buried on Thursday morning according to the rites of the Protestant Episcopal Church, a large concourse of neighbors and friends attending his remains from his home at the "The Rest," to "Wye House," the seat of Col. Edward Lloyd, where they are deposited.

THE FIGHT OF THE FIRST IRONCLADS, HAMPTON ROADS, 1862.

The official report of Admiral Franklin Buchanan of the great fight in Hampton Roads, in March, 1862.

Admiral Buchanan was landed on the beach early on the morning following; his wound, as the doctors said, making him too feeble from the loss of blood to continue the fight from his cot, which he had ordered carried on the gun-deck of the Virginia. Consequently he was not in the engagement with the Monitor, which vessel was whipped, in the opinion of all Southerners who witnessed the affair, or she would not have run into shoal water where the Virginia could not reach her, and where she remained without firing a gun, her turret *jammed* by a shot from the Virginia, and she could not revolve it so as to get the gun out. But this fact of course the officers of the Virginia did not know at the time. The officers of the Virginia found it necessary to return with the ship to Norfolk in consequence of the damages she received in the two days' fight. That alone makes history say that the Monitor whipped the Virginia. Could she have remained on the battlefield, the Monitor would have been obliged to return to Old Point, and the Minnesota would have been *blown up*, as her captain had said he had laid a train of powder to do so, when he saw the Virginia standing up the harbor. The Virginia leaked, having lost her iron prow, and was otherwise damaged.

REPORT OF FLAG OFFICER BUCHANAN.

Naval Hospital, Norfolk, March 27, 1862.

SIR: Having been confined to my bed in this building since the 9th inst., in consequence of a wound received in the action of the previous day, I have not had it in my power at an earlier date to prepare the official report, which I now have the honor to submit, of the proceedings on the 8th and 9th inst., of the James River squadron under my command, composed of the following named vessels: Steamer Virginia, Flag Ship, ten guns; steamer Patrick Henry, twelve guns, Commander John R. Tucker; steamer Jamestown, Lieut. Commanding J. N. Barney, two guns; and gun-boats Teazer, Lieut. Commanding W. A. Webb; Beaufort, Lieut. Commanding W. H. Parker, and Raleigh, Lieut. Commanding J. W. Alexander, each one gun. Total 27 guns.

On the 8th inst., at 11 A.M. the Virginia left the Navy Yard, Norfolk, accompanied by the Raleigh and Beaufort and proceeded to Newport News to engage the enemy's frigates Cumberland and Congress, gunboats and shore batteries. When within less than a mile of the Cumberland the Virginia commenced the engagement with that ship with her bow gun, and the action soon became general, the Cumberland, Congress, gunboats and shore batteries concentrating upon us their heavy fire, which was returned with great spirit and determination. The Virginia stood rapidly on towards the Cumberland, which ship I had determined to sink with our prow, if possible. In about fifteen minutes after the action commenced we ran into her on her starboard

bow; the crash below the water was distinctly heard, and she commenced sinking, gallantly fighting her guns as long as they were above water. She went down with her colors flying. During this time the shore batteries, Congress, and gunboats kept up their heavy concentrated fire upon us, doing us some injury. Our guns, however, were not idle; their fire was very destructive to the shore batteries and vessels, and we were gallantly sustained by the rest of the squadron.

Just after the Cumberland sank, that gallant officer, Commander John R. Tucker, was seen standing down James River under full steam, accompanied by the Jamestown and Teazer. They all came nobly into action, and were soon exposed to the heavy fire of shore batteries. Their escape was miraculous, as they were under a galling fire of solid shot, shell, grape, and canister, a number of which passed through the vessel without doing any serious injury, except to the Patrick Henry, through whose boiler a shot passed, scalding to death four persons and wounding others. Lieut. Commanding Barney promptly obeyed a signal to tow her out of the action. As soon as damages were repaired, the Patrick Henry returned to her station, and continued to perform good service during the remainder of that day and the following.

Having sunk the Cumberland, I turned our attention to the Congress. We were some time getting our proper position in consequence of the shoalness of the water and the great difficulty of managing the ship when in or near the mud. To succeed in my object, I was obliged to run the ship a short distance above the batteries on James River, in order to wind her. During all the time her keel was in the mud; of course she moved but slowly. Thus we were subjected twice to the heavy guns of all the batteries in passing up and down the river, but it could not be avoided. We silenced several of the batteries, and did much injury on shore. A large transport steamer alongside the wharf was blown up, one schooner sunk, and another captured and sent to Norfolk. The loss of life on shore we have no means of ascertaining.

While the Virginia was thus engaged in getting her position for attacking the Congress, the prisoners state it was believed on board that ship that we had hauled off; the men left their guns and gave three cheers. They were soon sadly undeceived, for a few minutes after we opened upon her again, she having run on shore in shoal water. The carnage, havoc and dismay caused by our fire compelled them to haul down their colors, and to hoist a white flag at their gaff half mast, and another at the main. The crew instantly took to their boats and landed. Our fire immediately ceased, and a signal was made for the Beaufort to come within hail. I then ordered Lieut. Commanding Parker to take possession of the Congress, secure the officers as prisoners, allow the crew to land, and burn the ship. He ran alongside, received her flag and surrender from Commander Wm. Smith and Lieut. Pendergrast, with the side-arms of those officers. They delivered themselves as prisoners of war on board the Beaufort, and afterwards were permitted, at their own request, to return to the Congress, to assist in removing the wounded to the Beaufort. They never returned, and I submit to the decision

of the Department whether they are not our prisoners. While the Beaufort and Raleigh were alongside the Congress, and the surrender of the vessel had been received from the commander, she having two white flags flying, hoisted by her own people, a heavy fire was opened upon them from the shore and from the Congress, killing some valuable officers and men. Under this fire the steamer left the Congress; but as I was not informed that any injury had been sustained by those vessels at that time, Lieut. Commanding Parker having failed to report to me, I took it for granted that my order to him to burn her had been executed, and waited some minutes to see the smoke ascending from her hatches. During this delay we were still subjected to the heavy fire from the batteries, which was always promptly returned.

The steam frigates Minnesota and Roanoke, and the sailing frigate St. Lawrence, had previously been reported as coming from Old Point, but as I was determined that the Congress should not again fall into the hands of the enemy, I remarked to that gallant young officer, Flag Lieut. Minor, "that ship must be burned." He promptly volunteered to take a boat and burn her, and the Teazer, Lieut. Commanding Webb, was ordered to cover the boat. Lieut. Minor had scarcely reached within fifty yards of the Congress, when a deadly fire was opened upon him, wounding him severely and several of his men. On witnessing this vile treachery, I instantly recalled the boat and ordered the Congress destroyed by hot shot and incendiary shell. About this period I was disabled, and transferred the command of the ship to that gallant, intelligent officer, Lieut. Catesby Jones, with orders to fight her as long as the men could stand to their guns.

The ships from Old Point opened their fire upon us. The Minnesota grounded in the north channel, where unfortunately the shoalness of the channel prevented our near approach. We continued, however, to fire upon her until the pilots declared that it was no longer safe to remain in that position, and we accordingly returned by the south channel, (the middle ground being necessarily between the Virginia and Minnesota, the St. Lawrence and the Roanoke having retreated under the guns of Old Point,) and again had an opportunity of opening upon the Minnesota, receiving her heavy fire in return; and shortly afterwards upon the St. Lawrence, from which vessel we also had received several broadsides. It had by this time become dark, and we soon after anchored off Sewell's Point. The rest of the squadron followed our movements, with the exception of the Beaufort, Lieut. Commanding Parker, who proceeded to Norfolk with the wounded and prisoners as soon as he had left the Congress, without reporting to me. The Congress having been set on fire by our hot shot and incendiary shell, continued to burn, her loaded guns being successfully discharged as the flames reached them, until a few minutes past midnight, when her magazine exploded with a tremendous report.

The facts above stated as having occurred after I had placed the ship in charge of Lieut. Jones, were reported to me by that officer.

At an early hour next morning, (the 9th,) upon the urgent solicita-

tions of the surgeons, Lieut. Minor and myself were very reluctantly taken on shore. The accommodations for the proper treatment of wounded persons on board the *Virginia* are exceedingly limited, Lieut. Minor and myself occupying the only space that could be used for that purpose, which was in my cabin. I therefore consented to our being landed on Sewell's Point, thinking that the room on board vacated by us could be used for those who might be wounded in the renewal of the action. In the course of the day, Lieut. Minor and myself were sent in a steamer to the hospital at Norfolk.

The following is an extract from the report of Lieut. Jones, of the proceedings of the *Virginia* on the 9th:

"At daylight on the 9th we saw that the *Minnesota* was still ashore, and that there was an iron battery near her. At 8 we ran down to engage them (having previously sent the killed and wounded out of the ship) firing at the *Minnesota*, and occasionally at the iron battery. The pilots did not place us as near as they expected. The great length and draft of the ship rendered it exceedingly difficult to work her; we ran ashore about a mile from the frigate and were back fifteen minutes before we got off. We continued to fire at the *Minnesota*, and blew up a steamer alongside of her; and we also engaged the *Monitor*, sometimes at very close quarters; we once succeeded in running into her, and twice silenced her fire. The pilots declaring that we could get no nearer the *Minnesota* and believing her to be entirely disabled, and the *Monitor* having to run into shoal water, which prevented our doing her any further injury, we ceased firing at 12, and proceeded to Norfolk.

"Our lost is two killed and nineteen wounded. The stem is twisted and the ship leaks; we have lost the prow, starboard anchor and all the boats; the armor is somewhat damaged, the steampipe and smoke-stack both riddled, the muzzles of two of the guns shot away. It was not easy to keep a flag flying; the flag-staffs were repeatedly shot away; the colors were hoisted to the smoke-stack and several times cut down from it.

The bearing of the men was all that could be desired; their enthusiasm could scarcely be restrained. During the action they cheered again and again. Their coolness and skill were more remarkable, from the fact that the great majority of them were under fire for the first time; they were strangers to each other and the officers, and had but a few days' instruction in the management of the great guns. To the skill and example of the officers is the result in no small degree attributable."

Having this given a full report of the actions on the 8th and 9th, I feel it due to the gallant officers who so nobly sustained the honor of the flag and country on those days, to express my appreciation of their conduct.

To that brave and intelligent officer, Lieut. Catesby Jones, the executive ordnance officer of the *Virginia*, I am greatly indebted for the success achieved. His constant attention to his duties in the equipment of the ship; his intelligence in the instruction of ordnance to the crew, as proved by the accuracy and effect of their fire—some of the guns

having been personally directed by him, his tact and management in the government of raw recruits, his general knowledge of the executive duties of a man-of-war together with his high-toned bearing, were all eminently conspicuous, and had their fruits in the admirable efficiency of the Virginia. If conduct such as his—I do not know that I have used adequate language in describing it—entitles an officer to promotion, I see in the case of Lieut. Jones one in all respects worthy of it. As flag officer I am entitled to some one to perform the duties of flag captain, and I should be proud to have Lieut. Jones ordered to the Virginia as Lieutenant Commandant, if it be not the intention of the department to bestow upon him a higher rank.

Lieut. Simms fully sustained his well-earned reputation. He fired the first gun, and when the command devolved upon Lieut. Jones, in consequence of my disability, he was ordered to perform the duties of executive officer. Lieut. Jones has expressed to me his satisfaction in having had the services of so experienced, energetic and zealous an officer.

Lieut. Davidson fought his guns with great precision. The muzzle of one was soon shot away; he continued, however, to fire it, though the wood-work around the port became ignited at each discharge. His buoyant and cheerful bearing and voice were contagious and inspiring.

Lieut. Wood handled his pivot gun admirably, and the executive officer testifies to his valuable suggestions during the action. His zeal and industry in drilling the crew contributed materially to our success.

Lieut. Eggleston served his hot shot and shell with judgment and effect; and his bearing was deliberate, and exerted a happy influence on his division.

Lieut. Butt fought his gun with activity, and during the action was gay and smiling.

The Marine Corps was well represented by Capt. Thom, whose tranquil mien gave evidence that the hottest fire was no novelty to him. One of his guns was served effectively and creditably by a detachment of the United Artillery, of Norfolk, under the command of Captain Kevill. The muzzle of their gun was struck by a shell from the enemy, which broke off a piece of the gun, but they continued to fire as if it was uninjured.

Midshipmen Foute, Marmaduke, Littlepage, Craig and Long rendered valuable services. Their conduct would have been creditable to older heads, and gave great promise of future usefulness. Midshipman Marmaduke, though receiving several painful wounds early in the action, manfully fought his gun until the close. He is now at the hospital.

Paymaster Semple volunteered for any service, and was assigned to the command of the powder division, an important and complicated duty which could not have been better performed.

Surgeon Phillips and Assistant Surgeon Garnett were prompt and attentive in the discharge of their duties, their kind and considerate care of the wounded, and the skill and ability displayed in the treat-

ment, won for them the esteem and gratitude of all who came under their charge, and justly entitled them to the confidence of officers and crew. I beg leave to call the attention of the Department to the case of Dr. Garnett. He stands deservedly high in his profession, is at the head of the list of assistant surgeons, and there being a vacancy, in consequence of the recent death of Surgeon Blacknall, I should be much gratified if Dr. Garnett could be promoted to it.

The engines and machinery, upon which so much depended, performed better than was expected. This is due to the intelligence, experience and coolness of Acting Chief Engineer Ramsey. His efforts were ably assisted by his assistants, Tynan, Campbell, Herring, Jack and White. As Mr. Ramsey is only Acting Chief Engineer, I respectfully recommend his promotion to the rank of Chief; and would also ask that second Assistant Engineer Campbell may be promoted to first Assistant—he having performed the duties of that grade during the engagement.

The forward officers, boatswain Hasker, gunner Oliver, and carpenter Lindsey, discharged well all the duties required of them. The boatswain had charge of a gun, and fought it well. The gunner was indefatigable in his efforts; his experience and exertions as a gunner have contributed very materially to the efficiency of the battery.

Acting Master Parrish was assisted in piloting the ship by pilots Wright, Williams, Clark and Cunningham. They were necessarily much exposed.

It is now due that I should mention my personal staff. To that gallant young officer Flag Lieutenant Minor, I am much indebted for his promptness in the execution of signals, for renewing the flag-staffs when shot away—being thereby greatly exposed—for his watchfulness in keeping the confederate flag up; his alacrity in conveying my orders to the different divisions, and for his cool and gallant bearing.

My aide, Acting Mid'n Rootes, of the Navy, Lieutenant Forrest, of the Army, who served as a volunteer aide, and my clerk, Mr. Arthur St. Clair, Jun'r, are entitled to my thanks for the activity with which my orders were conveyed to the different parts of the ship. During the hottest of the fight they were always at their posts, giving evidence of their coolness. Having referred to the good conduct of the officers in the flagship, immediately under my notice, I come now to no less pleasing task, when I attempt to mark my approbation of the bearing of those serving in the other vessels of the squadron.

Commander Jno. R. Tucker, of the Patrick Henry, and Lieuts. Commanding J. N. Barney, of the Jamestown, and W. A. Webb, of the Teazer, deserve great praise for their gallant conduct throughout the engagement. Their judgment in selecting their positions for attacking the enemy was good; their constant fire was destructive, and contributed much to the success of the day. The "general order," under which the squadron went into action, required, that in the absence of all signals, each commanding officer was to exercise his own judgment and discretion in doing all the damage he could do the enemy, and to

sink before surrendering. From the bearing of those officers, on the 8th, I am fully satisfied that that order would have been carried out.

Commander Tucker speaks highly of all under him, and desires particularly to notice that Lieut. Colonel Cadwallader St. Geo. Noland, commanding the post at Mulberry Island, on hearing of the deficiency in the complement of the *Patrick Henry*, promptly offered the services of ten of his men as volunteers for the occasion, one of whom, Geo. E. Webb, of the "Greenville Guards," Commander Tucker regrets to say, was killed.

Lieut. Commanding Barney reports "every officer and man on board the ship performed his whole duty, evincing a courage and fearlessness worthy of the cause for which we are fighting."

Lieut. Commanding Webb especially notices the coolness displayed by acting Master Face and third Assistant Engineer Quinn, when facing the heavy fire of artillery and musketry from the shore, whilst the "Teazer" was standing in to cover the boat in which, as previously stated, Lieutenant Minor had gone to burn the "Congress." Several of his men were badly wounded.

The "Raleigh," early in the action, had her gun-carriage disabled, which compelled her to withdraw. As soon as he had repaired damages as well as he could, Lieut. Commanding Alexander resumed his position in the line. He sustained himself gallantly during the remainder of the day, and speaks highly of all under his command. That evening he was ordered to Norfolk for repairs.

The Beaufort, Lieut. Commanding Parker, was in close contact with the enemy frequently during the day, and all on board behaved gallantly.

Lieut. Commanding Parker expresses his warmest thanks to his officers and men for their coolness. Acting Midshipman Foreman, who accompanied him as volunteer aide, Midshipmen Mallory and Newton, Captain's clerk Bain, and Mr. Gray, pilot, are all specially mentioned by him.

On the 21st inst., I forwarded to the Department correct lists of the casualties on board all the vessels of the squadron, on the 8th, none, it appears, occurred on the 9th.

While in the act of closing this report, I received the communication of the Department, dated 22d inst., relieving me temporarily of the command of the squadron for the naval defences of James River. I feel honored in being relieved by the gallant Flag Officer, Tatnall.

I much regret that I am not now in a condition to resume my command, but trust that I shall soon be restored to health, when I shall be ready for any duty that may be assigned to me.

Very respectfully,

FRANKLIN BUCHANAN, *Flag Officer.*

HON. S. R. MALLORY,
Secretary of the Navy.

THE RIGHT REVEREND HENRY CHAMPLIN LAY, D.D.

1823-1885

The following brief sketch of the life of Bishop Lay makes a part of an unpublished history of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Talbot county. It was written during the year 1883-4, before disease had so weakened the distinguished prelate as to incapacitate him for Episcopal or clerical functions, and therefore does not trace his career quite down to the present time when he is hopelessly ill and his death daily expected. The restraint that was imposed by the living presence of the subject of the sketch, it is feared, will not much longer exist. There will not be wanting opportunities in the future for that well-deserved eulogium which even now, while the beloved Bishop is believed to be ill unto death, many faltering tongues and sobbing hearts are uttering with an eloquence that defies all literary art.

The reverend gentleman who has been chosen to the diocesan episcopate, was born in the city of Richmond, Virginia, on the 6th of December, 1823. His father, Mr. John Olmstead Lay, was a merchant in that city, and his mother was Lucy Anna May, one of a large family reared near Petersburg, of the same State. Mr. John Olmstead Lay and his family were members of the Monumental Church during the days of Bishop Moore's rectorship, but Henry was baptized by the Rev. Mr. Hart, of St. John's Church. It was his misfortune to lose the care and nurture of his mother when he was but ten years old, and his father six years later. His early scholastic training was received chiefly at the Richmond academy, an excellent school presided over by Dr. Socrates Maupin. He entered the university of Virginia, September 1st, 1839, before reaching his sixteenth year, and was confirmed by Bishop Meade in Christ church, Charlottesville, on the 8th of December following. He continued at the university three years, and July 4th, 1842, was graduated, receiving the degree of Master of Arts. For two years following he was employed as a teacher in the family of the late General Brodnax, at Kingston, Dinwiddie county, Virginia.

On the 12th of October, 1844, having adopted the ministry of the church as his calling in life, he entered the junior class, pursuing also the studies of the middle class at the theological seminary of Virginia, near Alexandria. The next year he was enabled to enter the senior class and, residing at the high school, he assisted the head-master, the late Rev. Dr. Dalrymple, for many years secretary of the diocese of Maryland. He had at the same time as coadjutor in this school the Right

Reverend Dr. Whittle, now bishop of Virginia. On the 10th of July, 1846, in company with the other graduates of the seminary he was ordained deacon by Bishop Meade in Christ church, Alexandria.

The bishop having assigned him to duty at Lynnhaven parish, near Norfolk, he was employed there until the spring of 1847, when considerations of health (his lungs had been weak from childhood), together with his personal affection for the Right Reverend Dr. Cobbs, induced him to remove to Alabama. He entered upon the duties of rector of the Church of the Nativity, in Huntsville, Alabama, June 10th, 1847, where he remained until his election to the episcopate. The first services at Huntsville were held in the court house until a small brick church could be completed. Before his departure from the parish the present commodious church was consecrated. While in Huntsville, he was on the 12th of July, 1848, ordained priest by Right Reverend Dr. Cobbs. He was twice chosen deputy to the general convention, in 1850 and in 1859. In 1857 he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Hobart College, New York.

While in attendance upon the general convention of 1859, in Richmond, Virginia, he was unexpectedly elected missionary bishop of the south-west, with jurisdiction in Arkansas, the Indian Territory, Arizona and New Mexico. To the office of bishop he was consecrated in St. Paul's church, Richmond, on the 23rd of October, 1859, the consecrators being the Right Reverend Drs. Meade, McIlvaine, Whittingham, De Lancey, Polk, Elliott, Cobbs and Atkinson. Bishop Lay proceeded at once to the field assigned him, and in the summer following, removed with his family to Fort Smith, Arkansas. His election took place in the midst of the John Brown raid, one of the most notable events in the history of the country, and conducive to one of the most momentous in the history of the world; and the smouldering fires of civil strife burst forth, just as Bishop Lay was about to go to New Mexico to establish a mission there. Progress had been made in building up the church in Arkansas, when the war brought all to a standstill.

During the years of strife the Bishop was variously engaged in Arkansas and also in Louisiana, acting for Bishop Polk, who had been made a general in the confederate army, he having received a military education at West Point. At one time Bishop Lay was overtaken by the advance of the federal troops, imprisoned for a time, and then held on parole. When released, at the request of Bishop Elliott, he consented to act as quasi missionary bishop to the army of the Tennessee. In this capacity he went through the siege of Atlanta. Although he held no

commission, General Hood received him at headquarters, and he and the Rev. Dr. Quintard, the most efficient of army chaplains, now bishop of Tennessee, messed with the chief of staff, General Shoup, since a well known clergyman.

When the war ended, at the meeting of the general convention, in October, 1865, at New York, Bishop Atkinson and Bishop Lay presented themselves, and after consultation, resumed their places in the House of Bishops. Of the transactions of this memorable convention with reference to a restoration of the organic integrity of the church, which had been destroyed by the war, an historical sketch is appearing at the date of this writing in the columns of the *Churchman*, prepared by Bishop Lay himself; but those at all familiar with the occurrences must admire the admirable abnegation which has prevented his claiming his just share of the merit of effecting that most important measure, the reunion of the two sections of the divided church. The time, however, will come when neither his own modesty, nor the fear on the part of others of violating a sensibility that shrinks from public praise, shall deprive him of that meed which is justly his due not only from an united church but a united nation.

After returning to Arkansas, Bishop Lay responded to the invitations of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and in company with other American bishops, attended the first Lambeth conference. It is probable that it was during this visit to England that he received those impressions of the value of the cathedral system which have urged him to attempt its introduction into his own diocese, and which, indeed, have affected his views of episcopal administration. After his return, he was called to a new field of labor, and influenced by the consideration that he no longer had the physical strength necessary for the arduous life of a missionary bishop, he accepted the invitation, and on the 1st of April, 1869, he was translated and removed to the diocese of Easton—a diocese then lately erected in Maryland. Over this diocese he still presides, but with what acceptability and efficiency, it must be left to the future biographer to relate. Although of late years his impaired health has diminished his physical ability, it has in no degree abated his zeal to discharge the duties of his office; and it is likely his labors and his life will end together. During his diocesan episcopate his efforts, aside from the general administration of the affairs of the church, have been directed to the revival of the old and extinct parishes of this peninsula and the restoration of the ruinous and deserted churches and chapels, as well as to the organization and building of new; to the securing adequate support for the active

clergy in those places where the church was most feeble; to the making some regular provision for the aged and infirm ministers, and for the widows and orphans of clergymen; and to the introduction of a cathedral system, at the episcopal seat, with its bishop's church under his immediate care, its schools, its charities and body of clerical officers. In the church at large his labors have been abundant, conspicuous and useful. In the general convention the more important matters in which he has been engaged have been before the committees on divorce, on the discipline of the laity; on the lectionary and on the enrichment of the liturgy. He has served for many years as a trustee of the general clergy relief fund, the object of which enlists his warmest interest and sympathy.

Bishop Lay is commonly ranked among the conservative churchmen; in doctrine, condemning alike the revival of the superstitious beliefs of a mediæval church, and the critical rationalizing spirit of the modern christianity; in forms, shunning the extravagancies of the ritualists and the bald plainness of the evangelicals. But he yields to no high churchman in magnifying his office of bishop.

Being characteristically a man of labor in his sacred calling, small opportunity is given him, even if he possess the inclination, for merely contemplative pursuits. But his scholarship, both in the divinities and the humanities, is thought to be respectable. Time can be found for the cultivation of letters only so far as to keep him abreast of the age, and to give efficiency to his work as a chief pastor. Nevertheless he has not been wholly debarred from the pleasure of literary production. Regarded as an eloquent and impressive preacher, his talents in this regard have been in much requisition, and many of his sermons have been printed; among which were those delivered at the consecrations of Bishops Robertson, Lyman and Seymour, and at the death of his much loved friend and relative, Bishop Atkinson. His voluntary publications, so to speak, have been all of a popular character, and are these:

Letters to a Man Bewildered Among Many Councillors,—1 vol. Dana.

Tracts for Missionary Use,—2 vols. Dana.

Studies in the Church,—1 vol. Pott, Ycung & Co.

He has also been a frequent contributor to the *Churchman*, writing especially in behalf of a provision for aged and infirm clergymen and for the widows and orphans of clergymen.

Bishop Lay is a man of family. On the 13th of May, 1847, he married Miss Eliza Withers, daughter of Roger B. and Mary T. Atkinson, of Lunenburg county, Virginia, and a niece of the late Bishop Atkinson,

of North Carolina. He has four children: Henry C. Lay, Jr., a civil engineer; George W. Lay, a candidate for holy orders; Beirne Lay, of the class of '84 at Yale; and a daughter, Louisa Lay.¹ The bishop resides at Easton, in no robust health, in a house of his own, the diocese having hitherto failed to provide one for its chief pastor, though he has been able to press this measure, without incurring any imputation of personal motive.

Bishop Lay, after a lingering illness, died at the Church Home in Baltimore City on Friday, September 17, 1885. His funeral was held the following Monday, September 20, in Easton, attended by the Rt. Rev. Alfred Lee, D.D., Bishop of Delaware and the Rt. Rev. William Paret, D.D., Bishop of Maryland, by several visiting Clergymen from other Dioceses, and by almost all his own Clergy and many persons from adjoining Parishes. The body rested in Trinity Cathedral, thence was taken to Christ Church, where the services were held and interred in Spring Hill Cemetery.

The following minute on the death of Bishop Lay was passed by the Board of Managers of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, 22 Bible House, New York, December 8, 1885.

The Board of Managers desire to record upon their minutes their profound and unaffected sorrow at the removal from his earthly labors and from their Missionary Councils, of the Rt. Reverend Father in God, Henry Champlin Lay, the first Bishop of Easton. They mourn in his departure the loss of one who, in his personal character, as well as in his official position, was truly a successor of the Apostles. Endowed with talents which in any calling would have placed him among the foremost of men, of persuasive eloquence which made him equally happy and effective in addressing the most cultured or the most unlettered audience, of wise judgment, of primitive piety, of saintly abnegation of self, he was truly a Father to his Clergy, a pattern of Godliness, and a bright example to the Church of God. A Missionary Bishop in fact, though not in name, he bravely held aloft the Standard of the Cross and of the Church in one of our feeblest Dioceses, counting it his highest joy to spend and be spent in the cause of Christ. His published writings, full of wise counsels, marked by sound and vigorous thought, instinct with

¹ The memoranda from which this meagre biographical sketch has been compiled were supplied by a member of Bishop Lay's family; but all responsibility for their use rests with the writer exclusively. More might have been said of this gentleman but for the fear of offending a modesty which shrinks from public commendation. Long may that event be deferred which shall give freedom to the pen of eulogy.

a deep spirituality, adorned by a poetic imagination and the grace of a chaste and attractive style, are a benefaction to the Church which will ever be remembered with gratitude. While we cannot but deplore that his voice will no more be heard in our deliberations, that his benignant presence and saintly influence will be missed from our gatherings, we offer our hearty thanks to Almighty God for the good example of His departed servant, together with our earnest prayers that we may be incited to greater diligence in making His way known upon earth; His saving health among all nations.

Signed H. C. POTTER

THOMAS F. DAVIES.

Eulogy upon the Right Reverend Henry C. Lay, by his successor, the Right Reverend William Forbes Adams, in his first address made to the Convention of the Diocese of Easton 1888.

My dear Brethren:

There are certain occasions and points of time, when the mind, as instinctively turns to the past as the eye of the traveller to the receding shore and the faces and forms of the loved ones he is leaving behind him. Today, assembled together for the first time for several years in completed organization, you too doubtless turn your eyes to that past, which, in spite of all the force of our affections, recedes perpetually farther and farther from our view. You cannot but recall the voice and presence of him, chosen of God to be the first Bishop of this young Diocese; and in recalling, deeply feel, it is a grave and shadow of death, which separates now from then. He rises before us today, in image, who was, we confidently believe, in very truth, lifted up on high, to his pre-appointed mansion, in our Father's House, while his eye was yet undimmed, and the force of every intellectual power unabated, and before time had chilled the ardor of his earlier years. The unenlightened reason of mankind stands confounded and amazed beside many of the graves our hands must dig and fill; yea, even to the Christian it seems not enough to know that he has planted hope, and that the grave he leaves behind him is big with immortality. Still persistently the questions come; why was he taken? How can we spare him? and there are no replies. But whom does God need to be leader and guide in His Church on earth? Upon whom does He depend? Surely upon none of us. He teaches this lesson year by year. One after another He takes from our front line. They are the chiefs of the tribes, the chosen of Israel, men from the shoulder upward higher than their brethren. They are the very ones upon whom we have leaned. They were our light and strength and consolation. Their example was our chief stimulus to action, their approval, alas! too nearly our all sufficient reward. In the greater moments of our times that appeared to some portentous of prodigious ills, and to others pregnant of a greater good, we have seemed to see the very Bride Herself, the Church of the Living God, a

dependent upon their calm well balanced powers. But in a moment, even as a dream, when one waketh, they are gone! these "Chariots of Israel and horsemen thereof." It is then, in that wisdom, child of a great sorrow and a greater amazement, that we learn to cast all our life for help upon the alone abiding strength and steadfast might of Him who says: Lo! I am with you Always. You, my dear Brethren, have much to be thankful for. The time indeed of Bishop Lay's labors among you seems short to us, who count otherwise than God, for he reckons not by the cycles of the Sun, by the Divine help and by the coöperation of a faithful band of Clergy and Laity, he put somewhat beyond the region and conditions of experiment this, your adventure of courageous Faith. He laid a strong and solid foundation fairly upon historic lines; not so broad as to be beyond the Holy Scriptures and our venerable Creeds; not yet too narrow as to abridge our liberties and diminish our inheritance. There is not a stone but is blasted from the ancient quarries, not one but is held hard and fast in the embrace of well tempered mortar, upon this foundation his spiritual sons may safely build for all time to come.

This my Dear Brethren, he has left for our instructions, for our profit, and for your pardonable pride, the exemplary touch and finished skill of a master's hand upon all the works he wrought for God and for His Church in your young Diocese. His people loved him; they revere his memory. His works continue to follow him; and may God give to us, who yet remain, the Spirit of Wisdom and of Ghostly Strength, to follow him as he followed Christ.

REV. HENRY MICHAEL MASON, D.D.

On July 1, 1837, the Rev. Henry M. Mason of Salem, New Jersey, accepted a call by the vestry of St. Peters Parish, located in Easton in October, 1837, and was duly installed in the parish over which he presided for over thirty years. This gentleman, whose memory is still green in the minds of many yet living, who reverence his piety and learning, was a native of the Island of Barbados and born November 22, 1801. His father was Mr. Henry Mason, an English sugar planter of that Island, who died in 1807, and his widow and several young children removed to Philadelphia, where his maternal uncle, Mr. Samuel Sharpe, became his guardian, and placed him at school at the University of Pennsylvania, and later he entered the General Theological Seminary at New York. He was admitted to the Diaconate by Bishop White, June 8, 1823, and probably a year later he was raised to the Priesthood. For over thirty years, with a zeal that never cooled, and a fidelity that never faltered, he performed the humble duties of a priest of a rural parish—the life of the parish was his life. He became thoroughly identi-

fied with it. The event which most conspicuously marks his career was the erection of the massive stone edifice, Christ Church, and the stone rectory adjacent thereto, which stand as a testimonial of his unselfish devotion, and a monument to his revered memory. He represented the Diocese of Maryland in the General convention continuously from 1841 up to the time of his sudden death, which occurred April 25, 1868.

Bishop Whittingham said of him:

He was respected throughout the whole Church as one of her most soundly learned theologians; as a scholar he had few equals. As a thoroughly balanced Anglican Divine hardly any; as a faithful pastor, a charitable and large hearted Christian gentleman, he presented through his long rectorship of more than thirty years, a steadily consistent example to his flock, which may well deplore its bereavement with no common grief.

THOMAS BEASTON

"His *faith*, in some nice tenets might be wrong:
His *life*, I'm sure, was in the right."

ABRAHAM COWLEY.

1806-1875.

On the morning of the twelfth of the month of October, 1875, the life went quietly out of a man who, though holding no conspicuous place, was in this community widely and only favorably known, and who, though occupying an humble station in the world's regard, was possessed of qualities of such exceptional excellence that they would have adorned the highest. Reference is made to THOMAS BEASTON, the latter, who followed his calling for forty years in the town of Easton, and who lived all this time without merited shame and without just reproach, even in the midst of those from whom he differed upon subjects concerning which most of men are the least tolerant.

He was born in Dorchester county in February, 1806, and was therefore in his seventieth year at the time of his demise. He had, during all these years the usual allotment of joy, and sorrow, and though at times inclined to believe his share of pain, mental and physical, was greater than that of most others, upon a review of all the time he had spent upon the earth, he was wont to declare, in his last days, that upon the whole with him happiness had predominated; that after all abatements had been made for the suffering he had endured, his life had been worth living; and that the philosophy which takes a pessimistic view of the present order of things, and which he at one time felt inclined to

adopt, is false and malign. His parents were poor and plain people. Better than any patrimony they transmitted to him the best elements of their own characters. From a pious mother he derived his religious susceptibilities; from a strong-minded father he inherited his intellectual vigor and acuteness; from both his self-respect, his independence, his integrity and his purity. In his earliest years he was subjected to the stern discipline of privation and labor, which instituted in him habits of economy and industry. These were confirmed during an apprenticeship to the craft of hatting, and were not lost during a long life spent in the pursuit of his adopted calling. After the termination of the time of his indentures, he followed his trade assiduously, wandering, as was the custom with journeymen hatters in those days, from place to place. The opportunity thus offered for seeing the world, for observing men and things, was not lost upon a mind so alert and so impressible as his. What to others was but a kind of vagabondage, was to him a school of experience, and a means of instruction. This "tramping" of this young journeyman hatter was to him what foreign and domestic travel is to the young student, just from college, before he settles himself down to his profession. In the year 1829 Thomas Beaston became a resident of Easton, in this county, where he married in 1830, and where he remained until his death. He continued to follow the mechanical part of his trade until, by reason of the monopolies of the large factories, it ceased to be remunerative. He was then constrained to adopt the mercantile part—selling the work of others. He was enabled through life to earn a decent and modest subsistence, and when the end came, to leave a comfortable support for his aged companion. Of him it can be said with truth, that when he wrought with his hands, he worked his conscience in with his wares, and that when he engaged in trade he never parted with his integrity when he sold his goods.

As the son of poor people living in a remote and secluded part of the country, and born before the benefits of free public instruction had been brought to every man's door, Thomas Beaston received but small instruction in letters. A few months of schooling during the intermission to labor afforded by winter, was all the tuition he ever obtained from teachers. Whatever progress in learning he subsequently made was through his own unaided efforts. His father, from evidences still existing, considering his station in life, and the opportunities for gratifying his inclinations, seems to have been a man of singular inquisitiveness and thirst for knowledge. In all likelihood he possessed a corresponding aptitude for its acquisition. His intellectual traits he transmitted

with increased distinctness, to his son, who ever manifested the greatest eagerness in intellectual pursuits, and no inconsiderable power in assimilating what he derived from extrinsic sources. The few books that were within his reach were read with avidity, and when in after life he was able to make choice of what he should read it was noticeable that his books were always of that solid and sterling value which is duly estimated by minds of a higher order only. Very early his mind was directed towards theology—first to theology as a divine rule of practice, then to theology as a system of dogma, and later to theology as a branch of philosophy, but never to theology as a profession. Being thoroughly imbued with the spirit of rationalism, yet in his very nature intensely pietistic, in the conflict, hereafter to be noticed, which took place within his own breast between the suggestions of his reason, and the inspirations of his faith, his mind at one time became beclouded, and he sank into a condition of religious despair, and intellectual indifference. From this condition of gloom however he emerged, and found himself occupying higher ground, and breathing a purer atmosphere. Theology and philosophy continued to be his delight. Warburton's *Divine Legation* and Lock's *Essay upon the Understanding* and books of like calibre were his reading. The poor hatter even tackled Cudworth and Hobbes, probably with little satisfaction to himself, on account of his lack of previous culture and training. In subsequent years the works of Dr. Channing, Martineau, and other liberals were his delight. In his last days he strove to master the new systems of philosophy taught by Comte and Herbert Spencer. Of these he was candid enough to say there was much that he did not understand, and of that which he was able to comprehend, he was bold enough to presume to be the critic. He was exceedingly fond of disputation upon philosophical questions, and upon fundamental theology. In argument he was ready, and astute. He was always formidable, and was seldom beaten by his antagonist. His fondness for discussion often led him to adopt the side opposed to his convictions, for the sake of testing his own and his opponent's powers and skill, in logical fence. His greatest delight was to meet in a conflict of words with the ministers of the churches, whose orthodoxy he was too pleased to shock with the discharges of his rationalistic, and humanitarian batteries. Of science he knew but little, and could hardly be interested in any branch of it, except Astronomy. Here the vastness of the spaces, the immensities of the distances, the enormousness of the masses, the prodigious lengths of the cycles of time, the inconceivableness of the numbers, the grandeur of the forces, of which this science

takes cognizance, appealed directly to his imagination and directly to his feelings of reverence. The starry heavens were to him the roof of a temple, in which he stood an awful worshiper. The character of his mind was essentially metaphysical. He loved to speculate upon that which he conceived to lie beneath and behind the obvious and tangible. The limitations of solid fact were always an embarrassment to him in his intellectual excursions. He loved to expatiate, without the restrictions of the senses, and the restraints of experience. Here was the vice of his mental character, but it was a vice handed down to him from a previous generation. Like most uneducated men he was deluded by words. He was essentially a realist, according to the schoolmen, believing, or arguing as if he believed, that behind the abstract terms he employed there existed an actual something, not cognizable by the perceptions, but by the understanding only. He loved to make nice distinctions, and to discover minute differences in the meaning of the words used in debate. He would argue with an adversary for an hour to discover in the end that there was only a difference in the meaning of the terms used by each. The importance he attached to words was doubtless owing to an early reverence for the phraseology of the sacred canon, and to the listening to the disputations and verbal criticisms of shallow theologians—to these causes taken in connection with his want of scholastic training, a want which was a source of ever recurring regret. He was a man of singular independence and firmness. He formed his opinions with deliberation, and maintained them with steadiness. That they were contrary to the current beliefs, was rather an argument for their retention, than a reason for their rejection. He always misdoubted what was commonly received. He thought the truth lay most frequently with the minority. Opposition confirmed instead of shaking him. This antagonism to popular opinions in two particulars, exposed him to opprobrium and injury. For his independence of thought upon religious matters, he incurred the name of deist or infidel, with all which that implies. For his similar independence of thought in politics, at the breaking out of the war of the rebellion, he was subjected to the loss of friends and the impairment of his business interests by the desertion of old customers. To his honor be it spoken that, though a lifelong Democrat, he was loyal to his country in her time of trial, and that he never concealed his sentiments even when silence would have been politic, nor wavered in his fidelity when recreance to principle would have met with its reward in immunity from proscription and in enhancement of his gains.

Justum et tenacem propositi virum
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni
Mente quatit solida, neque Auster.

Deprived in his tender years of the care of his excellent mother, he was subjected, through the absorption of his father in the cares of providing for his family, to the debasing association with the ignorant and superstitious negroes upon the farm. From these people, he has often asserted, he derived his earliest religious impressions, and his first religious instruction, if that can be called instruction which was so misleading, and so injurious. A mind pre-occupied by degrading conceptions of the Deity, and filled with fearful apprehensions of the influence of His antagonist, was not prepared to receive the better instructions of the Methodist preachers—the only ministers that visited the neighborhood, and the father's house. It was only prepared to listen to the fiery denunciations and terrible warnings of the over zealous, and least discreet of these good and earnest men. Under the preaching of these early ministers a mind already too susceptible to religious impressions, already unhealthily devout and morbidly inquisitive about divine things, became inflamed; and their religion, as he had learned it, instead of being a soothing and consoling influence, became the irritating and afflicting agent. Fancying himself the subject of the wrath of a terrible and vengeful Deity, that admitted of no pacification—or in other words, believing that he had committed the “unpardonable sin,” though unconscious of what that sin was—he fell into a state of profound gloom and despair. In this condition he continued for many years, during which time he suffered every mental torment. However, as his years increased the native strength of his mind began to manifest itself. The reaction was corroborated by the reading of some of the best books in theological literature. From his gloom he at last emerged into the light of religious liberty. He found that he had been emancipated from many of his superstitions, and that he was able to think for himself upon matters which he had thought belonged to the province of a peculiar class. From believing, as he did at one time, that he with a large part of mankind would be irrevocably lost, he came to believe that a kind Father *would* consign none of his children to perdition, and a beneficent Maker *could* not inflict everlasting misery upon any creature of His hand. His views of the Divine character underwent a total change. Instead of worshipping with fear and trembling a vengeful God, he bowed with affectionate adoration before a benevolent parent. And with this change

came a broadening and softening of his human sympathies. The good he no longer looked upon with jealousy or envy, as the favored from on high; the bad he no longer regarded as criminal outcasts—the destined victims of divine wrath: but in both good and bad men he saw brothers inheriting, each, a share of life's common joys and sorrows, and joint heirs of a happy heritage hereafter. Here it may be mentioned that high as was his standard of morality, there was no one more lenient in his judgments of men. When he saw or heard of any one doing wrong, his first impulse, after his condemnation of the offence, was to find extenuating circumstances for the offender. It was always either ignorance, poverty, bad surroundings, false education, inherited propensities or something of the kind which was offered in palliation. It is true after the change referred to above, he rejected much that is taught as religion, and accepted some things that are thought to be heretical, or worse; but to the fundamental doctrines, of the existence of a God, and of the immortality of the soul, he clung with a tenacity which no sceptical arguments—and he impartially weighed them all, as far as he was able—could loosen. He had his moments of doubt, but as a philosophic poet has said:

Who never doubted, never half believed,
Where doubt, there truth is—'tis her shadow.

And again, another singer, the greatest of our time, has sung:

There lives more faith in honest doubt,
Believe me, than in half the creeds.

Thomas Beaton had his doubts, but they were better than the thoughtless credulity of half christendom. He had ceased long before his death to take his faith already made, as he took the wares he sold, from some great factory. He was not of those who are willing "to purchase intellectual peace at the price of intellectual death." He was constantly questioning and enquiring with whatsoever ability he possessed, and with whatsoever light he could procure, into the very foundations of his religion. Few of his degree and opportunities of culture saw so clearly as he the limitations of human knowledge in those matters that are called spiritual and that transcend perception—those that lie "across the boundary of experimental evidence;" and when overcome with "the burden and the mystery of all this unintelligible world," he would fall back upon his "*intuitions*" of God and of a life to come, as he was accustomed to designate what others called *faith*. He in those mo-

ments of doubt, uncertainty and conscious weakness would often repeat these lines, seeming to derive strength and consolation from them:

We have but faith, we cannot know,
For knowledge is of things we see:
And yet we trust it comes from Thee,
A beam in darkness: let it grow.

He contemplated death with composure, and he died if not with a "full assurance," at least with a most "lively hope" of immortality beyond the grave.

Of his moral character aside from his religious—for they are not always coincident—it may be said that he was scrupulously honest. His integrity was above reproach. He was just and fair in all his dealings. He did not possess this common honesty only, which showed itself in his daily transactions with men: he was honest in the formation, in the retention, and in the advocacy of his opinions. He scorned pretension, hypocrisy, and evasion. He was a man who above all things revered the truth. Without any thing like effeminacy or prudishness, he was remarkable for his purity. He was as chaste as a woman, and as decorous. For moral filth he had a loathing, as for physical, and he instinctively shunned the unclean in thought, word and action. The possession of such whiteness by one who in youth and early manhood had been exposed to all the soiling influences that surround those reared in poverty, and in contact with debasing associates, indicates remarkable moral deterrentness of character. He was strong but undemonstrative in his attachments: he was persistent but never bitter in his dislikes. He was most happy in his marriage relations, though it was ever a source of regret that he had never been blessed with children, around whom his affections might cluster, and who might hold him in recollection when he was forgotten by all others.

This imperfect but sincere tribute to the memory of a worthy man is paid by one who held him in high esteem and valued his friendship: Farewell Thomas Beaston!

Now, thou and I have shaken hands,
Till growing winters lay me low;
My paths are in the fields I know,
But thine in undiscovered lands.

HON. RICHARD CARMICHAEL HOLLYDAY

1810-1885

This estimable gentleman was born at "Ratcliffe," near Easton, Talbot county, Maryland, on the 1st of October, 1810, and died on the 18th of January, 1885.

He was the son of the late Hon. Henry Hollyday, of "Ratcliffe," and of Mrs. Ann Hollyday, the daughter of Richard Carmichael from whom he took his christian name. On his father's side he was related to the Hollydays of Virginia, with whom, though the names were differently spelled, he took pleasure in tracing a common lineage.

He was as a child robust and manly, and fond of the sports and employments of boyhood. But his early training was cared for by his father with a view to professional life. While his acquisitions were not very rapid, they were made through diligence and close application, and all he learned was held in the grasp of an accurate and tenacious memory.

At an early period, by the death of an elder brother, he became the eldest son of the family. His school days were passed at the Easton Academy, where under the training of good classical teachers, Robert White Thompson and John A. Getty, he learned Latin and Greek and mathematics, and acquired a taste for the classics which continued through life.

At the age of seventeen years he entered Princeton College, where he graduated in 1829, and thence returned home with the purpose to study law. Before doing so he wisely devoted a year or two to the study of history and other literature, of which he was always afterwards very fond, and in the knowledge of which he was well and accurately versed. His taste for poetry was decided, and he gave evidence of it in some fugitive pieces of his own, which attested his devotion to the muses.

He entered the law office of Mr. John Leeds Kerr in Easton, where he studied for two years; and was then admitted to the Bar in 1833 at that place.

He first went to Cumberland, Maryland, for a short time, but soon removed to Elkton, in Cecil county, where he resided until the death of his father in 1852, when he returned to the patrimonial estate, the beautiful home of his boyhood, "Ratcliffe," which he inherited with all of its noble traditions and hallowed family associations. To this home of his heart he was devoted with the most tender affection; and he lived there until his death.

In November, 1858, he married Miss Marietta F. Powell, the daughter

of Col. Humphrey B. Powell, of Loudoun county, Virginia, with whom he lived in happiness for twenty-six years, and by whom he had three children, of whom two survive, a son and a daughter, having lost one daughter of tender years.

During his residence in Cecil county Mr. Hollyday practiced his profession with industry and success. He was twice elected by the people of Cecil to the House of Delegates of Maryland, and held the office of clerk of the county court under the appointment of Gov. P. Frank Thomas, and for the year 1848 that of Secretary of State. He made many and fast friends in his adopted county, of whom he always spoke in terms of strong and warm affection.

After his return to Talbot county, Mr. Hollyday devoted himself to farming, and to the fiduciary duties of administration in estates of decedents, for which he was most admirably fitted, by his strict business habits, his practical wisdom, his unbending integrity, and his genuine fidelity to every trust private and public.

He was a business lawyer, rather than an advocate—and won success in his profession, as in all other employments, by the solid judgment and high honor which he brought to all his duties, rather than by brilliancy as an advocate or profound learning as a jurist.

So high was his reputation in the state for business capacity, for executive duty, and for unflinching integrity, that he was called to the honorable office of Secretary of State by six Governors, namely:—Hon. P. F. Thomas, Hon. Oden Bowie, Hon. Wm. Pinkney Whyte, Hon. James B. Groome, Hon. John Lee Carroll and Hon. Robert M. McLane. During his long service in this office it is not too much to say, that no man ever adorned it with more exemplary fidelity, or by more ability in the discharge of its varied and responsible duties.

In May, 1884, his health began to fail, and he resigned the office he had filled for so many years, crowned with the respect, esteem and admiration of the people of his native state.

The career of Mr. Hollyday was most honorable and useful to the people, whose confidence he won and held throughout a long public service by his sound sense, his excellent judgment, his solid information, his courteous manners, his exalted character, and his sterling honesty and purity of life.

Mr. Hollyday was possessed of a mind more solid than brilliant. His strong moral sense of right had its counterpart in that common sense, which by intuition rather than by logic, reached right and just conclusions upon the problems of private life and of public affairs. His infor-

mation was varied; and while he was not a man of learning in the technical sense, he was possessed of a fund of knowledge, which in the practical business of his life, private, professional and official, gave him weight and confidence among all associated with him. In the history, traditions and memories of men and events in the State of Maryland, he was minutely and accurately informed—perhaps no man of his times more so. His memory was very tenacious, and his statements of facts always accurate and reliable. He sought to be useful to others in public office, and not to acquire gain or reputation for himself. "Act well your part—there all the honor lies," was the maxim of his official life.

In political sentiment, he was a genuine state's rights Democrat. Adhering to the school of Jefferson, he rejoiced in the late triumph of his party in the country, and hoped it was the signal of a return to an economical and pure administration of public affairs.

His opinions on all subjects were formed with care, after cautious investigation, and from accurate and precise data. He had no imagination to run away with his judgment, and no prejudices which barred his mind against candid consideration. When his opinions were thus formed, they became solid convictions, which took hold of conscience, and made them parts of his strong and sincere nature. These convictions were too deeply rooted to be readily changed—and though gentle and kindly in defending them, he was courageous and stout in their maintenance. Vacillation and change were foreign to his character, after his judgment had made its decision.

And so with his friendships. "The friends he had and their adoption tried, he grappled them to his soul with hooks of steel." They were based on his personal esteem, and on that bedrock they rested immovably.

He was eminently frank and sincere in his intercourse; just and righteous in his transactions; true and genuine in his affections; earnest and fixed in his purposes; and, withal, a gentle, kind, cautious and affable gentleman.

His habits were temperate and systematic. He was industrious and painstaking in the performance of duty, and never let social pleasure invade the domain of personal or official obligations.

In his domestic relations he was a model for all men. Tender, loving and chivalrous to his wife, he acted rather than spoke his strong and unwavering devotion. To his children he gave careful attention to train them rightly, while indulgent to all their proper desires. To his friends he was true and consistent. In his home, the seat of a beautiful

hospitality, he was generous and kind to family and guests, in such manner as can never be forgotten. Without pretension his manners had a simple and gentle sincerity, which assured a cordial welcome to all.

Upon his noble nature was engrafted for many years past the graces and the virtues of a Christian life. Without cant or profession, he practiced the precepts of the Christian system, and in simple phrase expressed in his last days, as he had for many years, his sincere faith in Jesus Christ as his Savior, and the Redeemer of the World.

In the peace of God, and in charity with all men, at the sunset of the day of holy rest, this excellent and Christian gentleman entered without a murmur upon the eternal rest which remains for the people of God. After a useful and honored life, he left the world where he had entered it, near the home he had loved from his childhood to old age, and this good man of "Ratcliffe" passed to his reward from the place of his birth, his life and his death!

Alike his birth and burial place!
His cradle and his grave!

JAMES LLOYD MARTIN

1815-1872

Mr. Martin was of highly respectable parentage, being the son of Mr. Edward Martin, of Island Creek Neck, and nephew of Gov. Daniel Martin. He was born upon a farm now owned by Alexander H. Barnett, Esq., adjoining that of Mr. John W. Martin, on the 11th day of February, 1815. He received his primary education in the neighborhood country school, and whatever of higher instruction he possessed, he obtained in the Easton Academy and from private tutors. At a proper age he was placed in the law office of the Hon. Theodore R. Loockerman, of this town, and after due preparation (although nature seems to have qualified him for his profession, for of him it was said, he was born a lawyer) he was admitted to the bar of Talbot county, May 15th, 1837, upon a certificate from Dorchester county court. He at once exhibited evidences of those abilities which made him subsequently so conspicuous and so successful. In October of the year 1840, he was nominated for the General Assembly of the State, competed successfully with one of the most able and popular gentlemen of the county, and was elected by a small majority to the House of Delegates. In

the celebrated political campaign of 1844, in which Mr. Clay and Mr. Polk were the contestants, he was nominated the Presidential Elector from this District, but as the State in November of that year cast its vote for Mr. Clay, Mr. Martin failed to obtain a seat in the electoral college. He was one of the Breckinridge and Lane Electors in 1860. The Whigs being strongly predominant in this, the 6th, Congressional District, the Democrats, in the year 1845, declined making any regular nomination for Congress, in opposition to Mr. Edward Long, of Somerset. At the intercession of his friends, just before the election came on, Mr. Martin offered himself as an independent candidate. He was enabled to canvass but two or three of the counties composing the district. Although the Whig majority in the district was 1500, he was defeated by only about 150, and would have been elected by a handsome majority had not Mr. Fossett, on the eve of the election, put out a Democratic candidate for Sheriff in Worcester county, which broke up Mr. Martin's combinations. If he had not success, he showed himself worthy of it, by the ability and courage he displayed in the campaign.

Having been appointed Deputy Attorney General of the State for Talbot county, he qualified, by taking the oath of office, May 20th, 1851; but in the same year, by the adoption by the people of the new constitution, that office was abolished, and for it was substituted that of the State's Attorney, which was made elective. Mr. Martin was chosen State's Attorney for Talbot county at the November election, and qualified December 24, 1851, thus being the first person to hold that place under the reformed constitution. After serving the prescribed term of four years, he was again elected in 1855, and qualified February 20, 1856. At the end of four years, he declined further election, and never afterwards took office of any kind. His career in the State's Attorneyship was marked by great and conspicuous ability, never surpassed in the courts of this county, if in those of any other in the State.

It is difficult or impossible to give a proper appreciation, in the space of a short article, of the character of Mr. Martin as a lawyer, a politician, and a private citizen, and want of space must be a partial, and want of ability a full, apology, for the inadequacy of the following sketch of a remarkable man:

As a lawyer, he long ranked among the first at the bar of this Shore. His mind was singularly acute and penetrating. His memory was marvelously retentive, and his power of concentrated and continuous attention equally surprising. He seemed to forget nothing, and never to weary. Without pretending to great legal erudition, such was his

great aptitude in apprehending the principles of law, and such the tenacity and accuracy of his recollection of the details of practice, and familiarity with the decisions of the higher courts, that he was never found at fault, even in fields where learning herself was lost. He was not an extensive reader of the literature of the law, but he was a close observer of the proceedings of the courts, and the practice of the best lawyers, so that what others acquired by the drudgery of study, he gained by the more facile method of observation. In the management of his cases he was peculiarly ingenious, and won his causes rather by the manner of placing them before the jury, than by any brilliancy of rhetoric. He was able to present his case to the jury in such a way that it either reflected those phases he wished should alone be seen, or in such a way that it so confused and blinded the vision of those appointed to try the case as to incapacitate them from seeing any thing favorable in the opposite side. He was full of expedients, and if ever baffled for an instant, he was rarely without resources to extricate himself and client from what would be by others deemed desperate emergencies. None was more apt to discover a flaw, a defect, a weakness in an adversary's position, and none readier to take advantage of it: on the other hand, none was more dexterous in covering or concealing the infirmities of his own cause, or more skillful in remedying them when revealed. No opponent of his could safely presume upon an ignorance, remissness, or inaccuracy upon his part, for it may be said he was incapable of either; and no opponent could be guilty of these faults without having them certainly detected, and used for his discomfiture. As a criminal lawyer his abilities were most conspicuous, and it is difficult to determine whether he was more skillful in prosecution or defence; but his reputation in civil business was such as any legal gentleman might envy. Much of his success could easily be traced to his manner of examining witnesses, whom he converted into so many advocates of his cause. His examinations sometimes were regarded as harsh, but this severity had some apology or extenuation in the extreme devotion which he always manifested to the interests of his clients. After a trial was over, no one was more ready to make amends to the unfortunate person who had been exposed to the battery of his cross-examinations, and none more capable of soothing the lacerated sensibilities of one whom he had just been irritating upon the witness stand. His knowledge of human nature was profound and extensive.

His practice was very large, and towards the end of his career, there was scarcely any important case in which he was not employed upon

one side or the other. He had acquired such prominence that it was necessary for him to be retained in almost every action at law. One of his most marked characteristics as an attorney was his untiring and sleepless devotion to the interests of his client. He entered into the most insignificant case apparently with the same ardor and preparedness as into one involving life, liberty or fortune, and the poor man's suit, undertaken without the prospect of a fee, equally with the rich man's, that had been prefaced by a large retainer, received his best attention; for he always thought it as well worth his while to gain a friend or adherent, as to get his pay. As an advocate he was ready, fluent, full of resources and immensely ingenious. In verbal fence, he was equally prepared to give the thrust to his adversary, and to parry his blow. He was a master of satire, which he used effectively, especially where argument failed. There was hardly a subject or person that he could not, and would not upon occasion, make ridiculous, if his case required it. His wit and drollery were inexhaustible, so that he often won with his laugh, what he would have lost by his logic. In short, as a lawyer, he could counsel wisely, guard vigilantly and defend ably.

As a politician, Mr. Martin was a consistent and persistent Democrat. He may be said to have inherited his political principles from his father, but he defended them with all the earnestness of conviction. No man better understood or more sincerely believed in the principles of Jeffersonian democracy and a strict construction of the Federal constitution. He adhered to his party with a fidelity which is in itself admirable, and if this fidelity sometimes led him to acquiesce in what his judgment disapproved, it was only the fate of every strict party man. He was never a seeker of office, but rather seemed to contemn the honors and emoluments of station. Though always a laborious and earnest partisan, and a sagacious leader, indefatigable in his efforts to place his political friends in those positions which they coveted, but which he disdained, he preferred to exercise the immense power and influence which he wielded in this community, to any of the dignities or rewards of political service. One source of this great influence was his large clientelage, he having attached to him by valuable service a body of clients, more numerous than was ever possessed by any other attorney in this county. Another source of this influence was his popularity with the people, gained by affable and condescending manners, and a thorough sympathy with them in their common feelings and pursuits. And finally this influence might be traced not more to a comprehension of the wants of the people, as to a happy facility he had in causing them to believe

that what he most desired was exactly what they in reality wished, and thus while seeming to follow popular sentiment, he was in reality guiding, or even creating it. Even when his party had been distracted by factions, he had been able to silence discontent by his great personal weight and acknowledged powers, or he had been able to compromise differences and assuage bitterness, so as to bring about union where disintegration seemed inevitable.

As a private citizen, Mr. Martin possessed many fine traits of character. He was hospitable, obliging, generous and charitable. He lived liberally, and seemed always glad to have his friends participate with him in all he had that was enjoyable. He was eminently social in his habits, loving a free and unrestrained intercourse with his fellow men. Though somewhat regardless of conventionalities, he was nevertheless appreciative of those becoming forms and customs that characterize the polite. In his conversation he abounded with humor and anecdote. His wonderful memory was filled with stories of men of his time, which he told in a style peculiarly characteristic. He was always ready to perform a kindness, as many can testify beside those who had a claim on his favor. Those who enjoyed his intimacy know how often and grossly his kind and obliging disposition was abused. In his charities he was constant and unostentatious. He made no merit of these, but regarded them only as a part of his daily life, to be no more thought of after their performance. He was a warm friend, and while enmity lasted, a formidable enemy; yet he was placable, and after reconciliation, harbored no hatred. He made no open pretensions to a religious profession, but the subject of religion engrossed his mind much during his leisure, and was one of his most interesting topics of conversation with intimate friends. The hypocritical he despised, but no one had a greater reverence for true piety and religious things, and no one had stronger convictions of the truths of Christianity.

In fine, it may be said that Mr. Martin was a man of strongly marked features of character. He took no care to conceal his faults, which were often the first traits to be noticed. His virtues were greater than his faults, but less prominent, and discoverable only after a closer study of the qualities of his mind and heart. He did not possess the softness and gentleness that render men at once amiable to us, often at the expense of our respect, but rather he possessed that roughness and bluntness which at first repels, but afterward wins upon our regard. If he was a man to make some enemies, he was also one to make more friends. Now that he is gone, those who disliked him, if such there be, will remem-

ber the causes of their enmity, as far as they lay in him, as the eccentricities of a sturdy character, and those who loved him, of whom there are many, will cherish the memory of his virtues as a rich legacy of friendship: while all, friends and enemies, will preserve recollections of him, to be transmitted by them to their posterity as interesting traditions of one of the most remarkable, valuable and influential men this county has produced.

GOVERNOR SAMUEL STEVENS

1778-1860

The early American ancestors of Governor Stevens were Quakers, and were among the first white settlers in Dorchester County. The first of the name to whom a tract of land was granted on the great Choptank river, a few miles below Cambridge, adjoining Horn's Point, was William Stevens, who, with Magdalen, his wife, lies buried in the family graveyard on this old homestead, where their tombs may yet be seen.

His son William Stevens, Jr., crossed over the Choptank river and settled in Talbot County, on Dividing Creek, almost directly opposite his father's estate in Dorchester County. By his will, probated April 7, 1701, he devised to his son, Samuel, his dwelling plantation, Compton, and Edmondson's Lower Cove.

From Samuel, the Compton estate descended to his son John, and from him to his grandson Samuel, Jr., the subject of this memoir. He did not enjoy the advantages of a liberal education, his father, John Stevens, who was a large landowner, having died when Samuel, Jr., was a youth, had left him a large estate in Trappe District, which included his homestead Compton. His uncle, who became his guardian, and had the management of his landed estates, brought him up with the idea that farming was the proper avocation of a Maryland gentleman, he consequently discouraged him from studying for any of the learned professions. Although lacking a collegiate education, he, however, acquired a fairly good knowledge of Mathematics, History and the British Classics, at the school of the Reverend John Bowie, an Episcopal minister, who was for some time rector of Saint Peter's Parish. After leaving this school, he was engaged in business in Philadelphia until he attained his majority, when he returned to Talbot, and settled on his family homestead where he continued to live for the remainder of his long life of over four score years.

He married Miss Eliza May of Chester, Pa., who died many years before him.

In politics, for which he early developed an especial fondness, he was always an ardent democrat. He invariably characterized those who entertained political principals adverse to his own, as "damned federalists," and persisted in doing so to the end of his long life, and for many years after the Federal party had ceased to exist, and had been superseded by the Whig party. He was repeatedly elected a delegate to the Maryland Legislature, serving in the sessions of 1809, 1811, 1813, 1817, 1819 and 1820. He took an active part in the political campaign against the Federalist governor, Charles Goldsborough, of Dorchester, in 1818, who was defeated by Samuel Sprigg, the democratic candidate. This enabled Mr. Stevens to secure the governorship of Maryland in 1822, the term then being for but one year. He was again re-elected, in 1823, and for the third time, in 1824. Having served for three consecutive years, the full extent of the term as then limited by the state constitution, he retired to the peaceful pursuits of agriculture, and was never again a candidate for any public office.

He was the 18th Governor of Maryland, and one of the four governors that Talbot County has, thus far, furnished the state; the other three being Edward Lloyd, the 13th, Daniel Martin, the 20th and Philip Francis Thomas, the 28th Governor of Maryland.

Born in 1778, in the very midst of the American Revolution, he was of course too young to remember any of the exciting incidents of those stirring times. During the war of 1812, he was serving his state as a law maker. Dying, as he did, on the very eve of our unhappy civil war, he was fortunate in escaping participation in any of the three American wars. His administration as Governor was not an especially eventful one. There were no momentous matters requiring legislation. The enfranchisement of the Jews by the Maryland Legislature was one of the most notable acts of legislation during his term of office. Another commendable act, to which he gave his assent as governor, was one extending "to all citizens of Maryland the same civil rights and religious privileges that were enjoyed under the Constitution of the United States." It enacted that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the State of Maryland." It altered the oath of members of the Legislature, and of other public officers, allowing them to either swear or affirm, thereby admitting those belonging to the Society of Friends or Quakers to the privilege of holding either an elective or appointive office, a right which had long been unjustly denied them. The greatest event in the history of Maryland that occurred during Governor Stevens' admin-

istration, was the visit to Baltimore of that great hero of the American Revolution, General LaFayette. The grandest civic and military parade that Baltimore city had ever turned out, marched to Fort McHenry on the 25th of August, 1824, to greet LaFayette, where, in front of a tent that had been Washington's headquarters during the Revolution, Governor Stevens welcomed him as the guest of the State of Maryland.

Governor Stevens was for many years an active and useful member of the Board of Agriculture for the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and for several years its President. In the book of the proceedings of this Board and in the minutes of a meeting at Locust Grove in Bailey's Neck the residence of Mr. Thomas T. Hayward on August 31, 1843, the following interesting item is recorded:

Governor Stevens appeared this day in a coat and vest which he wore in 1808, and in pantaloons which were twelve years old. But for the great heat of the day he would have ridden his mare, which is 28 years old, and has never been struck with a whip or spur, under the saddle or in the harness, and is still a good animal, so much for taking care of animals and things. The mare was got by Oscar.

It was upon the back of this faithful steed, which he called "Pin-wire," just nineteen years before the above date, that our truly rural governor had ridden from his Talbot country-seat, Compton, all the way around the head of the Chesapeake bay to Baltimore, to welcome LaFayette. The coat referred to was a swallow-tailed blue jeans, homespun coat, with brass buttons, that he had worn on this famous ride, and in which he had received the marquis, who was dressed in his full regimentals, covered with gold lace and foreign orders. The governor boasted, in his old age, that he had never worn any other than homespun clothing in his whole life.

In religion he was an Episcopalian, and was a regular attendant upon the Sunday services at old White Marsh Church, to which he always came on horseback at all seasons, while the other members of his family came in his coach.

He died in 1860, in his 82nd year. He had but one child, a son, Edwin John Stevens, who married Miss Sarah Hooper Eccleston, of Cambridge, and who died in early manhood, leaving two sons, Samuel, of Cambridge, and Edward John, of Baltimore, and two daughters, both of whom are deceased; the older, Eliza May, died unmarried, the younger, Sarah Eccleston, was the 1st wife of Commander Thomas C. B. Howard of the State Fishery Force, and left one son, Edward J. Howard of Cambridge, Md.

GENERAL TENCH TILGHMAN

1810-1874

In almost every community it is the fate of a few leading citizens to be pioneers in the development of the many latent resources of their own immediate section of country; to be foremost in all public enterprises; to devote all their energies toward the social betterment of their fellow men to the neglect of their own private interests, and to enrich the general public while they impoverish themselves. Talbot county furnished a citizen of this type in General Tench Tilghman.

He was born at "Plimhimmon," an estate of seven hundred acres in Oxford Neck, Talbot County, on March 25, 1810. He was the only son of Tench Tilghman of "Hope," grandson of Colonel Tench Tilghman, Washington's confidential aid-de-camp and private secretary, and great-grandson of Hon. Matthew Tilghman, of Rich Neck Manor, the Patriarch of the Maryland Colony.

He had the advantages of a liberal education, having graduated from Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa., at the age of seventeen, and four years later, in 1832, from the U. S. Military Academy, West Point, N. Y.

Upon receiving his commission as a lieutenant in the regular army, he was stationed, for a short time, at Fort Severn, an army post at Annapolis, Md., whereon the U. S. Naval Academy was later located. He joined the expedition under Gen. Winfield Scott against Black Hawk, Chief of the Sac and Fox tribes of Indians that were then warring against the white settlers near Rock Island, Ill. Black Hawk surrendered before General Scott's command reached Rock Island. Cholera having broken out among General Scott's troops stationed at Fort Dearborn, upon the site of which the city of Chicago now stands, his command was recalled, when Lieutenant Tilghman resigned his commission in the army, and devoted himself to agriculture, in which he was an enthusiast.

General Tilghman was an active member of the Board of Agriculture of the Eastern Shore of Maryland, an organization that has enjoyed a continuous existence since the year 1818. He was the first farmer in Talbot to test every new agricultural implement and the first to use Peruvian guano on wheat. He purchased the first reaping machine ever used in the State of Maryland, with which he harvested, in the summer of 1836, his entire crop of wheat, oats and barley.

The "Report of the Board of Trustees of the Maryland Agricultural Society" for the Eastern Shore, on the successful trial of this first Hussey Reaping Machine for harvesting small grain, forms a most

interesting chapter, not only on the history of agriculture in Talbot County, but in the whole State of Maryland. It is as follows:

REPORT of the Board of Trustees of "The Maryland Agricultural Society," for the Eastern Shore, on the Machine for Harvesting Small Grain, invented by Mr. Obed Hussey of Cincinnati, Ohio.—*Trial for Harvest of 1836.*

The favorable accounts of the operation of this implement, in several of the Western States, induced the Board to invite Mr. Hussey to bring it to Maryland and submit it to their inspection. It was accordingly exhibited in Oxford, Talbot Co., on the first of July, in presence of the Board and a considerable number of other gentlemen. Its performance may justly be denominated perfect, as it cuts every spear of grain, collects it in bunches of the proper size for sheaves, and lays it straight and even for the binders. On the 12th July, a public exhibition was made at Easton, under the direction of the Board; several hundred persons, principally farmers, assembled to witness it, and expressed themselves highly satisfied with the result. At the Trappe, where it was shown by the inventor on the following Saturday, an equal degree of approbation was evinced. It was afterwards used on the farm of Mr. Tench Tilghman, where 180 acres of wheat, oats and barley were cut with it. Three mules of medium size worked in it constantly with as much ease as in a drag harrow. They moved with equal facility in a walk or trot. A concise description of this simple implement will show that it is admirably adapted to the important purpose for which it was invented. Resting on two wheels which are permanently attached to the machine and impart the motion to the whole, the main body of the machine is drawn by the horses along the outer edge of the standing grain. As the horses travel on the outside of the grain, it is neither knocked down or tangled in the slightest degree. Behind the wheels is a platform, (supported by a roller or wheel,) which projects beyond the side of the machine five feet into the grain. On the front of the edge projecting part of the platform is the cutter. This is composed of twenty-one teeth resembling large lancet blades, which are placed side by side and firmly riveted to a rod of iron. A lateral motion is imparted to it by a crank, causing it to vibrate between two rows of iron spikes, which point forward. As the machine advances the grain is cut and falls backwards on the platform where it collects in a pile. A man is placed on the part of the platform directly behind the horses, and with a rake of peculiar construction, pushes off the grain in separate bunches; each bunch making a sheaf. It may appear to some that the grain will accumulate too rapidly for this man to perform his duty. But upon considering the difference between the space occupied by the grain when standing and when lying in a pile after it is cut, it will be evident that the raker has ample time to push off the bunches even in the thickest grain. In thin grain he has to wait until sufficient has collected to form a sheaf.

The machine is driven around the grain, which may be sown either

on a smooth surface or on corn ridges. For the first round a way may be cleared with a cradle; but this is deemed unnecessary, for the grain when driven over, is left in an inclined position, and by cutting in the opposite direction as much of it is saved as with a cradle. Fourteen acres in corn lands were cut between 10 A. M., and 7½ P. M. The hands had never worked with the machine before, nor was it a trial day's work. For owing to the shortness of the straw, the machine was not allowed to cut when passing over the ridges from one side of the ground to the other, and this time was consequently lost. From the principle on which the cutting is performed, a keen edge to the cutter is by no means essential. The toughest weeds, an occasional corn stalk or a stick of the thickness of a man's little finger, have been frequently cut without at all affecting its operation; it can be sharpened, however, in a few minutes with a file. The width of the swath may be increased by having the cutter made longer, and the same machine will cut a stubble of several different heights of any size, though the strength of every part has been fully tested. The machine has been often choked by oyster-shells getting into the cutter, in attempting to cut too low a stubble. The motion of the machinery being checked, the main wheels slide on the ground; the strain on every part being equal to the power exerted by the horses. It can be managed by any intelligent careful negro. We deem it a simple, strong, and effective machine, and take much pleasure in awarding unanimously the meritorious inventor of it a handsome pair of silver cups.

ROBT. H. GOLDSBOROUGH,
SAMUEL STEVENS,
SAML. T. KENNARD,
ROBT. BANNING,
SAML. HAMBLETON, Sr.,
NICHL. GOLDSBOROUGH,
ED. N. HAMBLETON,
JAMES LI. CHAMBERLAIN,
MARTIN GOLDSBOROUGH,
HORATIO L. EDMONDSON,
TENCH TILGHMAN.

General Tilghman was President of the United States Agricultural Society when this Society held its annual fair in Richmond, Va., in 1858, and in Chicago in 1859. Although the Society was driven out of existence by the Civil War, it was through its instrumentality by the publication of monthly agricultural bulletins at Washington, D. C., that the Department of Agriculture was established by the United States government, as will be shown in the following inaugural address of President Tilghman at the opening of the Sixth Annual Exhibition of the United States Agricultural Society held at Richmond, Virginia, October 26-30, 1858.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT TILGHMAN.

Brother Farmers of America, Ladies and Gentlemen of whatever clime and occupation: You have listened to the language of eloquence and cordial hospitality with which we have been welcomed to the Capital of this ancient Commonwealth, by the distinguished President of the Virginia Central Agricultural Society.

It becomes my pleasing duty to acknowledge the obligation which has thus been conferred upon us, and as the official organ of the Agricultural Society of the United States to extend to all who are here assembled a greeting to this, its sixth annual festival.

Gentlemen of the two societies: Allow me to congratulate you, and those who are our especial guests on this interesting occasion, upon the success with which your efforts have been crowned, in the magnificent spectacle by which we are now surrounded.

From the granite hills of New Hampshire to the verdant rice-fields of Carolina; from the swarming cities on our Atlantic border to the fertile valley of the Mississippi, Ceres and Pomona have vied with each other in contributions from the richness of their stores; and in the varied products of the farm and the garden, the mine and the ocean depths, the workshop and the laboratory, which are here collected together, we behold an epitome of our country's greatness, and an evidence of its enduring prosperity.

A still more pregnant indication of the importance attached to the calling in which we are engaged, is to be found in the magnitude and character of the vast concourse which has assembled to witness our exhibition, and in the number and distinction of the representatives from other States who have come to participate in our proceedings. The sturdy yeoman has left his fields and his herds; the mechanic has deserted his workshop; the learned professions have contributed from their members those who have earned the highest distinction in the varied walks of science and of literature; the highest dignitaries both in church and State are here, to honor us with their presence; and beauty has sent a chaplet of her choicest flowers, whose richness forms the crowning glory of the scene, and holds the admiring spectator entranced and spell-bound in mute admiration of its loveliness.

Among the many remarkable developments by which the growth of our country has been attended, few have afforded greater cause for surprise and gratification than the rise and progress of the United States Agricultural Society.

Its great prototype, the Royal Agricultural Society of England, had been in successful operation for many years, sustained by all the wealth and enterprise of that powerful and enlightened nation, before it ventured upon the experiment of migration in its fairs, which has since been found to be so highly beneficial in its results. Even there it is still regarded as an undertaking of no ordinary magnitude; and yet the actual extent of their migrations is less than those

of the State Agricultural Society of New York; whilst the smallest distance between the locations of any two consecutive fairs of the United States Agricultural Society had been greater than the entire extent of the United Kingdom of Great Britain.

It is an interesting incident in the history of these two greatest agricultural nations of the world, that the present mode of conducting their national fairs was commenced almost at the same period, and has been attended with results which evince a remarkable degree of coincidence.

Their exhibition for the present season was held in the ancient city of Chester, and many of the most distinguished of the nobility and gentry attended their meetings, and participated in their proceedings. Among those whose eloquence contributed most largely to the interest of this memorable occasion, was the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P., now one of England's greatest commoners and purest statesmen; and I was forcibly struck with his impressions of the effect of such gatherings in England and their applicability to our own Society:

"I think it may be truly observed, (said Mr Gladstone,) that this—I must say distinguished—I may say illustrious Society—appears to me to supply a want which is the greatest inherent want of agriculture. If we look to the case of manufacturers, it is their nature to collect themselves in enormous masses around great centres of industry. If we look to commerce, incessant communication between every part of the commercial system of the country is the very vital air it breathes, and is naturally inseparable from commercial development. But with agriculture the case is different; for, on the contrary, its nature is to be gathered around local centres, which, under ordinary circumstances, have little or no connexion or communication with one another. It is, in comparison, an isolated art, and, therefore, it might follow, under general circumstances, that agriculture was languishing in various quarters of the country, simply from the want of a knowledge of the progress achieved in other portions of the land. Well, now, if I am right in saying that this is the besetting danger and difficulty of agriculture, is it not true and obvious that the Society whose festival we commemorate to-day, is, by the very principle of its construction, adapted effectually to supply that want, for its business is to bring together the men and the minds of all portions of the country? The stock of Devonshire, the horses of Suffolk, the various products of England, are exhibited in the yards today. The agriculture of England, through the means, mainly, of this Society, is rapidly attaining to the position to have but one heart and one mind—one common pulse that causes the circulation of the vital fluid throughout the whole system—one common stock into which everything that skill, that industry, that intelligence, that capital had achieved in every single part of the country, is made the common property of every other portion of the country."

These, gentlemen, are some of the considerations on which we invite your assistance and co-operation. The great principle which

has achieved such wonderful results in our own country, is that of ASSOCIATED ENTERPRISE; and yet how little has been done by the farmer to avail himself of its benefits. How few of those who see the fruits of their honest labors wrenched from their grasp by the iron clutch of the remorseless speculator, or rendered valueless by the over-production of some of their most important staples, ever reflect that there are now in existence in the United States nearly eight hundred agricultural societies; and that by the contribution of a single dollar from each one of their members, a fund might be raised sufficient to secure on a permanent foundation the organization which the United States Society have already successfully established. One of the most important features of this organization, is the *Monthly Bulletin*, which has been issued since the month of February last, from the office of the Society in the city of Washington; and which, together with the annual volume of transactions, is furnished gratuitously to those who become life members by the trifling contribution of ten dollars to its treasury.

Unpretending in its appearance, and avoiding all intrusion upon the legitimate sphere of the various agricultural journals which are laboring so successfully in different parts of our country, the *Monthly Bulletin* presents a claim upon the confidence of the farmer, which no one of these journals possesses in the same degree. It has no other possible interest to subserve than that of the farmer, whose journal it is—not even that of its editor, who is the permanent Secretary of the Society. It relies solely upon the gratuitous contributions of the farmer for its support, and were those contributions ever so generous, they would be devoted entirely to the benefit of the whole farming interest of the country.

How easy then would it be for the farmers of the nation to establish an almost telegraphic intercourse between every section of our extensive country, by a simple system of monthly reports from all the agricultural societies, and prominent farmers, to the Secretary of the United States Society at Washington. The information thus obtained from each, would be combined and transmitted to all. The opportunity for speculation would be greatly diminished. Humbugs that are often so rife throughout the country, and of which the farmer appears to be the favored victim, would be fearlessly exposed, and in a short time a fund of statistics would be obtained, from the collation of which important results might be adduced.

The benefits derived from such a commencement, would increase the desire for their extension; until at no distant day the Society might hope to attain, by endowments and other contributions, the means of establishing a Quarterly Journal of Agriculture, in whose columns those most deeply versed in the arcana of nature might discuss the abstruse principles upon which the most important results are often found to depend, and yet which do not possess a sufficient attraction for the superficial reader, to obtain for such a journal a support sufficient to secure its existence by subscription alone.

It is not a little surprising, that the portion of our country in which the agricultural interest is most important, should have been the last to lend its co-operation towards the advancement of this Society.

We are now assembled, for the first time, upon Southern soil, and I hail it as a good omen that the Old Dominion, the mother of States, and whose fair daughters have been the nursing mothers of Presidents, should have been the first to welcome the United States Agricultural Society to her territory and her Capital. The atmosphere by which we are now surrounded is redolent with the memories of those illustrious statesmen and great farmers, who constituted the Cincinnati of our youthful republic; and it is impossible to look upon yonder noble river, whose banks are now teeming with the fruits of commerce and agriculture, without remembering that here lived the graceful Pocahontas, and here too were the cornfields of Powhatan and Opechancanough, which preserved the lives of our famishing progenitors in the infant colony of Jamestown.

The route by which many of us reached this hospitable city, conducts the traveler to that shrine which has become the Mecca of the patriots of all lands. As I passed, in the solemn stillness of the night, the spot where rest the ashes of the Father of his Country, I felt an influence pervading the scene, as if his spirit was still lingering in the quiet shades of Mount Vernon, and as if the vocations which absorbed so much of his thoughts and attention whilst on earth were still regarded as not unworthy of his remembrance. "Go, tell your brethren," (he seemed to say,) "that they are engaged in a noble and a holy cause; tell them to persevere in an effort which only requires perseverance to achieve success, and which, if successful, must have a powerful influence in cementing those institutions to whose foundations my life was so largely devoted."

Gentlemen, this is the spirit which should actuate every American farmer and every patriot in the land, whatever be his calling or profession. Let me urge you, then, to come up to the good work without delay. Let it be one of the proudest boasts of every American citizen that he is also a member of the National Agricultural Society.

Gentlemen, it only remains for me to announce to you that the Sixth National Exhibition of Agriculture has been now formally opened.

General Tilghman was the projector and president of Talbot's first railroad, to which he gave the name of Maryland and Delaware R. R., but, after its absorption by the Penna. R. R., the name was changed to that of the Delaware and Chesapeake Railway. It has contributed more than any other enterprise to the prosperity of Talbot County. Work began on the bed of this road at Easton, in December, 1856, but it was interrupted by the Civil War, and the road was not completed to Easton until about December 1, 1869, and to the terminus at Oxford until 1871.

The following account of the beginning of work on the bed of this railroad at Easton, is copied from the *Easton Star* of December 3, 1856.

The first breaking of the ground in Talbot County on the Maryland and Delaware Railroad was celebrated on Monday by the officers and stockholders of the company and our citizens generally in an imposing manner, which shows the lively interest all our citizens take in this grand enterprise. At half-past 11 o'clock a. m. the procession formed in front of the railroad office in Easton in the following order, and after marching through the several streets of the town proceeded to Mrs. Robinson's meadow, about a quarter of a mile from town, where the first ground was broken.

ORDER OF PROCESSION.

Engineers, with Instruments,
President and Treasurer,
Directors,
Stockholders,
Contractors,
Bosses,
Laborers, carrying Tools,
Band of Music,
Reverend Clergy,
Masonic Lodges,
Independent Order of Odd Fellows,
Teachers and Pupils,
Guests and Strangers,
Citizens.

The procession was under the command of Col. Richard Thomas, Marshal, assisted by the following aids: Drs. Thos. B. Chase, Henry T. Goldsborough, Messrs. Thomas K. Robson and Wm. Hardcastle. The Greensborough Brass Band was in attendance to enliven the day by its sweet sounds. When the procession arrived at the meadow, the following impressive ceremonies transpired:

Prayer by Rev. B. F. Brown.

Laying of the corner-stone by Miller Lodge, No. 18, I. O. O. F.

An eloquent and appropriate address by General Tench Tilghman, the president of the company.

Breaking of the ground by the officers, engineers and contractors. The honor of throwing the first shovelful of earth was awarded to Dr. Samuel Harper, who was present and participated in the commencement of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad July 4, 1828.

A salute of 13 guns was fired by Captains Thomas Parrott and James Hopkins in honor of the 13 counties of the Eastern Shores of Maryland and Virginia, and Delaware.

At the close of the ceremonies the procession re-formed, marched to town and was dismissed in front of the court-house at 1.30 p. m. No

accident occurred, and everything passed off to the satisfaction of all present.

Ground had been broken for the beginning of work on this railroad at Greensborough in Caroline County on the 27th of December, 1855, and trains ran between that point and Clayton, Delaware, for about a year before the road was opened to Easton. In the next year it was completed to Oxford. The following gentlemen constituted the first Board of Directors.

Gen. Tench Tilghman, Talbot Co., Prest.

Wm. B. Clark, Talbot Co.

Henry J. Strandberg, Talbot Co.

Isaac C. W. Powell, Talbot Co.

J. Penn Manlove, Caroline Co.

Dr. Griffin W. Goldsborough, Caroline Co.

Robert Jarrell, Caroline Co.

David Knotts, Caroline Co.

Major James Merrick, Queen Anne's Co.

Col. Walter Gwinn, N. C., Chf. Engineer.

John Henderson, Va., 1st Asst. Engineer.

General Tilghman was an ardent friend of education. It was through his personal efforts that the Maryland Military Academy was established at Oxford, Md., in 1849. It was the first military school founded in the State of Maryland. Professor John H. Allen, of Ohio, a graduate of the U. S. Military Academy at West Point, where he was a classmate of General Tilghman, was superintendent of it. The sons of the leading citizens of Maryland and Delaware of that day were educated at this school. It had a brief existence however; after flourishing for about six years, the principal academic building was accidentally destroyed by fire, and this fine institution, which had infused new life into the quiet town of Oxford, and had such a bright future before it, was never revived. As an adjunct to this Military Academy, General Tilghman began the erection of a handsome stone Episcopal Church in Oxford. It was about half completed when the Academy was closed.

From the date of the laying of the corner-stone of this church nearly forty years elapsed before its final completion. It was in response to the following eloquent appeal made by the rector of the Church of the Holy Trinity, Oxford, and a committee of representative citizens that the family and friends of its then deceased founder were inspired to contribute funds sufficient for the completion of this church. The appeal read as follows:

There stands, in the suburbs of Oxford, a town once the rival of Annapolis for the honor of being Maryland's capital city, a picturesque ruin.

This picturesque "ruin," as the tourist is accustomed to call it, is in reality the masonry of what was to have been a beautiful stone church, planned by the famous Upjohn.

It was projected by General Tilghman in the palmy antebellum days when the old Maryland Military Academy was one of the great military schools; but reverses brought the work to a stop and the walls have remained there unfinished all these years.

It is now determined to attempt the completion of this work on these walls, overgrown with ivy, by which nature has attempted to conceal the unfinished work of man. Its ivy-wreathed gables remind one of an old English Abbey.

In this work it has been thought well to make an appeal to the former friends and associates of General Tilghman, who we feel will be interested, to assist us in completing this old church as a testimonial to the noble and unselfish life and to the self-sacrificing and philanthropic labors of our common friend.

JAS. H. WILLIS,
WM. H. HADDAWAY, } Committee.
WM. M. BERGMAN, }

REV. H. CLINTON COLLINS, Rector.

Through the untiring efforts of the Rev. Mr. Collins this handsome gothic church was finally completed in May, 1903. At the first service held therein Oswald Tilghman, Jr., a grandson of General Tench Tilghman was baptized. The handsome oak altar in this church was presented by Miss Ella S. Tilghman, a daughter, who executed the artistic wood carving thereon with her own hands.

The inheritance of large landed estates and a lot of ignorant slaves, in the border states, especially, by young men of liberal education at least for a generation or more prior to the Civil War, proved, in the majority of instances, a curse rather than a blessing to them. Such was the case with the subject of this memoir, for gentleman farming in slavery times was never a profitable pursuit in Maryland. He had been raised in the lap of luxury by an over-indulgent grandmother, the widow of Col. Tench Tilghman, who survived her husband for fifty-seven years, and who prevailed upon her grandson to resign his commission in the army to take charge of her large estates of lands and negroes. He had inherited, from his illustrious grandfather, a strong inclination for a military life, which, after his resignation from the regular army, he evinced by taking a prominent part in mustering and drilling the militia organizations in his own and the adjoining counties. His interest and activity in military affairs soon won for him a

commission as Major General of the 2nd Division of Maryland Militia. During the Mexican War, in 1847-1848, he had frequent musters and reviews of the militia of Talbot, Caroline and Queen Anne's counties on a large farm immediately south of Easton, on a part of which farm the present fair grounds are located. He offered his services to his old commander Gen. Winfield Scott, but like thousands of other volunteers, his services were not accepted as they were not needed. At the outbreak of our unhappy Civil War, his sympathies, as might have been expected, were with the South. After the mobbing of a Massachusetts regiment while passing through the city of Baltimore on the 19th of April, 1861, by the Southern sympathizers of that city, which led to the shooting of several innocent onlookers of this affair, General Tilghman issued the following military orders to the militia troops under his command, which led to his arrest and the revoking of his commission by Governor Hicks.

DIVISION ORDERS.

HEAD QUARTERS 2D. DIVISION, M. M. }
EASTON, MD., April 22d, 1861. }

To the Citizens of the 2d. Division, M. M.:

Our fellow citizens of Baltimore have been slaughtered on our own soil by the soldiers of the U. S. Government which claims our support whilst it wages war upon our institutions,—our State has been made a separate military Department—our forts have been garrisoned and our State overrun by Northern troops in open defiance of the wishes of our citizens and of appeals from our constituted authorities.

I call you as your commander, to rally to the defence of your property and your homes—to enroll yourselves immediately into companies of two classes—the one to defend their homes,—the other for service in any part of the State. I hereby command all the officers of the Division to use their utmost efforts to effect these objects and to hold themselves in constant readiness to sustain the civil authorities and to protect its defenceless inhabitants.

On the first of each month the Captains of Companies will make a full report to their respective Colonels and Brigadiers, and also to the Maj. General. On the 10th of each month the Colonels will report to the Brigadiers and Maj. Gen.; and on the 20th of each month the Brigadiers will report to the Maj. Gen. and Adj. Gen.

TENCH TILGHMAN,
Maj. Gen. 2d. Division, M. M.

In politics he was an old-line Whig, but subsequently, upon the demise of that party, he allied himself with the Democrats. He never

held an elective office, but for many years he was one of the Board of Commissioners of Public Works of Maryland. He received a consular appointment from President Taylor, but never availed himself of it. From President Buchanan he accepted the Collectorship of the Port of Oxford, which he held until removed by President Lincoln.

As a lineal descendant of Col. Tench Tilghman, of the American Revolution, he was a member of the Ancient and Honorable Society of the Cincinnati, the leading patriotic society in the United States, and at the time of his death, he was president of the Society of the Cincinnati of Maryland. He had been appointed the historiographer of this State Society, and was engaged in collecting the materials for its annals, with a view to publication, when his career was so suddenly ended, and his name had to be enrolled with the other honored dead of the Cincinnati.

He was a gentleman of great dignity and urbanity of manners, which, when united with his fine culture, qualified him to adorn the most polished circles of society. He was a ready and fluent speaker, and his literary productions, consisting chiefly of addresses before agricultural and other societies, possess unusual merit.

General Tilghman married, firstly, in 1832, Miss Henrietta Maria Kerr, a daughter of Hon. John Leeds Kerr of Easton, U. S. Senator from Maryland. There were ten children of this marriage, four sons, three of whom, Tench F., John Leeds and Oswald were soldiers in the Confederate army, and six daughters. He married, secondly, in 1850, Miss Anna Maria Tilghman, a daughter of his uncle, Robert Lloyd Tilghman, of "Hope," by whom he had no issue. He died in Baltimore city December 23, 1874, in the 65th year of his age.

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